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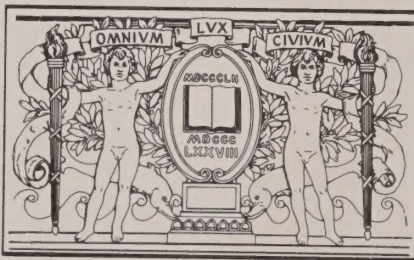
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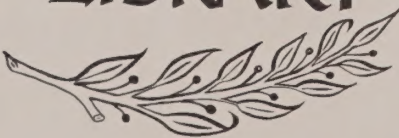
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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1877.

The Week.

AS we go to press the news from the disputed States is still pacific, though in all of them the condition of affairs is anxious. In Florida, the new canvass of the State under the orders of the Supreme Court was not satisfactory to the judges, as the canvassers had in some respects disobeyed directions which they pretended to follow, and a third canvass has accordingly been ordered and made, with what result still remains to be seen. In South Carolina, Wade Hampton has called upon the State for a tax of ten per cent. of the tax of last year to provide for the immediate necessities of the government; and as this assessment was legalized by the Hampton Legislature it will undoubtedly be paid, so that one side will have money against the other's troops. Chamberlain has kept very quiet recently, though he is no doubt doing a great deal of thinking. He has come out very strongly on one point, on which he has displayed an amount of indignation hardly warranted by the facts of his "record." Certain persons, it seems, have been circulating stories of an intrigue of his for the Senatorship, and these he denounces as lies, declaring that he means never to desert the post of duty. We cannot see anything in his career, however, that would make us greatly shocked or surprised at his going to Washington. We are inclined to think that he would make a very fine Senator, deliver speeches much above the average order, and keep a sharp look-out too on the "bad men" who are always trying to get hold of the offices. In Louisiana, the assembling of the Legislature is the beginning of a sharp contest for the control of the State, Kellogg having nine points in his favor at the outset, just as Chamberlain had in the possession of the State-House. The Democratic claimants have demanded admission, and, on being refused, have set up an opposition House of Representatives. The State-House is strongly barricaded and guarded by militia and policemen. The Republican Legislature has passed a resolution calling for troops.

The Congressional Sub-Committee composed of Messrs Sayler, Abbott, and Lawrence, who have been looking into the South Carolina election, have reported that Hampton was elected by about 1,100 majority, while the Hayes electors had a majority of 600. As a majority of this sub-committee is Democratic, we can only characterize their report as an act of the grossest perfidy, which places them side by side on the roll of traitors with Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold, and shows them to possess some of the baser qualities of Pontius Pilate and Barabbas the Robber. In fact, we have no hesitation in pronouncing their act the "monumental crime of the century." It is true, no doubt, that originally a Congressional committee was intended to get at the truth and report it faithfully without regard to its effect on party politics; but whatever the original theory of its duty may have been, the well-settled usage of the last forty years has made it incumbent on each member of such committee to report in such fashion as to help the political organization to which he belongs, and to this usage we owe that long series of "majority and minority reports" on the same evidence which form such a valuable contribution to the literature of American political economy and jurisprudence, and reflect so much credit on the fidelity of our public men. Mr. Milton Sayler and his Democratic associate, by breaking in on this usage and surrendering South Carolina to Hayes, have earned a shameful notoriety. They will probably try to shield themselves by prating about their "consciences"! If their "consciences" are so tender they ought, when they saw the

way the figures were coming in, to have promptly resigned and let some fitter instruments finish the dirty job. Nothing better calculated to shake the confidence of constituents in their representatives, and no better illustration of "the prevailing demoralization," have occurred within our recollection.

The New York *Times* of Friday had a very remarkable account of the behavior of the Negro while the Supreme Court of Florida was considering the propriety of granting a mandamus directing the canvassers to recount the votes. After an appropriate denunciation of the court, the writer says: "The saddest picture of all is the woebegone, appealing face of the Negro as he loiters about in the shadows of the trees, in the corridors of the Capitol, and at the corners of the streets, the mute or weeping embodiment of despair. In his view all is lost. . . . He cannot understand how fraud and villany should defeat the party whose genius is liberty and whose handmaid is free education." We have seen many negroes at the South "loitering" in shadows and corridors and at corners, but confess that they were neither "mute" nor "weeping embodiments." We are not surprised at his inability to understand how "fraud and villany" defeated the Great Party; it also puzzles the White Man; but when "his intuitions teach him that darkness is returning and he moans in despair," we think he should distrust them as to the darkness and give up "moaning." It is useless and disturbs the neighbors. "The Negro," adds the writer, "is docile, patient, and confiding, but he has in him the elements for a terrible revenge. He is liable to break through all restraints." This may be true, but it is also true of the White Man. He must control himself, and submit to the State courts and those of the United States. What puzzles one in these accounts of the Negro's condition is why he should not welcome any change, however brought about. According to the carpet-bag accounts his condition during the past eight years has been simply horrible. Senator Dawes has said he never lies down at night without fearing that his throat will be cut before morning, and according to other Republican stories the whites are almost all engaged in riding round whipping him or planning to whip him, shooting him or planning to shoot him. Why, then, should he mourn? No change can be for the worse. He cannot, under Democratic rule, be worse treated than he has been. If "in his view all is lost," it is the best thing that ever happened him, because "all" was intensely disagreeable.

Governor Tilden has been succeeded by Governor Robinson, but for all that, the *Times* declares, the old governor's hand is to be seen in the new governor's message: the chapter on national affairs has been adopted by Mr. Robinson, but was not prepared by him. However true this may be, it is natural to look to this part of the message for a hint as to the policy which Mr. Tilden would like to see employed by his partisans in Congress. On this supposition, what he most dreads is an attempt on the part of the President of the Senate "to usurp the power of determining what votes shall be counted and what shall not be counted, and to exercise that power in disregard of the orders of the two Houses." What he desires is that Congress shall, in accordance with its invariable practice, assert its "exclusive jurisdiction to regulate and govern the whole transaction by temporary concurrent orders, adopted for the occasion, by standing joint rules, and by the enactment of laws." The weak point in the case of the rival candidate is of course Louisiana, though South Carolina and Florida are not overlooked. The argument is peculiar. Mr. Robinson reviews the history of the present State government established in virtue of Judge Durell's midnight order, shows that

the Returning Board is its creation, and utters a "solemn denial of the power of any State government, or of the Federal Government, to vest such powers as are claimed by the Louisiana Returning Board in any canvassing board whatever." The authority of the Legislature to direct how the electors shall be chosen was intended to cover a choice between modes consistent with recognized forms of popular government. "The State" should appoint and not a ring. Moreover, the trust is too arbitrary and indefinite to be legal and Constitutional. Finally, the Board's powers were not meant to embrace the electoral vote, and are as repugnant to the State as to the United States Constitution.

The extradition correspondence sent to the Senate and House shows that the English Government has voluntarily receded from its determination to demand assurances that fugitives shall not be tried except for offences for which extradition was demanded; that our Government has in consequence agreed on its part to put in force the machinery of the treaty of 1842; that an understanding exists between the two Governments that a new and better treaty shall be made; that Brent has actually been surrendered, and that Winslow and Gray are now "wanted" by the British authorities. There could hardly be a better temporary settlement of the extradition difficulty, and a better proof of the moderation, discretion, and good sense of both Governments. As a new treaty is now to be made, we trust that our Government will be disposed to approach the subject in a spirit rather of candor than "diplomacy." There are certain things that we are bound to remember in any discussion of the matter; as, for instance, that on ordinary principles of justice a man ought not to be charged with one crime for the purpose of securing his trial for a widely different one; that proceedings of this kind are open to much the same objection that "general warrants" are, because they are liable to great and tyrannous abuse; that unless a country has the right to be assured that fugitives surrendered shall only be tried for the offences for which they are given up, the right of asylum is incapable of enforcement, and American citizens, for instance, might be hung in France for acts which the Anglo-Saxon world regards as colorless or even meritorious; that these principles have been almost unanimously recognized by the leading writers who have had anything to say about it at all, as well as by the French Government; that Section 5,275 of the Revised Statutes provides that the President shall protect a person extradited to this country, "until the final conclusion of his trial for the crimes or offences specified in the warrant of extradition"; that in four existing extradition treaties (between this country and Italy, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Belgium) the principle is expressly incorporated; that Mr. Fish himself, between 1871 and 1873, agreed to its insertion in a new treaty with England. Indeed we have no doubt that it will be inserted in any new treaty that is made, and probably the only question will be whether the enforcement of it is to be left to the courts or to the political department of the Government.

It may be worth while now to call attention to the fact that a careful examination of the correspondence fails to reveal the exertion of any influence on the negotiations by Mr. Pierrepont in London. From first to last Mr. Fish has directed every movement either by cable or letter, and Mr. Pierrepont's only duty has been to execute orders, which he has no doubt done intelligently, but which might have been done just as well by an ordinary *attaché*. The position of Minister at London, as this and other things prove, has evidently become an ornamental one, the duties of which can, in fair weather, be performed by almost anybody, and, in fact, must be directed from Washington or performed by a real ambassador extraordinary sent out for the purpose. Permanent foreign missions have become a solecism in our system, and are in fact a mediæval piece of "monarchy," whose survival and persistence in

an age of republicanism and rapid communication is a curious proof of the vitality of superstition in politics.

Several serious accidents by sea and land have occurred during the past week, but none approaching in horror that on the Lake Shore Line at Ashtabula, Ohio. The iron bridge which crosses the Ashtabula Creek at that point gave way, under the weight of an express train, precipitating eleven cars, eight of them filled with passengers, and one locomotive, into the frozen river seventy-five feet below. The cars immediately caught fire, so that while the greater number of the passengers must have been killed outright, some died slowly in horrible agony, and of the survivors many were so injured as to make their safety almost worse than death could have been. The cause of this disaster is as yet wholly unexplained; that something was wrong is evident, for otherwise the accident could not have occurred; doubtless it will be carefully investigated by competent men, though the completeness of the wreck may have destroyed all marks from which its origin might otherwise have been traced. It is common to ascribe such occurrences to general negligence and indifference to public safety on the part of railroad officers, but in this case any such charge would be shamefully unjust. For many years the bridges and track of the Lake Shore Road have been in the charge of gentlemen of high character and intelligence who have taken no small pride in the perfection of their work; the beautifully-tended track, the substantial road-bed, and the magnificent masonry have been justly admired by all persons competent to judge, and they are ample proof that whatever defects may have existed were due to some error of judgment and not to any careless or parsimonious policy. The road has few bridges of either wood or iron, nearly every stream being crossed by stone arches of the most expensive and substantial character.

The disappearance of Mr. Otis D. Swan has created a feeling amounting almost to consternation among quiet-going people, owing partly to his previous high character and position, but principally, we imagine, to the accumulation of such cases in the last few years. How many cases of the kind would be required to modify seriously the popular acceptation of the meaning of the word "trusted" is of course difficult to say, but it is obvious that there is a point at which the reputation of being concerned in the management of trusts would of itself tend to cast a cloud over a man's character, and to raise a presumption that any habitual trustee was gradually making away with somebody's property. Without at all attempting to prejudice Mr. Swan's case, we may say that the version of it generally believed is that he is practically an embezzler. There is, however, no remedy against an embezzling trustee except a civil one, which is usually of little or no value, inasmuch as the very cause of the embezzlement is in nine cases out of ten that the trustee is himself in pecuniary straits; if he gets out of these no one hears of the embezzlement, the property is by-and-by restored, everything goes right again, and there is no question of a remedy. If, on the other hand, as most often happens, he gets into deeper and deeper water, there is apt to be no property left when he finally disappears, and an action against him is futile. It is clear that something more than a civil remedy is needed, and this can only be furnished by the criminal law. The deterrent effect upon hesitating trustees of seeing a fellow-trustee locked up for the remainder of his life in the penitentiary would be enormous. A statute making the use by a trustee of specific trust funds a criminal offence is what is most needed now, and its success in England amounts to a demonstration that its passage here would not be a failure.

The New York banks for the first time in many years have fully as much gold coin in their possession as they have U. S. legal-tender notes. The statement rendered by the Clearing-house on Saturday shows that the average holding of legal-tender notes for the five days of the business week closing Dec. 30 was \$34,975,100; and, as the

average was a falling one, it is safe to assume that on Saturday the actual amount of legal-tender notes in the banks was from \$1,000,000 to \$2,000,000 less than the average amount for the five days. The average amount of specie held during the five days was \$33,049,700; and, as the average is a rising one, the banks without doubt hold from \$1,500,000 to \$2,500,000 more than the average for the week. This large accumulation of specie is due mainly to the importations of gold for the past two months, although of course the coin payments by the Treasury on account of half-yearly interest and for the redemption of 5-20 bonds have been large. As the foreign-exchange market has ruled for the past two weeks gold could not be imported, and what has been received during that time has been on previous orders. Whether this gold will remain here depends (1) on whether we continue to export more merchantable articles or commodities than we import; and (2) whether Europe will buy our bonds or will sell back to us such as it holds. The future of the trade movement is clearer than the future of the bond movement. It is not to be expected that we shall very much increase our imports in the coming six months. Our export trade is expanding; besides our agricultural products we have in the past year opened a promising foreign trade in that important branch of our manufactures, cotton goods; the exports of these during the year amounted to about 75,000 packages from New York alone, against 41,000 in 1875 and 14,500 in 1870. Whether Europe will buy or will sell our bonds depends (1) on whether there is to be a great war in Europe in the early future, and (2) whether the stability of our institutions is to be imperilled by the as yet undecided Presidential contest. The old year closed and the new year opened with the price of gold, as expressed in our paper legal-tender, 107; in other words, the promise of our Government to pay one dollar was worth in gold \$0.9345. Until resumption the gold in the New York banks will be serviceable (1) to pay into the Treasury for customs duties, in which way the Treasury will get possession of it for resumption in 1879; and (2) for use as bank reserve, or, in other words, as a basis for bank credits. The other use to which it can be put is to pay foreign balances—that is, to export.

The advices from Turkey all look more warlike. The Conference has presented a plan which Russia will probably treat as an ultimatum, and which Lord Salisbury advised the Sultan to accept on pain of being left to fight his own battles. The Sultan replied that it was useless to talk of it; that if he did it would cost him his crown and life, and expressed confidence that the people and the army would see him through his scrape. Lord Salisbury thereupon ordered the British fleet to leave Turkish waters, lest its presence there should be misunderstood. The Porte is in the meantime presenting counter-propositions which the Conference is at this writing reported to be considering, but probably more as a matter of courtesy than with the expectation of modifying its own scheme. We gave a sketch last week of the reforms which the Conference considers necessary.

The full report of Prince Bismarck's speech before the Reichstag on the foreign relations of Germany has come out by the last mail. It was called out by his being asked to remonstrate with the Russians for raising their tariff now to provide for the expenses of the war; to which he replied that the Russians, if they injured anybody, were injuring themselves more than the Germans; that at all events there was no remedy except reprisals, which would be ridiculous; that all that Russia asked of them in the pending contest was neutrality, which was what their own interests prescribed; that he was bound to believe the Emperor Alexander when he said he sought no increase of territory; that Russia had done Germany a good turn by remaining neutral in 1870; that Germany's relations with England and Austria were also friendly; that he thought the war, if it broke out, would be confined to Russia and Turkey; that if Russia and England were wise they would not fight, and that

any how, even if they did wish to fight, they would for geographical reasons find it hard to get at each other.

The Budget controversy between the Assembly and the Senate in France has had a peaceful ending. The Senate sent down the Budget with amendments restoring some items which the Assembly had struck out or reduced. On Thursday, in the Assembly, M. Simon had an encounter with Gambetta over the question of adopting the amendments, Gambetta urging the Assembly to deny absolutely the power of the Senate to make any change in the estimates as sent up from the Lower House, and Simon replying that the Constitution made no difference in the powers of the two bodies on this point, except that appropriations must originate with the Assembly, and that if this contest was carried further, and a deadlock reached, the President would dissolve the Assembly, and thus virtually submit the maintenance of the Republic again to a popular vote. The items were then taken up one by one, and the ministers beat Gambetta by heavy majorities on the proposed bounty to soldiers at the opening of a campaign and an increase in the appropriation for army chaplains. On the other hand, an active-service allowance to generals was defeated in spite of the strenuous support of the Minister of War, General Berthaut. When it came to the increase of the salaries of the clergy and the clerical scholarships, which, as we said last week, had been restored by the Senate, the ministers judiciously stood aside and avoided making a Cabinet question of it. The Senate amendments on these points were then again rejected, also by a heavy majority, and on Friday the Senate wisely passed the Budget, as sent up by the Assembly, unanimously and without discussion, being satisfied probably with the partial triumph of the previous day over Gambetta and the split in the Republican ranks which this seemed to indicate.

The cause of most of the anxiety felt by the French public during this crisis has been the probability that Marshal MacMahon would not, under any circumstances, go nearer the Left than he has gone in the present Ministry, and that if there was a dissolution, and a new and more radical Assembly set up by a general election, a collision might ensue, which he would end in a summary manner. But there does not seem to be much danger of anything of the kind. Every day brings fresh evidence of the loyalty, sincerity, and uprightness of his character, and of his honest determination to make the Constitution work somehow. Nor does he seem to possess that fatal facility for having his "mind poisoned" by scamps with which our own soldier-President has made us so familiar. He made a speech to his Cabinet, which is reported in the papers of the last mail, the simplicity of which is almost touching, and reminds one a little of General Grant in his best moods, or rather of General Grant in the old days when he was in the field. The Marshal told the Cabinet that the best proof he could give of his good intentions was his putting M. Simon at the head of the Ministry—Simon, who had in a famous speech abused him three years ago in the Assembly, showing that he would not bring to the Executive office the prestige of the Comte de Chambord, nor the wisdom or youth or ancestry of the Comte de Paris, or the military genius of Napoleon. On all these points the Marshal said he agreed with M. Simon; but then he (the Marshal) was justified also in having some distrust of a statesman who was one of the prominent promoters and actors in the insurrection of 1870, and therefore, in now applying to him to head the Cabinet, he gave "the most evident proof of the good-will by which he was animated in the aim of restoring the understanding among the public powers and concord in men's minds." There is a strong flavor of the earlier Grant in all this. MacMahon is not so able a soldier, and perhaps has in no way so good a head, as Grant; but then he has all his life kept good company, and keeps it still. He passes his time with men of character, education, and intelligence, and not with knavish "bosses," disgraced army officers, safe-burglars, whiskey thieves, and the like.

THE DIFFICULTY OF A SETTLEMENT.

BUSINESS men in the great cities are sending in memorials to Congress begging that body to remember that an unquestioned and satisfactory solution of the Presidential difficulty is of more importance to the country than the election of either candidate, and calling on the members to "rise above party" and remember their duty to the country at large. No particular solution of the problem is, however, hinted at, and probably if any particular solution had been hinted at, signers for the addresses could only have been obtained in the party whose candidate that solution seemed most likely to help. The kind of reception such addresses were likely to meet with from the thorough-going partisans who have control of the conflicting organizations it was easy to foresee. The *New York Times*, which best represents this portion of the Republican party, pronounces the New York address a "colorless production," and declares that, "if it can do little good, it can do little harm." In fact, the strict Republican view of the situation, as far as it can be obtained from the party organs, is entirely hostile to any settlement in the nature of a compromise, or to any admission that Hayes's position is such as to impose any duty on his followers in the matter of satisfying the Democrats or making his accession to the Presidency seem fair. They wish their man, it is true, "to pass unchallenged to the chair," but if he is challenged, they think the fault will lie with those who challenge him, and not with him or his friends. They have, they say, the law on their side, and they are in possession of the public force, and it is therefore their solemn duty to see that the man whom they think fairly elected gets the place. We have not yet seen in any thoroughgoing Hayes paper, or heard from any Hayes orator, the slightest admission that they owe anything to those who doubt his legitimacy. In fact, they are keeping up the ecclesiastical character of the party organization to the last. If you were to go to Cardinal McCloskey, and tell him you doubted whether the Pope was the successor of St. Peter and the viceregent of Christ, it would never enter into his head that this ought to trouble him or the Pope. He would advise you to get over your doubts pretty quickly, if you did not wish to be well damned; and this is precisely Mr. "Zach" Chandler's attitude towards the Democrats and unsatisfied Republicans.

The Democrats are much more disposed to treat, or agree on some middle course, or make concessions, not because they have more grace, but because they are at a disadvantage and know it. Their opponents, in the first place, are in possession, which is nine points of the law; they have the administrative machinery and the army in their hands, and are therefore able to do with impunity lawless things, which if done by the other side would ruin it. All the Canvassing and Returning Boards in the disputed States are Republican, and thus have been able to give the party cause a color of legality which the Democrats can in no way secure, and which puts on any proceedings to which they resort in the way of resistance the taint of rebellion. In illustration of what we mean, let us say that, strictly speaking, the seizure of the South Carolina State House by the troops, and the exclusion from the Legislative Chamber of persons claiming seats, was a revolutionary act, and stood on the same level before the law as the seizure of the State House by men hired by Wade Hampton would have done; but then how differently it appeared to the country, owing to the well-established usage which throws a presumption of legality over acts of the Government, and makes them seem much less dangerous to the public security even when committed for bad purposes! So also when Chandler and "Bob" Ingersoll give out, as they do, that Hayes has been elected, and that he is going to be inaugurated, forcibly if need be, their talk is just as reprehensible and criminal as Hewitt's would be if he said that he was going to have force enough at Washington to clear the portico of the Capitol for Tilden's inauguration and take possession of the public offices for his benefit. The reason why the Chandler and Ingersoll talk does not make the same impression on the public mind as this would is, that they will use for execution of their

revolutionary schemes, if they have any, the public force of the United States, which is associated in the public mind with the maintenance of order and the execution of the law, and enjoys a presumption in favor of the legality of its action. This same difference weighs against the Democrats in other ways. If Chandler was to get up Republican meetings all over the country urging the Senate to count Hayes in, and promising to inaugurate him cost what it might, much as people might condemn it it would not excite a tithe of the general alarm that would be excited by Democratic meetings urging the House to assert its rights, and promising to have enough rifle-clubs in Washington on Inauguration Day to see that the man it elected was put in possession; and yet one is about as proper from a Constitutional point of view as the other. In fact, at this moment the stricter Republican organs denounce all Democratic meetings, or speeches urging opposition to the Chandler programme, as seditious and tending to some form of rebellion. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that a large portion of Tilden's supporters either have been in rebellion or have been in some manner associated in the public mind with an attempt to overthrow the Government, and are, therefore, in troublous times, not unnaturally an object of suspicion. The Democrats are evidently aware of all this, and to it we doubtless owe much of their moderation as well as most of their disposition to compromise.

Now, in this state of things any addresses of business men to Congress which are to produce any fruit, or prove more than barren exhortations to the practice of virtue, ought to take notice of the fact that the possession by the Republicans of the machinery of the Government—or, in other words, of the power—should make them more conciliatory, and more disposed to make concessions, than the Democrats, because if there has been any usurpation, it is they who have been guilty of it, and because they have in their manner of conducting the elections at the South been guilty of violating the fundamental rule of morals and law, "that no man should be judge in his own cause." It is they who are responsible for the great scandal of having the Returning Board in Louisiana, and nearly all the elective officers through the State, composed of members of the same party, and in part even of Republican candidates for office. Granting that the party leaders were not instrumental in bringing this about, they are morally accountable for it, and owe the country at large, as well as the Democrats, all the amends in their power; and the least amends they can make is to take pains in language and act to satisfy everybody of the fairness of their intentions and of their desire to avoid suspicion. If, owing to no fault of yours, your own father and brother had acted as arbitrators in a controversy to which you were a party, and had awarded you, even honestly, a large sum of money, decency would forbid your standing in an arrogant and overbearing manner on the legal fact of the award, and threatening everybody who doubted its fairness, and crying out that you did not care whether the other litigant was satisfied or not. "The great party" must not behave like a pot-house bully. It must defer to the moral sense of mankind and the legal traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

And this furnishes also an answer to the question which a great many Mexicans and Costa Ricans have put to us—whether, even if the Returning Boards have cheated, the "intimidation" practised by the Democrats does not put Hayes and Tilden on an equality in the matter of unfairness, and therefore relieve the Republican party from any special burden of responsibility. There are, we hope, few Americans who do not see the distinction between judicial fraud and open violence. In South American political conflicts, we are aware, it is lost sight of. If one side gets hold of a judge and pays him for a good rattling decision, and the other secures the services of a band of robbers, they think they stand morally on equal terms; but we know better. In the present case, however, not only is intimidation not opposable to fraud, but the intimidation is only legally known to us through tainted and partisan tribunals. What we know of it in Louisiana, for instance, except through the Returning Board, is mere report, spread by interested or irresponsible persons. If there is anything which needs to be proved before an

impartial court, however, before acting on it, it is this, for the reasons we gave last week. Any one can tell when a Canvassing Board cheats by adding up the figures; but he needs to be a wise, discreet, experienced man, commanding general confidence, who undertakes to say how much "intimidation" influenced an election, and where the line on any particular occasion lay between sham and honest terror. If ever there was a matter which needed upright judges to pass on it it is this, and yet there are large bodies of persons among us who think Tilden's election ought to be invalidated because stories of intimidation have appeared in the *Times*, or because a colored woman swore before a Republican "worker" that she was badly beaten before election-time, or because a "well-known correspondent" saw a number of negroes who told him secretly that they were terribly outraged by certain Democratic politicians. This may all be true; but it is not in this way that the truth which settles great political questions is ascertained by the Smiths and Joneses, though it may seem all-sufficient to Lillibuleros and Desdichados.

THE TURCO-RUSSIAN COMPLICATION.

THE accession of Midhat Pasha, who represents what may be called the Tory element in the Ottoman population, to the Vizierate, some weeks ago, was a sufficient sign that the Turks had come to a decision as to where they would make a stand against the exactions of the Western Powers. The news on Monday that the Conference had virtually closed its labors, and presented its proposals to the Porte, and that the Porte had rejected them as they stood, could hardly be called unexpected. Lord Salisbury then promptly ordered the British fleet out of the Turkish waters, so as to prevent any continuance of the supposition that its presence meant either a menace to Russia or a promise of support to the Porte. The situation as it stands is, therefore, briefly this: The Conference has sat, in reality, as a mediator between Turkey and Russia, and has drawn up certain proposals which it thinks not unreasonable for the Signatory Powers (of 1856) to make and for Turkey to accept, and the penalty of her refusal is that the guarantee given her by the Treaty of Paris that there should be no meddling in her affairs will be withdrawn, and she will be left to resist meddling as best she can—the meddler in this case being Russia.

With the reforms proposed by the Conference we believe the Porte has no fault to find; what dictates its resistance is the guarantee of their execution which is asked for in the shape of foreign police and supervision, and the disarmament of the Mussulman population. Probably nothing in the whole scheme is less palatable than this, as it would bring home to the ruling caste the humiliation of their Government in a way that nothing else could. To ask a Turk to surrender his pistol and yataghan, which he wears as part of his clothing in his belt, and which are the clearest sign of his political and social supremacy, is something which no Mussulman government would undertake. The job, if done at all, would have to be done by a foreign force, and would rouse the fiercest resentment, and yet it is absolutely necessary to the establishment of any approach to equality between the members of the two creeds.

Russia cannot now possibly accept Turkish pledges as security for the execution of any of the proposed reforms. She will have to insist either on intervention from abroad by instruments prescribed by the Powers, or on the occupation of Bulgaria by her own troops. In other words, war may be considered reasonably certain, but no serious hostilities will be undertaken before spring. In 1827 war was declared in the fall, but hostilities were not begun until the following April. In 1853 war was declared in October, but there were no active operations until May, 1854, the fights of Oltenitza and Csitate during the winter having been, properly speaking, affairs of outposts. The movement of troops in winter in those countries is practically impossible; and even if it were possible, Russia is by no means ready to take the field. She is now mobilizing what is to all intents and purposes a new

army, with a new armament and new officers, and this, in the present state of her finances, is no slight matter. The conscription under the new system covers all classes for short terms of service, and this and the advance of civilization probably entail greater care and outlay in the provision of all the supplies than were considered necessary twenty years ago, when the troops were composed of the riffraff of the peasantry, serving virtually for life. The officers, too, who were formerly nobles commanding serfs, are now men of any class who can pass a certain examination, and most likely are hardly able as yet to supply by manners or education that ascendancy over the men which they once derived from mere superiority of birth. Two hundred and fifty thousand men are, however, said to be concentrated on the banks of the Pruth, ready for crossing, under the command of the Archduke Nicholas, whose position is probably half ornamental, the real direction resting with General Nepokoishitzky, the chief of the staff, an elderly strategist of considerable reputation. The civil administrators of Bulgaria are said to be already appointed, and all the details of the occupation arranged. Although the *Greenbook* recently presented to the Rumanian Parliament, containing the correspondence of the Executive regarding the Servian war, shows that during the struggle the Principality made great exertions to maintain its neutrality and stand well with the Porte, there appears now no doubt that it will throw in its lot with Russia, and lend its 30,000 men, if not for active hostilities, for some species of service; but it ought to be said that it is perhaps the most unwarlike drilled force in the world. What Servia can now do is perhaps not of much account, but a contingent of 18,000 men is expected from Montenegro, and about 6,000 from Herzegovina; and the Bulgarians, though by no means a military race, may be fairly expected to make trouble of some kind for the Turks, and if the Russians make a good start, the Greeks may possibly join in.

It would be presumption to try to predict Russian operations in detail; but there are certain very reliable indications as to the general course of the campaign to be gathered from the history of the wars of 1828 and 1853. The Russian army taking the field now is incomparably better equipped and organized, and has vastly better means of transportation, than that of 1828, and is far more familiar, of course, with the special difficulties of a campaign on the Danube. But the same thing may be said of the Turkish army of to-day as compared with that of 1828. In fact, the relative merits of the two forces may be set down as unchanged. The capital facts of the campaigns of 1828-9 and 1853-4 were that the Turks defended fortresses desperately and successfully, but never made a successful stand in the open field in a general engagement. In neither war did the Russians capture any fortress except after a long siege—Vara having fallen into their hands by the treachery of a pasha. The Turks showed themselves, in 1828, terribly demoralized by a single defeat, and made peace with Diebitsch at Adrianople when he had really only 15,000 men, enfeebled by disease, and when even a partial rising of the Mussulman population, whose wrath is now considered so terrible, would have destroyed him. A similar collapse will probably take place under the same circumstances now. If the Turks offer battle in the open, and are beaten, Turkish government and Mussulman ascendancy in the provinces reached or threatened by the invasion will probably disappear like a fog. If they keep under cover, and in sufficient force to make a Russian advance dangerous, the losses of the invader from disease will probably be very great, and the war become very trying to the *morale* of the army and the temper of the people, owing to the unhealthiness and desolateness of the country.

Whether, even under the most favorable circumstances, an advance can be attempted by the Russians without the possession of the Black Sea is a point on which it is difficult to pass any opinion. They had the sea in 1828, and the possession of it really saved Diebitsch's force from perishing in the moment of victory. They did not have it in 1854, and they never pushed farther south than Sili-siria. There is now good reason for believing that the Turks will

be able to shut the Russian naval force in the Black Sea up in the fortified ports. They have ironclads of the latest construction, armed with the costliest artillery, and their fleet is commanded by an Englishman, Hobart Pasha, who is said to be a good officer, and who, beyond question, believes in the Turks, as does every European who has to do with the soldiers and sailors. The thing Russia had most to fear was English support of Turkey, but it is safe to say that all danger of this has vanished. The anti-Turkish party have carried the day, and there is something now almost melancholy in witnessing the gallant but hopeless struggle carried on by the *Pall Mall Gazette*—alone among the prominent papers—on behalf of the Turks. The gist of the Turkish case is that the Christians are a poor lot, the Turks honorable, good fellows, and that Russians are perfidious and have been guilty of atrocities themselves. But the tide of popular sentiment runs more and more strongly against the Turks, and has been stimulated within a fortnight by a vigorous speech from John Bright at Birmingham. But the Russian financial troubles evidently promise to be serious. Business has already collapsed, failures are very numerous, and there will probably be fresh issues of paper money, for which the Government is trying to provide a bottom by our plan of making customs duties payable in gold.

MYCENÆ.

WHILE we are waiting for fresh discoveries at Olympia, Schliemann's bulletins from Mycenæ bring us startling news of the heroic age, the times described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The massive walls of the citadel of Mycenæ, with their low gateway threatening invaders with its two lions—the arms of the Atridae—have always given Agamemnon and Clytemnestra a greater show of reality than was generally allowed to Priam and Hecuba; and for the same reason the “dawn” theory of Troy will henceforth find its most formidable stumbling-block in the hill of Hissarlik. Indeed, the strongest statement of the great value of Schliemann's discoveries at Troy would perhaps be this—that they have placed Troy on the same historic basis on which Mycenæ has always stood, and that we can now see the city of the Homeric Priam as we could already see that of the Homeric Agamemnon. It is too soon to expect a scientific account of Schliemann's new discoveries at Mycenæ, or a settlement of the many interesting questions which they raise. We can merely report his treasures in his own words and wonder what is coming next. Enough has already been found to justify his enthusiastic despatch to the King of Greece, in which he boasted that there was treasure enough in the hill of Mycenæ to establish a museum of the first rank at Athens. It must be remembered that Schliemann has undertaken these excavations with 125 workmen, solely at his own expense, from pure love of Homer, and the treasure is given without reserve to the Government of Greece.

We have, unfortunately, very few ancient notices of Mycenæ to help us in identifying the tombs and monuments now disclosed. Homer calls the city “golden” (an epithet amply justified by the new explorations), “wide-streeted,” and “well-built.” The scene of the ‘Agamemnon’ and the ‘Chophoræ’ of Æschylus was laid at Argos, probably from political motives; the opening of the ‘Electra’ of Sophocles gives a vivid picture of Mycenæ and other points in the Argolic landscape, but no topographical details, and the ‘Orestes’ of Euripides gives no help. Thucydides tells us that Mycenæ was a small place, but warns us against doubting its ancient power on this account. In the second century A.D., more than a hundred years after Diodorus and Strabo represented the site of the city as desolate—Strabo even affirming that not the least trace of ancient Mycenæ could be found—the traveller Pausanias visited the ruins, and his brief description is the only ancient account which can help us now. He mentions (ii. 16) the remains of the old wall, especially the gateway with “lions standing on it.” He ascribes this wall and that of Tiryns to the Cyclops. He then mentions a fountain named Perseia, and “subterranean chambers of Atreus and his sons, in which their treasures were kept.” “And there is a tomb of Atreus,” he adds, “and also tombs of Agamemnon and of all those who returned with him from Troy, and were murdered by Ægisthus at a banquet.” He says that the tomb of Cassandra was disputed by the Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ, who professed to have the genuine one; but there was a tomb of Agamemnon distinct from this, and one of Eurymedon, his charioteer, and a third in which Teledamus and Pelops, twin sons of Cassandra killed by Ægisthus,

were buried; Ægisthus and Clytemnestra were buried just outside of the walls, that they might not desecrate the burial-place of Agamemnon and those who perished with him.

One of the “subterranean chambers” is, of course, the well-known “treasury of Atreus,” with the adjacent room called by the guides “Agamemnon's tomb.” The common opinion has been that the inner chamber was built for a royal tomb, and the outer and larger one as a place of deposit for treasures. But Pausanias seems to indicate that the tombs were distinct from the treasuries, and this is confirmed by Schliemann. There are two treasuries mentioned by modern travellers besides the one above mentioned; but only their entrances, nearly covered with rubbish, were visible. One of these Schliemann is excavating, but at the last accounts nothing of great value had been found in it. On the other hand, he has excavated five tombs, which evidently had not been disturbed since the time when they were held in veneration as the burial-places of heroes; these contained nearly all the treasures yet discovered. Not to speak now of “a new world of splendid hand-made pottery,” which would be an immense treasure anywhere else, he finds gold cups in great abundance; one “with a pigeon on each handle” (reminding him of “Nestor's cup”); an immense gold *telamon*, richly ornamented; a gold diadem; an enormous vase of pure gold, richly ornamented; 15 bronze swords, with great golden hilts; 200 gold buttons, very large and splendidly engraved, some (at least) ornamenting the hilts of the swords; a large golden mask and an enormous breast-plate of gold; two sceptres, with wonderfully-chiselled crystal handles; while nine silver vases and ten very large vessels of bronze scarcely receive a passing notice. He had “hardly touched” the second tomb when he found “a beautifully-ornamented gold cup and four large bronze vessels.” We hardly dare to quote every allusion to “gold cups” for fear of mentioning some objects twice. References in Schliemann's letters to “a Juno idol, with two horns,” and to a “large, gilded silver cow-head, with two golden horns,” look as if *βοῶπις πότνια* *Ἥρη* might be coming to the aid of Dr. Schliemann's *γδανκῶνις Ἀθήνη*, according to his confident prediction (‘Troy,’ pp. 113, 114).

One of the most remarkable discoveries is that of two human skeletons. Dr. S. writes (November 24): “In the smallest [tomb] I found yesterday the bones of a man and a woman, covered by at least five kilogrammes of pure gold, with the most wonderful archaic impressed ornaments.” Another account speaks of “the body of a man, wonderfully preserved, especially the face. The head was round, the eyes large, and the mouth contained 32 fine teeth.” These bodies were covered with large gold leaves, elaborately ornamented, and many of the gold ornaments above mentioned appear to have been buried with them. Schliemann writes: “There is no end of smaller objects, all of gold, which had been scattered over the richly-embroidered clothes of the royal deceased. For instance, a man with a pigeon on his head, a sea-horse, a lion, a man whose physiognomy resembles the Medusa which Perseus kills on one of the bas-reliefs at Selinus, two warriors fighting, etc.” But the most extraordinary statement is the following: “The bones which I found are like the bones of giants, of extraordinary size, and the teeth very large.” We forbear to comment on this until we get more of the facts and some of the figures; but we cite, in the meantime, two cases which may on one supposition present a parallel. The skeleton which Cimon brought to Athens in 468 B.C. as that of Theseus, and over which the Theseum was built, belonged to “a large body”; and a bronze spear and a sword were found buried by its side. The coffin in which the bones of Orestes were found at Tegea was 10½ feet long, and the hero's body was said to have filled the whole length (Hdt. i. 68). If we are to have Agamemnon's skeleton, let us hope that it may not fall short of that of his son Orestes!

Dr. Schliemann evidently feels confident that he has found the identical tombs which Pausanias describes as those of Agamemnon and his fellow victims. It is very probable that a fair question may arise, whether he has not found tombs which were believed at Mycenæ to be the burial places of these heroes and venerated as such; which is of course entirely distinct from the question of the genuineness of the relics thus piously preserved.

Schliemann's report to the *Times* gives some interesting particulars about the Gate of Lions, the threshold of which he has again brought to light. He thinks that the heads of the two rampant animals were not broken off (as is usually believed), but that they were “most probably of bronze and gilded” and fastened on by bolts. Moreover, he does not think that the creatures were lions at all (although Pausanias calls them so), but “fantastical animals with horns.” Those who visited Mycenæ twenty years ago, when the Lion's Gate was cleared of rubbish so as to expose the

threshold and the stone-paved road leading through it, will be astonished to be now told by Schliemann that "the ruts caused by chariot-wheels, of which all guide-books speak, exist in the imagination of enthusiastic travelers only but not in reality." We are perfectly confident that we saw these venerable ruts at that time, and did not mistake "the fifteen small, straight, parallel furrows, which are cut all along the threshold," for ruts of chariots, as Dr. Schliemann supposes. The gateway is only 10¼ feet wide at the bottom and narrowed at the top, so that every vehicle that passed it must have followed the same track, as in the streets of Pompeii; and the same cause wore deep ruts in the stone in both places. A good view of the gate as it appeared in 1856 may be seen in Felton's edition of Smith's large 'History of Greece,' p. 24.

There can be no question as to the great antiquity of everything of value which is found under the ruins of Mycenæ. Even if we are convinced that the site of the city was occupied by a new settlement after the Argive conquest, we cannot for a moment believe that any of the treasures now brought to light belonged to the new inhabitants. The history of the Homeric Mycenæ was closed when the Argives captured the city in 468 B.C. and scattered the inhabitants. Twelve years before this event Mycenæ had sent eighty men to Thermopylæ to oppose Xerxes, and a year later Mycenæ and Tiryns sent four hundred to Plataea. This patriotism offended the Argives (who tried to be neutral in the Persian war) and proved the destruction of Mycenæ. We can feel certain, therefore, that the treasures now discovered have been buried at least 2,344 years; and we can hardly account for their not being seized by the Argive conquerors and carried to Argos except on the supposition that their existence was unknown to the later generations which inhabited Mycenæ. The latter view is confirmed by Schliemann's statement that the later monuments erected over the tombs in which the principal treasures have been found were built exactly on the spots beneath which "the primitive tombstones had for ages been hidden by the accumulation of rubbish." When, however, Schliemann ascribes the new (?) monuments to the XIIIth century B.C., we must remember that there is as yet no recognized type by which we can identify monuments of that century; if we ever have one, we shall probably be indebted to Schliemann for its discovery. We need no exact date, however, to convince us that such works of art as have now been found could have belonged to no period after the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. And, if we once pass that great historic barrier, however late we may choose to place it, we are landed at once in the wonderland of Achaean civilization which precedes it, where we are free from all the fetters of chronology. Here the Homeric poems and the grim walls of Mycenæ and Tiryns have hitherto been our only guides. Now we are to have works of art to testify to the culture and refinement of that primitive age, as the Cyclopean walls testify to its power. We shall now see the works of art which made possible the description of the shield of Achilles and of the palace of Menelaus at Sparta. How strange to the ears of the Dorian aristocracy of Sparta must have sounded the story of the visit which Telemachus made to their city when it was held by a race then subject and despised, and his astonishment as he beheld the "gleam of bronze and gold and amber and silver and ivory through the echoing halls," with his remark, courteously whispered to Nestor's son, that "the court of Olympian Zeus must be like this"! Equally strange to a Dorian lady was, probably, the description of Helen's silver work-basket, with its rim of gold, which moved on wheels, and of the golden distaff which rested on it. We must not forget, with a view to other works of art which are soon to reach our own shores, that Menelaus explained to his young guest from Ithaca that he had collected many of his treasures during his travels in *Cyprus*, Phœnicia, and Egypt; Helen's work-basket, too, was a present from an Egyptian lady. But the very presence of such works of art, whether imported or native, is proof of taste and refinement such as the Peloponnesus has not seen since the Dorian invaders entered it. Into this Achaean civilization Schliemann is about to give us a most unexpected and most welcome view—a civilization which had passed away before the beginning of authentic Greek history, but was living and real when the Homeric poems were composed.

BALZAC'S CORRESPONDENCE.—III.*

PARIS, December 15, 1876.

WE left Balzac in the year 1846. Between 1841 and 1846 he had written the sixteen volumes of the 'Human Comedy.' It was a miracle, as a good part of his time was spent in what he called the hare's life of a debtor—always occupied with his liquidations, searching through mountains of old acquitted bills, running after friends to get their signatures.

* See *Nation*, Nos. 597, 599.

borrowing from Peter to pay Paul, the prey of usurers, and, it must be confessed also, of his own disorder. Another great man of that period was at that time in similar straits. Balzac speaks of him in an account he gives of a dinner at Madame de Girardin's. At this dinner, given in honor of the famous Countess Hahn-Hahn, were Lamartine and Victor Hugo. "Lamartine," says Balzac, "has been very great during the late session; but, physically, what a destruction! This man, who is only fifty-six, appears to be at least eighty; he is finished; he has only a few years before him; he is consumed by his ambition and devoured by his debts." This account is somewhat exaggerated. I knew and saw Lamartine after 1848; he looked like an old eagle, and on his face you could only see the skeleton lines of beauty; still, he did not look quite "finished."

We may consider this year, 1846, as the apogee of Balzac's literary career, as he was occupied in giving the finishing touches to the 'Cousin Pons' (sometimes called 'Le Parasite,' or the 'Bonhomme Pons,' or the 'Vieux Musicien.') He began that terrible and wonderful book, the 'Cousine Bette,' and he was finishing the 'Paysans,' which is the most profound study ever made of the French rural population. It is affecting to see the sincere admiration he had at times for his own work. Could not Benvenuto Cellini enjoy the sight of one of his wonderful works? Will you forbid our young sculptor, Dubois, to sit before his wonderful *Charity* and look on her with a lover's eye? Can you forbid the skilful book-binder to feel some complacency for the delicate work which has grown day after day under his fingers? We are only shocked when the literary man becomes a Narcissus; we can hardly allow Balzac to write in this style of the 'Cousin Pons': "It is, for me at least, one of those beautiful works of excessive simplicity which contain the whole of the human heart. I am charmed with it." But, if you reflect well, you will cease to be horrified by this language and will almost admire its delightful candor, especially if you notice that this was written to the Countess Hanska, who was already almost his second self. Balzac had this remarkable faculty—he was perfectly objective in his novels; he entirely forgot himself, lost himself in his heroes and heroines, which are so real, so active, so full of life. No wonder if, the work once done, he said to himself: "Why! is this mine? I am charmed with it."

His nervous nature was shown in everything, even in his bric-à-brac: "You cannot imagine to what an extent I am tormented and how painful is the anxiety of my mind when I discover that I have about me something inferior in point of art." He longs for perfection, for absolute beauty in everything, in the domain of imagination as well as in petty material trifles. I may astonish some reader of the 'Contes drolatiques' if I say that Balzac's nature always preserved, in the midst of the corruption of Paris, some traces of rural and provincial purity. "Believe me," he writes to a Russian correspondent who seems to have been, like many Russians, a semi-socialist, "the family is the most beautiful thing in the world, the holiest; as some beetles are blue, so there are some creatures who have noble thoughts, noble sentiments, who are righteous, loyal, whose souls have a thousand brilliant and delicate sides, and who perpetuate these qualities in their race." Balzac does not often speak of politics; he has, however, at times political visions. "The future," he writes in 1846, "does not appear to me rose-colored. I see Italy and Germany agitated; the peace of the world hangs on a thread—the life of Louis Philippe, who is getting old. . . . Italy is preparing to throw off the yoke of Austria. Germany wants her unity, or perhaps only a little more liberty. . . . It must be confessed that the manner in which Louis Philippe administers and governs France makes of her the first power in the world. Just see! nothing with us is factitious: our army is a fine army, we have plenty of money, everything is strong, everything is real. The port of Algiers once finished we have a second Toulon, we advance to the dominion of the Mediterranean. We have Spain and Belgium on our side. This man has done some work, and, if he were ambitious, if he would sing the 'Marseillaise,' he might demolish three empires to his advantage." He adds, a moment afterwards: "Perhaps you are right; perhaps France has less need of glory than of liberty and security; and, as she has obtained these two great blessings, let us hope that she will appreciate and keep the Government to which she owes them." You see how Balzac, with the many ties or instincts which had drawn him at times towards Bonaparte or towards the old régime, with his natural dislike of the Revolution and of the vulgar bourgeoisie, had nevertheless finally settled down into an *Orléanist pur et simple*.

In 1847 Balzac made a journey to Vierzschovnia. His description of the estates of Russian-Poland are very graphic: "This habitation," he says to his sister, "is as large as the Louvre, and the estates are as large as our departments. . . . My greatest desire [his marriage with the Countess

Hanska] is not yet near its accomplishment. Madame Hanska is necessary to her children; she guides them in the complicated administration of these lands. She has given everything to her daughter. I am thankful to know that the happiness of my life is divorced from all interest." The daughter of Madame Hanska was married to a Count Mnischek.

We find no letter of Balzac's on the subject of the Revolution of 1848, and this omission is much to be regretted. All his plans were upset by this great event, and his financial difficulties became greater than ever. He left Paris and returned to Vierzschovnia. He writes from there in September, 1848, to a friend: "What an abyss is Paris to-day!" He had no enthusiasm for the Republic; in January, 1849, he writes: "Things cannot prosper in France as long as there is no well-established government. Louis Napoleon is only a ladder to take us out of the sewer of the Republic." His life in Russia was pleasant; he compares the daughter of Madame Hanska to a "fine pearl," and describes her *con amore*, as he would the heroine of one of his novels. But he was there after all only as a guest; he was constantly annoyed with the difficulties of his position; he could not even easily send money to Paris. "The Emperor has forbidden all exportation of specie from his states. The payments which we make in Paris cost twelve per cent. of the sum, and this is a favorable exception, thanks to the intimacy between the Rothschilds and the Jew house of Berditchef. . . . I am, with our ambassador, the only exception to the order which shuts the frontier to our countrymen. You cannot imagine the immense resources of this vast empire! Russia and England are the two real powers in Europe; but England is factitious, while Russia is positive; she has the great primary matters of all productions."

Madame Hanska might well have hesitated before she resolved to marry Balzac. He tells us himself in a letter that he had lost two front teeth. He had been obliged to borrow six thousand francs from a friend in order to leave Paris for Poland. His buildings, his speculations, had left him nothing but debts. "Madame Hanska," writes Balzac to his own mother, "is here rich, beloved, considered; she spends nothing; she hesitates before going to a place where she sees nothing but trouble, money difficulties, expense, new faces; her children tremble for her." The hand of Madame Hanska had been asked by very high personages in her own country, and she had refused to marry. She had been for years the friend and the confidante of Balzac, but she was evidently afraid to go to France; afraid also of all the relatives of Balzac, whom she did not know. The little circle at Vierzschovnia was composed of Balzac, of Madame Hanska, and of the young Mnischek couple. "The people with whom I live," says Balzac "show me all their letters, the most intimate, business letters and family letters; they have as much respect as affection for me; I am the old man of the family." Balzac fell ill in the beginning of 1849. "I stay here wasted by my malady [April 30, 1849]. Alas! I am paying my tribute to 1848, like so many who have died of it or will die of it. Only my constitution of a bull gives much work to the sovereign of humanity; I am a part of the opposition called life. After my troubles of February, 1848, which destroyed fortune and literature, there declared itself in my heart a hypertrophy. (Keep this a secret to my mother.) I could no longer walk fast nor ascend the slightest eminence. Things have come to such a pass here that I cannot comb my hair without palpitations; and I have twice had attacks of strangulation, with the inability to draw a breath. I cannot ascend a staircase without the greatest precautions."

Alas! the end was now approaching. This excitable, nervous, irritable man had to pay for every emotion and agitation; his life became like a bank-balance which is not renewed, and which is spent pound by pound. The atonement had arrived for the long nights spent in hasty work, under the influence of black coffee; for the gay dinners with literary friends; for the prodigious creative work of twenty years. The brain was still intact, and all the nervous centres performed their offices only too well; but the muscles of the heart were diseased. Poor Balzac thought he was a victim of 1848: "Ah! my poor sister, the disasters of the Revolution are not all known nor finished. This rising of the democracy, Lamartine at the head of it, has done much harm to France." The revolution of 1848 was only the drop which made the bowl overflow. It is impossible to read these two volumes of correspondence without feeling painfully that Balzac's whole life had been, I will not say ill-spent but ill-arranged. The human frame can only bear a limited strain, and Balzac had strained himself too much. He was a sort of intellectual Gargantua, a terrible consumer and a terrible producer—his failings very numerous, his defects deplorable; but on the whole, whoever will go over these curious volumes will, I believe, feel much sympathy for this poor great man. He had excellent points; he was always very fond of his family, of his mother, of his sisters, of their husbands; he did not believe merely in theory in the

great institution "la famille," which he praises in all his novels. He acted after his theory; he was instinctively clannish, unselfish, devoted.

The marriage did not take place before the 1st of March, 1850, at Vierzschovnia; one of the witnesses was the son-in-law of Madame Hanska, who now became Madame Balzac. They had been affianced since 1846 at Strasbourg. They were both infirm; Madame de Balzac had the gout, Balzac had heart-complaint. It is quite clear that Madame de Balzac acted the part of the Sister of Charity; she knew that the days of the great writer were counted, and she undertook, delicate as she was herself, to bring some comfort to him. The correspondence terminates abruptly with a letter to Théophile Gautier, dictated by Balzac, written by his wife, and closing with a few words written in Balzac's own hand: "Je ne puis ni lire ni écrire" (June 20, 1850).

Correspondence.

THE NON-ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In seven weeks the result of the election must be decided, and it seems to be time that public opinion should recognize the facts which are clear, and should answer if possible the question whether the people have elected a President. It is admitted that 184 votes have been given for Mr. Tilden, and that, if the regular certificates from South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida are accepted, and the two undoubted votes from Oregon counted, 184 votes have also been given for Mr. Hayes. To whom has the third and decisive vote from Oregon been given? Not to Mr. Tilden, for the action of the Governor in giving a certificate to a candidate of the minority has been demonstrated to be contrary to the whole weight of authority on the subject. Not to Mr. Hayes, for the action of the two Republican electors in filling the vacancy is contrary to the statutes of the State. These define with singular precision what events create a vacancy in any office; the ineligibility of the person chosen is not one of them; "the decision of a competent tribunal declaring void his election or appointment" is one of them; but no such decision has been given. There is no third elector from Oregon, nor is there such a vacancy as can be filled under the laws of that State. The third vote from Oregon, then, has not been cast. The result is a tie, and there is no election by the colleges.

I assume that the votes of the electors declared to be chosen by the Returning or Canvassing Boards of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida should be counted. The right to reject them is denied on the ground that the right of Congress to count the votes of the electors does not carry with it the right to count the votes by which the electors were chosen. On the other hand, it is maintained that the power to count the votes involves the power to determine fully whether that which is presented as a vote is rightfully a vote or not; and that the power to count, thus understood, being conferred by the Constitution on the Government of the United States, may be regulated by law. But those who hold the latter opinion must admit that there is no existing law regulating the counting of the votes in that sense, that there is no possibility of passing such a law this winter, and that the function of a final court of appeal on a contested election conducted under State laws is not one for which Congress itself is fitted. If Congress has the Constitutional right to reject the vote of a State, its exercise in the present state of the law would be so objectionable that it could be justified only by the necessity of averting that greatest of political evils, a false election to the Presidency. No such necessity exists, if the Oregon case has been correctly stated, since it is made apparent, without going behind the records of the electoral colleges and the statutes of the States, that there is no election at all.

But this is a great question of public right, and it is of the utmost importance that the decision of it should conform not only to law but to justice. Would there be a clear and honest election to the Presidency if the third vote of Oregon could be counted for Mr. Hayes, as the people of Oregon intended it should be? We all know that there would not. We know that in the States of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida the violence and the fear of violence, the fraud and the suspicion of fraud, have been such that no man can tell with certainty to what candidate the votes of those States would in a free and fair election have been given. Intimidation or deception on one side has been met by deception or by the arbitrary and partial decisions of Returning Boards on the other; and the votes which are the result are not votes by which a free and law-respecting people are satisfied to be governed. If we acquiesce in their being counted, it is only because an unguarded spot in the Constitution or the laws makes it

difficult to reject them, and because it is wiser not to undergo the wrench of their rejection when the admission of them would not elect a President. If they are admitted, the President will be elected by the House of Representatives and the Vice-President by the Senate, bodies which will at least choose without fraud, without fear, and without question.

Neither party can admit nor ought to admit that the candidate of the other is elected; and if, by an assumption of power, one or the other branch of Congress declares Mr. Hayes or Mr. Tilden chosen by the electors, we shall have for four years a discredited administration supported by a dishonored party and opposed by men who will believe, not that they have been defeated, but that they have been defrauded. Such a state of things will probably not lead to a civil war, but it will put a strain upon our system of government greater perhaps than that caused by the Rebellion.

A REPUBLICAN ELECTOR.

DECEMBER 26, 1876.

SUBMISSION TO HAYES'S INAUGURATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been greatly surprised at the position taken by you in the article on "The Political Situation" in your late issue, which I received yesterday. You say "there is only one course open to us in this matter, and that is to let the States manage their own elections and accept the result as they give it." So far I agree with you cordially. As an old Boston Democrat, as a supporter of State rights, and as a War Democrat I could not do otherwise. But I desire to ask if you really believe that this course has been adopted in the present year in any of the States of Florida, Louisiana, or South Carolina? Of course I know what your answer must be. It is notorious that the votes of every one of these States have been largely influenced by Federal interference, and that this interference has involved the use of military power under circumstances not warranted by law.

In what follows I confine myself to Louisiana in order to narrow the field of discussion. I am quite aware that there are those who believe that military intervention in Louisiana was necessary to prevent intimidation and violence on the election day as well as during the canvass. I have my own opinion on that head. I believe that the presence of the military forces of the United States in Louisiana in 1872, in 1874, and in 1876 has done far more harm than good; that there has been far more intimidation and violence practised there in the interests of the Republicans than of the Democrats; and that the only way of curing the evils of misgovernment there is to remit the State to the exercise and the responsibility of its autonomy. But *all this* is beside the question. What I say is that it is a mockery to talk about the proper course being to let the States manage their own affairs and for the rest of the country to accept the result of their action, when the matter of fact is that a wholly illegal and usurping Board and Governor (denounced as such by Republicans themselves in 1875, and continued in the offices they had usurped through Federal aid by a wretched Congressional compromise as unprincipled as the original usurpation) have audaciously, and with every circumstance of aggravation which can add indecency to outrage, reversed and falsified the result of the late popular election in Louisiana. It is no answer to say that these criminals are State officials after all, and the wrong I condemn is the result of State action. It would be quite as just to say that a satrap sent down from Constantinople to dragoon and plunder a province was a provincial officer. The criminals I denounce were clothed in the first instance with the insignia of power through Federal interference, and were retained in their place and privileged mischief by a continued exercise of that interference. These things are too recent and too deeply burnt into our memories to be forgotten. It follows that to permit these agents to reverse the decision of the people of Louisiana at the polls, and to substitute for it the award of the Returning Board, is not to leave the determination of the vote of a State to the government of that State, but to subvert it by an appalling violation of Constitutional duty by the Federal Executive.

If it be asked if I am contending for the license of intimidation and violence on the part of ex-rebels to influence the vote of any State, my answer is (waiving a valid objection to the form of a question which assumes as existing what has a place only in the reckless and, I think, *consciously dishonest* assertions of certain politicians) that I contend for no such thing, and consider no vote, influenced by such means, of any legal validity. So far as intimidation and violence determine what is called an election, they render it a nullity. There can be no choice unless there is freedom to choose, and where this freedom is not, the declared result is a nullity. If, as seems to be the case in respect to Presidential electors, no new submission of the matter to the people under better conditions is possible, it follows that a State the election in which had not been fairly con-

ducted should lose its vote in determining a matter of national concern. But this is entirely different from substituting for that vote such a return as the usurping Board may make; and if to this atrocity be added the insult of defending this substitution on the ground that to impeach it will be an affront to State rights, I think it will be unnecessary hereafter to refer to other lands and other times to illustrate the carrying into successful practice of the most profligate political attempts, and of Constitutional methods trampled under the foot of military violence.

You go on to say: "Of course all this means that the wisest course for the Democrats and everybody else is to allow Hayes to take the Presidency quietly and without dispute on the 4th of March next." This means, that whereas the fraudulent returns made by this illegal and usurping Board have an outward semblance of regularity, and because an unscrupulous military President stands ready to back the fraud with the army, the wisest—that is, the safest—course for an unarmed people is to submit quietly to this outrage. Do you not perceive how clearly your argument suggests an extension of the principle of submission? I take it no unbiassed and candid man believes that any evidence exists that Hayes is really the President-elect. At any rate, I believe that a majority of candid Republicans consider such evidence to be lamentably weak. Nevertheless, the people are advised, in view of certain unpleasant contingencies, to accept him as their President—such being upon the whole the safest and smoothest course. This advice has clear reference to the probability of the employment of military force as the alternative of submission; and this employment can only come by the usurpation of a power not given by law to the Executive. If this advice be sound, why will it not also be wise and prudent to submit if, in case of the threatened inauguration of a President not elected by the people, we are confronted with the indefinite continuance in office of a President whose term has expired? Prudential considerations may be as strongly invoked in the latter as in the former case; the principles of constitutional government will not be more severely shocked by the one than by the other of these outrages. As to the personal choice between Hayes and Grant, I do not think it is worth much. Besides that Hayes thus inaugurated will be under the worst possible influences (as will presently be shown), I derive small comfort from your belief in his political integrity. Pardon me if I remember that in 1872 you were of opinion that Grant must necessarily make a much better President in his second than in his first term; and if, reflecting on your disappointment in this opinion, I fear you are equally exposed to refutation now, when you say "there is every reason to believe that he [Hayes] will make a good President."

But I go much further. It is not a question of Hayes's personal qualifications. For the sake of argument I will concede him to possess every characteristic in which the canvass lately ended proves him to be deficient. Let him be as pure and as high-minded as Washington—I say that I would by every means in my power resist the inauguration of Washington, if his right to be inaugurated were no better than that of Hayes; and this simply for the reason that such an inauguration would be the overthrow of the government established in 1788. This overthrow would not be less complete because of our hugging forms and shutting our eyes to substance. This would only render the ruin more thorough and more hopeless. If Grant should perpetuate his tenure of office by a *coup d'état* after the fashion of Louis Napoleon in 1851, and, having shot down by the armed force commanded by some of his lieutenants all who offer Constitutional opposition to his design, should establish his dynasty, it would be impossible for any one, however dull, to imagine that a revolution had not been accomplished by military means. The unequivocal character of the act would be full of warning, and, if acquiesced in, no one could doubt respecting the radical nature of the change in our form of government. If Hayes be inaugurated, many will fail to perceive this. But as surely as I breathe do I believe that if we quietly acquiesce in the inauguration of a man as President whose only title to such inauguration is a fraud which should cover and blast with infamy all the contrivers of it, an end will have come to all that is solid and valuable in our institutions. You say in your late article "that we shall probably have seen the last of orderly and decisive elections" in a contingency you name. In the event I have supposed, I believe it will be certain that we shall have seen "the last of any appeal in good faith to the popular will. No one, I think, requires to be told that the spread of political profligacy since 1856 has been enormous. I will not speak of the causes of this demoralization. Its existence can hardly be called in question; as little can we deny the prominence at this day in public affairs of political sharpers and knaves who, twenty years ago, would have been thrust into obscurity and kept in hiding by any political party in whose behalf they showed a willingness to do their deeds of shame. The merest instincts of self-preservation, irrespective of any higher motive

would have led either of the old parties to act thus. Association with such scoundrels, and the suspicion of profiting by their iniquity, would have been fatal to either Whigs or Democrats. But these unclean things hold an actual if not an openly-recognized place in both parties of the present day. The aim of every friend of his country is to secure their banishment and condemnation. Unless this is accomplished, no prophet is needed to predict our future. But the accomplishment of an end so nefarious as the inauguration by military violence, or the dread of military violence, of a man declared to be elected by a vile fraud, will necessarily give a brevet of honor to all concerned in the scheme; and, what is more, the concocters and promoters of the fraud will be the masters of the man thus inaugurated—masters of him, body and soul. It would have been discouraging enough to any reformer voting for Hayes to see the frightful danger of his coming, if elected by an incontestable legal majority and under regular forms, under the influence of such men as really conducted the canvass in his name; but it would have been possible under such circumstances, for Hayes to have honestly been unable to see that he was elected by means which ought to make him ashamed of his elevation, and he could have been inaugurated without doing homage to crime. If he should be inaugurated now, such an escape is impossible, and the foulest criminals in this plot will necessarily be the controlling power in the Hayes Administration. Dishonesty, forgery, and usurpation without bounds will be rendered as respectable as success and power can make them. Does any one believe that after this anything of which Americans can be proud will remain; that the first year of the second century of our national existence will not witness the destruction, amidst the derision of the world, of all for which the men of the first century of that existence strove and died? ***

ST. LOUIS, December 17, 1876.

IS THERE NO ALTERNATIVE?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your leading article of this week, on "The Political Situation" goes far to deepen the grave anxiety roused by recent events, and even to breed something like despair. You tell us we must not look to Congress to settle this disputed election, since to admit its power to go behind the returns, or to convert it into a National Returning Board, would be to preclude the decisiveness of any close election, to make popular election a farce, and confess it a failure. You conclude that there is nothing to be done but to accept the vote returned according to the forms of law, and "inaugurate Hayes in the interest of peace and quiet and for the better preservation of constitutional forms"; adding, "any other course is Mexican." All sensible people must agree with you that "nothing but chaos" would result from giving Congress the counting of the electoral vote (although at this juncture it is hard to give up the hope of help from the House), and they must also agree with you that no temporary evil can work such injury to a people as does the habit of resorting to revolution for a remedy. But it seems to me that submission to a recognized political wrong for the sake of peace and the preservation of constitutional forms is a course fraught with its own dangers. No intelligent man will underestimate the importance of popular respect for the forms of law, but there is one thing yet more sacred, and that is the spirit of the law which the form enshrines. Never were constitutional forms and legal precedents treated with more deference than by Augustus Cæsar, who invented despotism under republican forms. The difference in political character between the English and French does not come from the latter's disregard of the forms of law. It is rather that the English respect the form for the sake of the spirit, while the French respect the form for its own sake. Again, no sane man will lightly risk the disturbance of peace and civil order, but there come times when we must ask ourselves whether order may not be too dearly purchased. It was in the interest of peace and order that the ring of desperate adventurers who set up the second French Empire claimed and received the support of the people. It is a mistake to suppose that anarchy is avoided by submission to despotism, for these are but opposite resultants of the same thing, incapacity of self-government, and history shows that either one inevitably generates the other. I do not mean to intimate that Cæsarism is an actual danger, but the prospect of it as a possible danger should remind us that vigilance is the only safeguard of liberty, and that the motto of those who would check abuse of power must be *obsta principiis*. We have not lost the right to call ourselves a free people, but readers of the *Nation* have a fair understanding of the actual facts in the case against the Administration party, and there is no disguising that they are serious and terrible facts.

Practically the situation is this: One candidate has received a majority

of the popular vote, and is believed by a majority of the people to have been Constitutionally elected as well; the other is declared elected on the face of the official returns and in accordance with the forms of law. From one side we hear faint threatenings of armed resistance, and from the other the determination to use all the force of the Government to inaugurate the President-elect. The *Nation* counsels submission to the forms of law, and a postponement of the "punishment" the Administration merits until 1880, when it may be driven from power; although it may be said that present failure to prevent its counting itself in is not the surest ground of hope for future success in the attempt. Certainly, armed resistance would be a folly and a crime, and perhaps nothing would better please the bold and clever rogues who control the Republican party than to see their opponents put themselves so openly in the wrong. But is there no alternative but submission? It seems to me that on their ability to find an alternative is staked the capacity of the American people for self-government. Such a crisis demands a compromise—a division of the offices, a new election, or some other measure that will satisfy all, or at least outrage none. As a simple method to secure this needed compromise, it was proposed by the *Nation* to revive the Constitutional independence of the electors—a proposition admirably wise and eminently patriotic. It roused a howl of terrified execration from the party press, which suddenly discovered that the "forms of law" were only deserving of respect when they made for the party's interest. This method failing, how shall the majority of the people force the Administration leaders to yield up some part of their stolen powers, to consent to a new election, or come in some way to terms of a satisfactory settlement? Can it not be accomplished by the force of concentrated public opinion? Will not the expression of a fixed determination on the part of the people to have this disputed election settled by some compromise acceptable to all avail to secure such settlement? We have recently seen the English Ministry, after almost committing itself to support of the Turks, forced to recall its words and retract its measures before a general expression of public opinion adverse to its policy. A jealousy of all encroachment on substantial rights and a sturdy resolution to maintain them have been the salt of English freedom. This spirit is the root of our own origin as a nation, but there is reason to believe that Americans have lost something of their inherited characteristics, and have almost begun to show that easy going tolerance of wrong which marks the Latin races. An Englishman will passionately resist small impositions; an American will shrug his shoulders and submit. How long would the London public endure the horrors of our overcrowded horse-cars? These are trifles; but it is to be feared that the same disposition which shows itself in trifles will be found to rule in larger matters. Still, it is fair to presume that public spirit is not dead, but sleeping. After a sufficient bleeding of the pocket, the Tweed Ring was broken up; and if the Independent leaders who supported Mr. Bristow at Cincinnati would play the part of Gladstone and Bright, and go before the people with the story of a greater crime than the murders in Bulgaria, perhaps a sentiment might be evoked as powerful as that which arose in England, and a result reached less unsatisfactory than acceptance of the "bedeviled Southern figures." Is not the attempt worth making?

F. A. HENRY.

STAMFORD, CONN., Dec. 16, 1876.

OUGHT CONGRESS TO REVISE THE COUNT?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The objections to a revision of the electoral count by Congress are undoubtedly very serious. It appears, however, that in such a revision lies the only possibility of rectifying the frauds of the Southern Returning Boards. The practical difficulty of unseating a President by a writ of *quo warranto* would be, it seems to me, insurmountable. As the only alternative to accepting a fraudulent perversion of the popular verdict, a rectification by Congress, however undesirable in itself, ought not to be lightly rejected. The real question is, Which is the greater evil, the precedent of allowing State authorities to tamper with the election returns, or the precedent of allowing Congress to set aside the decision of the State canvassers?

Suppose we accept the former of these, as we shall do by admitting that Congress cannot go back of the Returning Boards' decisions. We then allow, in the case of Louisiana, an extreme case of usurpation and fraud to stand as a precedent for future imitation. The Louisiana managers first made their own laws, and went to a dangerous length in giving "judicial" powers to the Board; then they had the appointment of all the officials under their own laws; then they openly violated the laws they had themselves made, by refusing to give both parties a representation on the Board; then, in secret session, with every circumstance adding presumption of

fraudulent intent, they absolutely reversed the decision indicated by the votes cast at a peaceful election and with the argest vote ever given in the State. By this operation they gave themselves a new lease of the local offices, and decided (if the nation sanctions their act) the Presidency of the United States. Consider the boundless encouragement this offers to the Kelloggs and Packards of the future. You think the "carpet-bag" order of things is about over, and that with it this danger will pass. But even if the carpet-baggers are near their end (and certainly we seem to be giving them every chance to hold on longer), consider that in the West we are cutting out new States with dangerous rapidity at the best; that New Mexico, for instance, will offer the finest possible field for our future Kelloggs and Chamberlains; and that, in short, we must for a long time bear the burden, in many parts of the country, of a large debased population, and of course rogues to use it. In view of this can we afford to let such stupendous success of knavery as Louisiana offers stand as a precedent?

Take now the other alternative, that the two Houses of Congress go back of the Board's decision, and, if amply justified by the evidence, recognize another set of electors. It would be the exercise of unusual and dangerous power. It would be capable of abuse as a precedent. Yet it seems to me a far less dangerous precedent than to let the Louisiana fraud go unredressed. It would be recognized as an unusual act under extraordinary circumstances. No Congress would dare to tamper with the results of an ordinary election. Congress acts always under the immediate and close scrutiny of the whole people. Its members have a national standing to maintain. It is incomparably a more weighty and responsible body than the Returning Board of a State like Louisiana (or New Mexico); therefore on the whole it is safer to trust it occasionally with extraordinary powers. There must be one real choice; shall we allow a somewhat indefinite and dangerous power to rest with the State authorities or with Congress? Is there more danger that hereafter some "Returning Board" may again cheat the nation, or that the United States Senate or House will cheat it? To me it seems safer to trust Congress.

One point is important: if it were proposed that a Democratic House and Democratic Senate should unite in the contemplated action, it would be a far more dangerous step than what is now proposed—viz., an act only possible by the uniting of a Republican minority in the Senate with the Democratic Senators. We must look to the moral effect as well as to technicalities. Suppose a few Senators like Mr. Conkling and Mr. Edmunds were to have the independence and courage to unite with their political opponents—to weigh fairly the evidence, and to set aside any electoral votes to which Mr. Hayes is not justly entitled; would not the effect of such action, as a precedent, be far less to encourage Congress to reckless interference than to establish in any and every quarter a scrupulous respect for fair action?

It may seem that any such course on the part of a Republican minority in the Senate is altogether hopeless. But let it be remembered that only eight years ago a Republican minority in the Senate *did* oppose their party associates, and by their opposition avert perhaps the most imminent political danger, except the present, that has occurred since the war. When our political history is calmly written, a high place will be given to the seven Republican Senators whose votes defeated the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The same spirit may show itself again.

If there be some doubt as to which course offers less dangers for the future, there can, I think, be no question as to the immense and certain present evil of accepting a fraudulently-chosen President without exhausting every peaceable means of redress. It is impossible to estimate the shock to popular confidence in our institutions, the lowering of the public *morale*, that would be occasioned by the spectacle of a President installed in defiance of the clearly-expressed choice of the people. Mr. Hayes's previous good character aggravates the immoral effect of the procedure. The advice to trust to the popular sense of justice and popular respect for law and order is good as against violence; but it will fast lose its power even to restrain from violence if it is felt that there is no way of honestly getting the people's decision. You are certainly right in saying that the present emergency offers no excuse for civil war or talk of civil war; but it seems to me the emergency demands that Congress, and not the Louisiana Returning Board, should act as final arbiter in the Presidential dispute.

G. S. M.

NEW YORK, Dec. 21, 1876.

THE POWER OF CONGRESS.

[A lawyer of high standing writes:]

Nothing which I have seen deals with the Presidential question (*i.e.*, the power of Congress) so fully, carefully, and judicially as the article by ex-

Chief-Justice Swan of Ohio. He was in his day a thorough judge, upright, painstaking, and judicial-minded. His article I think a fine instance of judicial demonstration; and his conclusion, drawn from internal evidences, agrees with the *Nation's* from the historic. Thinking that this may help you to keep right (you have gone exactly right so far), I have borrowed a copy and enclose it.

I note that generally in this discussion people confuse "limited jurisdiction" with "ministerial function." An officer may have more than ministerial functions and yet his judgment be limited to a very narrow field of discretion. Thus Congress may exercise judicial discretion as to the authenticity and regularity of the returns, and the political existence of the State governments which made them, but cannot overlap the State discretion and say that the State ought to have determined the appointment in some other way. Lawyers will understand the distinction by analogy—viz., a superior court at common law could bring up the proceedings of an inferior court by *certiorari*, but could not re-examine them upon the merits. All that it could do was to ascertain that the court below had legal authority to determine the case; it could not determine the case differently, nor tell the court below how it ought to decide on facts within its jurisdiction.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 1876.

[Judge Swan's argument is that the mode of electing electors is vested by the Constitution exclusively in the States; that an act of Congress designates the manner in which the electors shall be accredited, viz., by a certificate furnished by "the Executive of each State;" that this certificate is the only proof required by Congress of an elector's qualifications; that whether the phrase of the Constitution, "the vote shall then be counted," means that they shall be counted by the President of the Senate, or by Congress, the meaning of the words can in neither case be "enlarged or limited." To "count" a vote is to ascertain by enumeration who has the majority of votes already cast. "The object of the count is to ascertain the majority, not to revise, contest, or reject votes, or to convert the person or persons whose duty it is to count into a tribunal to contest the election of an elector, and thus disfranchise a State." But the certificates of the governors and electors must be in the form prescribed by law, and may therefore be made the subject of scrutiny. Judge Swan then takes exactly the same ground which the *Nation* has taken as to the inexpediency and danger of allowing Congress to go behind the State certificates so as to see whether the election was pure and well conducted, and points out that such a process is clearly revolutionary, and would probably end in the majority in Congress always "counting in" its own candidate. He then takes up the case of Louisiana; shows that the appointment of electors, by the law of that State, is not left to the popular vote, pure and simple, but to the popular vote as sifted and purified or doctored or bedeviled—which you please—by the Returning Board. This may be right or wrong, wise or foolish, but it is the *law* of the State, and he points out the inconsistency of those who, while denouncing the committal of such powers to the Returning Board of Louisiana, are ready to convert Congress into a Returning Board of the same kind. But he does not notice the point raised by Judge Trumbull and his associates, that the Returning Board of Louisiana is not authorized by the State law to canvass the vote for electors at all, and that this duty is committed to other persons. This point would, however, under Judge Swan's argument, be a proper subject of scrutiny by Congress, as affecting the validity of the certificates of the Governor and electors, which, "if found not in accordance with the law, may be rejected as invalid and void."—ED. NATION.]

THE OPEN BALLOT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A communication in your last number calls attention to the serious danger which threatens our institutions from the loss of popular faith in the purity of the ballot-box. The remedy suggested for this is open voting, a register being kept showing the vote of every citizen, by which the accuracy of returns can be verified.

No thinking man can question the necessity of some change if we are to expect a continuance of the readiness with which a defeated party submits to the result of an election, and without which no government founded on suffrage could exist for a single generation. Allow me, therefore, to call the attention of your readers to the provision on the subject in the new constitution of Pennsylvania, which seems to me well adapted to remove at least some of the evils to which your correspondent adverts :

"All elections by the citizens shall be by ballot. Every ballot voted shall be numbered in the order in which it shall be received, and the number recorded by the election officers on the list of voters, opposite the name of the elector who presents the ballot. Any elector may write his name upon his ticket, or cause the same to be written thereon and attested by a citizen of the district. The election officers shall be sworn or affirmed not to disclose how any elector shall have voted unless required to do so as witnesses in a judicial proceeding."—Art. viii. sec. 4.

The subject was one earnestly discussed in the Constitutional Convention, where it was generally admitted that the secret ballot had failed of its purpose. There is a certain amount of fetishism, however, connected with the idea of secrecy in voting which rendered many delegates doubtful whether the ratification of the Constitution by the people might not be imperilled by a radical change, and the above provision was adopted as one which combined protection for the timid voter with facility for verifying returns ; and I think results have shown the practical wisdom of the conclusion adopted. Where a number of candidates are to be voted for, a register of the votes would be a physical impossibility, unless every citizen was obliged to vote a "straight ticket," for "scratching" and "stickers" would render a record too complicated to be correctly kept in the hurry of an election day. Certain it is that under the existing Pennsylvania system frauds can be much more readily detected and corrected than formerly, and thus there is some check upon their perpetration ; but "personation," "fraudulent assessments," and "repeating" are evils which no open ballot can cure. The Plaquemine frauds to which your correspondent alludes were of this nature, and the system is, I suppose, as old as the nation itself.

This leads me to what I regard as the most important consideration for the thoughtful citizen who seeks a remedy for the diseases of our body politic. Constitutions and laws are excellent things in their way, and some are undoubtedly better than others, but the best are little more than waste paper unless their operation is based upon public virtue and intelligence. No election laws, however perfect, can confer a title to respect upon the political opinions expressed by the voters of the slums of New York or the plantations of Mississippi ; nor will the provisions, however stringent, of such laws prevent false voting and cooked returns so long as public opinion condones successful fraud and looks upon tampering with elections as a clever joke, or at least as a venial error. To render the verdict of the ballot-box worthy of respect we must train and educate the ignorant voter, and we must inspire the educated citizen with a higher ideal of public morality. So long as "Governor" Kellogg and "Governor" Grover are conspicuous products of our civilization, changes in our election laws can be but insufficient palliatives.—Very respectfully,

H. C. L.

PHILADELPHIA, December 25, 1876.

IS IT THE BALLOT ?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The letter of Dr. Leonard Bacon seems to have given a fresh impulse to the outcry against that chronic grievance, a too extended suffrage. Apart from the difficulty of restriction it is worth enquiring how far our troubles are owing to that cause. The evils of elections should be divided into two parts. The first may be called subjective—that is, deliberate corruption or intentional perversity on the part of voters. We will admit that this cannot be helped, and yet I think that a study of the history of English elections will not establish such a vast superiority on the side of restricted suffrage. The other evil, which may be called objective, consists in "repeating," in tampering with check-lists, in dishonest counting, and in evasions of laws such as that in Massachusetts requiring all voters to read and write, which is practically of very little value. Now, this last is purely a question of administration. I suppose nobody will deny that if there were some authority strong and impartial enough there would be no difficulty in having an absolutely correct registration, in seeing that every legal voter was allowed to exercise his right once and once only, and that no one else voted at all, and, when the election was over, in declaring the result promptly and in actual accordance with the facts. But all that is the work of responsible executive power, and such power is utterly unknown among us. Whether an election is for city offices, for a President of the United States,

or under the auspices of the Louisiana Returning Board, it is the same story. A legislative or party majority fills the executive offices with its own creatures and holds them in tight and dumb subjection, makes laws to suit itself, and provides for their execution in the manner which suits its own interest, entrusting all details to its own committees or agents. Elections become, therefore, not only in spirit but in detail a struggle between the two parties, in which all expedients are admissible, thus creating the "Mexicanization" which you so forcibly describe. It is impossible that the judicial power can exercise any permanent restraint on such a process. That power can do nothing unless backed by the executive, and if the latter falls under party control the courts will soon become impotent if not corrupt.

As to the "subjective" element, the corruption of voters, I believe the complaints in England are quite as well grounded as here, and it is to be noted that the ballot has been resorted to in the hope of curing these very evils in open voting, but there is not, so far as my experience goes, the slightest difficulty in the objective portion. And the reason is that the machinery of elections is conducted by a publicly responsible executive power. The admission of Cabinet officers to Congress is not a "pill against an earthquake," but a first step towards the independence and responsibility of the executive, which will be bitterly opposed by legislative and party interests, but which if it is ever carried will furnish an example for the States and cities, which it is to be hoped will not be altogether unfruitful.

G. B.

BOSTON, December 22, 1876.

HURON AND PEMBINA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : There is not very much to be said against the name "Huron" for a new Territory, though its selection is but a questionable "tribute to the aborigines" ; but I trust that the derivation of Pembina from *pain uni* will not make its way, by the help of the *Nation*, from the Senate Chamber to school-books and gazetteers. The name is perfectly harmless, without the slightest taint of "Popish significance." It comes from the Chippeway and Cree name for the high-bush cranberry, *nipimind* (and *nebeninah*), literally, 'water-berries.' The French of Canada corrupted this to *Peminé*, and the voyageurs and trappers made it *Pembina*, and gave it to two or three streams and lakes where they found the berries plentiful.

A good deal of ingenuity has been wasted in inventing French etymologies for Indian names. The northern Indians use the dried leaves of the bear-berry, which the Chippeways call *sagacomine*—i.e., 'ground berry'—to mix with their tobacco for smoking. Sir John Richardson was made to believe that, "on account of the Hudson's Bay officers carrying it in bags for a like use, the voyageurs gave it the appellation of *sac-a-commis*." A curious etymology of this sort is one which has been found for the river *Quinchien*, a point at which it joins Ottawa River, near the Long Saut. The name is Algonkin, and properly belongs to the "long rapids"—*Quinechouan*, Champlain wrote it ; but the Abbé Ferland informs us that it is said to have been given in memory of the first company of settlers at this point, fifteen Frenchmen, who, because they were always quarrelling, were called by their countrymen and neighbors "*les quinze chiens*."

The French have, on the whole, dealt more mercifully than the English with Indian names. They have mutilated, but without mangling. A Frenchman would not have resolved *Cuppaug*—which means 'a harbor'—into "Cape Poge," or *Potopaco* into "Port Tobacco." "A tale of love in *Acadie*, home of the happy," flows more smoothly than would be possible for any tale of love in *Quoddy*. The French softened one name and the English roughened the other, cut of the same two syllables of the Abnaki original.

As for *Huron*, there is no evidence that the name is Indian, even by derivation. Father Lalemant, in the Relation for 1639, and Charlevoix assure us that it is *French*. The *Ouendate*, as the Hurons called themselves—the name is now written Wyandot—had strange fashions of wearing their hair ; some cut it short on one side and let it hang in long locks on the other, others trimmed it to a bristling crest, from forehead to crown. When the French saw them for the first time, some soldier or sailor, as the story goes, cried out, "*Quelles hures !*"—"what beastly heads !"—and the savages soon got the nickname of *Hurons*. I am not aware that the truth of this story has been questioned, but I confess that I do not believe a word of it. It is too much like the *quinze chiens* and *pain béni*. *Ron* or *rouin*, as a termination, means 'people' or 'nation' ; and *Hou-ron* or *Hou-ronon* may be only another form of *Ouendat* or (as Sagard gives it) *E-ti-*

andute—in which *andute* probably means 'towns' or 'villages.' The name, however, is of questionable origin, at best. The genuine one would be unexceptionable. Why not *Wyandot* or *Wyandota*? J. H. T.

HARTFORD, CONN., Dec. 30, 1876.

Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. have in press a new novel by Mrs. Alexander, called 'The Heritage of Langdale.' They also announce that they will reprint Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace's book on Russia, concerning which we lately quoted Mr. Ralston's high praise in advance of its appearance in England.—The latest issue of the *American Library Journal* is a double number (Nos. 2 and 3), bearing date November 30. It contains a full report of the papers read at the October Conference in Philadelphia, and of the discussions.—While our notice (*Nation*, Dec. 21, 1876) of Mr. F. B. Meek's great work on palæontology was in press the author died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 20, of disease of the lungs, against which he had struggled for several years. His funeral was held at the Smithsonian Institution, and was attended by most of the scientists of the city. Prof. Henry read a brief address, reviewing the character and the labors of a specialist who can scarcely be said to have been personally known beyond a very small circle, though his name has weight in every scientific centre of the world.

—The Castellani collection is being arranged for exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum in this city, and a determined effort will be made to purchase at least the majoliche. This collection is not held by its owner as so absolutely homogeneous as was apprehended; it has always consisted of the two cabinets, antique and renaissance. It will be an enormous gain to our Museum to possess the ceramic part, though the ancient gems, as connected with the newly-bought Cesnola jewelry, would seem a vast acquisition, and the beautiful marbles, and, indeed, every division of the treasure, would be most desirable. An exhibition of the whole collection will be arranged, and the proceeds divided into two equal shares; that part retained by the Museum will be applied to the purchase, after deducting expenses; while the exhibitor's share will be dedicated, with singular liberality, to the same object by Signor Castellani himself, who claims the honor of setting down his name as first contributor. This generous action, amounting to a handsome discount on the original demand, reduces still further a price which was never dear, and lays America under the obligation of a concession such as was offered to no other nation when the objects were previously tendered for purchase. The unpacking was begun on Monday, and will occupy about three weeks; the exhibition will be held in the room just vacated by Mr. Taylor Johnston's paintings, the former conservatory of the building. We hope it will stimulate the liberality of those able to be contributors. Let us note that the action of the Philadelphia Academy, in letting this unparalleled collection slip past it, while paying an enormous sum for Makart's "Catherine Cornaro," excites the comments of the judicious.

—The *American Naturalist* begins its eleventh year hopefully. Its first want, up to a year ago, was that of a publisher, and this H. O. Houghton & Co. have supplied with such good results that the existence of this useful magazine seems to be assured. It ought to live and prosper, if this January number is a fair sample, for the articles are both good and readable. But why should seven pages of valuable space be given to a report of the proceedings of scientific societies, diluted with verbiage and insignificant matters, when all that is important might be condensed into a single page? The publishers announce a new crayon portrait of Agassiz, to be specially furnished to the *Naturalist's* subscribers.

—The *Galaxy* for January contains an article on reading Shakspeare by Mr. Richard Grant White, in which, in the course of some remarks upon that obsolete or obsolescent part of the theatre known as the pit, he says (the italics are our own):

"The pit was then a real pit, and its floor was then the bare earth. There were no benches. It was so in the French theatre until a much later period. Hence the French name *parterre* for the pit—*par terre*, upon the ground. The name *parquet* which is given to that part of a theatre in America is not French, and is no word at all, but a miserable affected nonentity of sound."

A correspondent writes to us to request Mr. White to "look in 'Worcester's Dictionary,'" where may be found the following: "PARQUET. An enclosure in a theatre between the orchestra and the pit; a name now commonly ap-

plied to the whole lower floor of a theatre behind the orchestra." Webster says: "PARQUET. A body of seats on the floor of a music hall or theatre nearest the orchestra." He then goes on to suggest that the admission of this word in an American dictionary may be *prima-facie* evidence for Mr. White that it is a bad one, and therefore waives this point, and proceeds to meet the assertion that it is "not French, and is not a word at all" by producing Littré, who says, *s. v.*: "PARQUET. 8. Ancien terme de théâtre. Partie d'une salle de spectacle entre l'orchestre des musiciens et le parterre; on dit aujourd'hui l'orchestre." Our correspondent continues: "Thus it appears that the French formerly used the term *parquet* just as we use it now. The word *parquet* is French, and is a word, and is not 'a miserable affected nonentity of sound,'" and wishes to know whether we must give up its use in a particular sense merely because the French have done so. He says further:

"Mr. White is also mistaken in his application of the word *parterre*. The English pit formerly included the whole ground floor. The French *parterre*, I believe, never included the whole floor, but the space now occupied by the *fautuils d'orchestre* was called the *parquet*, and the *parterre* was the space behind these, a portion of which in modern French theatres is taken up with boxes. The French *parterre* and English pit are now nearly but not quite synonymous. On this point I am open to refutation."

We are inclined to think that this controversy (so far as it regards the word *parquet*) turns on what Mr. White would call a case of "heterophemy," and that while he wrote "*parquet*" he *thought* "*parquette*," the latter being the form, unless we are greatly mistaken, in common use in the theatres in this country (if it has not been driven out by "orchestra chairs"), and beyond a doubt "no word at all" in French or any other language. That Mr. White can have *thought* "*parquet*" when he was using this strong language seems improbable, as the word is common enough, and has, according to Littré, no less than thirteen distinct uses. As a further opportunity for escape from this linguistic scrape, which every one must feel called upon in the interest of Christian harmony to further as far as possible, we may suggest that all slips or mistakes in the current number of the *Galaxy* may be laid to the proof-reader, who seems, if we may judge by some of the pages before us, to be an abandoned heterophemist.

—A reasonable disappointment may be felt that the nineteenth volume of *Lippincott's Magazine* shows the proprietors still unable to make all the illustrations as original as the matter. No one will complain of the quality of those which serve Mr. Bruce's purpose in writing on volcanoes ("Our Floor of Fire"), but their foreign brand is suggestive of cram and hack-work in the text, as if the pictures produced the article and not the article the pictures. The same is true in an even greater degree of Mr. Edward King's paper on Spain, which has much inferior illustrations, though in this case the writer gives us of his actual experience as a traveller. It is this which deprives the contributions to *Lippincott's* of the air of spontaneity we are accustomed to in those of its rivals, and it raises the question whether it would be loss or gain for this magazine to dispense with illustrations altogether. However, we are not finding especial fault with the January number, which is readable and instructive, if somewhat uneven. Lady Barker's twelfth letter from South Africa is one of her best, and makes one regret that it is also the last of the series. The author of 'The New Timothy' tells a trifling love-story, "Nature Abhors a Vacuum," in which nothing is so good as the few strokes by which Galveston is characterized. Decidedly the best paper is "Edward Strahan's" "Phidias and his Predecessors," apparently a lecture designed for delivery with the aid of casts and photographs. Dr. Schliemann's latest discoveries of Greek idols make some of E. S.'s generalizations as to what the Greeks took from Eastern art and what they left seem a little hazardous. Cow-headed (*i.e.*, genuine "ox eyed") Junos cast doubt on a sentence like this: "When an Assyrian god was to be represented as a fish with legs and hands, an Assyrian artist was on hand obediently to do it. . . . Greek mythology yielded plenty of opportunities for this sort of deformity, but Greek art never appeared aware of the invitation."

—*Harper's* for January opens with a paper on "Contemporary Art in England," which is well illustrated (if we except the portrait of Millais), and conveys a good deal of information, biographical and statistical. But, for the critical sense displayed, the paper is of no value whatever. The writer abounds in sage and safe remarks like these: "While it would be much to be regretted if all paintings imitated the style of this, yet it could be wished that all artists succeeded as well as Mr. Leighton has done in giving ocular expression to their conceptions." "As to the sitting posture, about which there has been so much adverse criticism, a great deal may be said on both sides without exhausting the subject." "Whether

this is entirely according to the principles of architecture, or is likely to impair the art of stone-cutting, is a question for art-casualists to settle." The next two papers, equally characteristic of the magazine, are interesting in the order in which we name them: "The Good Old Times at Plymouth" and "A Cruise among the Magdalen Islands." It is always pleasant to go over the history of the landing of the Pilgrims, and to take a fresh inventory of their goods and chattels. This is done for us here with the help of woodcuts of the Standish Monument, of Gov. Bradford's house, Elder Brewster's chair, Peregrine White's cradle, and of sundry instructive Plymouth interiors. The cruise among the Magdalen Islands is described without pretension; it was devoid of any exciting adventures, but the narrative suggests that much quiet enjoyment is in store for the tourist to these little-visited coasts. The rest of the number calls for no special comment. It does not conspicuously set its cap, if we may say so, for new subscribers, by parading the promise of the new volume, but is entertaining in its regular monthly fashion, as if "first numbers" never entered the heads of its publishers.

—In a late number of the *British Workman* an article entitled "Street Stalls for the People" reports the success of an effort in and about London to try to displace grog-shops by erecting stalls where better drinks can be obtained with equal convenience. The patronage awarded to thirteen such stalls encourages the committee to propose extending the new facility to country towns, and also equipping portable stalls on a sort of wheelbarrow, in order to compete more immediately with the great enemy. The principle of displacing evil by good, instead of merely denouncing it, is of course a sound one; but the article is silent upon the most difficult point—viz., what means are taken to prevent the drink-colporteurs from beginning to dilute their wares for their own more rapid enrichment versus the prestige of the institution?

—"Having mentioned a few weeks ago," writes a correspondent from Paris, "that the winter season of the Théâtre Français promised to be 'lively,' as it would be called in commercial circles, I may add that events have since then done something to justify my prevision. MM. Erckmann-Chatrian's 'Ami Fritz' has lately been brought out under circumstances of peculiar vivacity. The *Figaro*, with characteristic impudence and acerbity, began a campaign against the piece a month before the first representation, and did its best to prepare a 'manifestation' and prevent a hearing. By publishing a certain number of garbled and manipulated extracts it undertook to show that the authors of the 'Conscrit de 1813' 'insulted' the French army; that they were anti-patriotic, and that patriotism must hiss them off the stage. It is, of course, not safe to embrace any cause with one's eyes shut; but if this were ever reasonable, it would be in taking blindly on any occasion the directly opposite ground to the *Figaro*. Such ground was taken by the friends of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian, and, as the event has proved, by the public at large. The newspapers discussed the 'patriotism' of these charming story-tellers, the publishers brought out new editions of the incriminated work, and M. Perrin, the very clever director of the Comédie Française, flattered himself that 'L'Ami Fritz' was being splendidly advertised. The play was brought forward on the 2d of December, before an immense audience, but the performance was something of an anti-climax. Every one, as it turned out, went to see the 'manifestation,' but no one went to make it. The evening passed off most smoothly, the play was very pretty, and the only incident was M. Got's fling at the *Figaro*, when, according to the custom of the theatre, he came before the curtain to announce the names of the authors: 'The play which we have had the honor of performing,' said M. Got, in the very largest letters and emphasizing the words by a long stop, 'is by MM. Erckmann-Chatrian,' etc. The only consolation of the *Figaro* has been to publish a long article on M. Got's impudence. The whole affair has been, according to the French adage, a good deal of noise about an omelette au lard. The little novel of 'L'Ami Fritz,' published many years since, was a real masterpiece—a savory idyl, a succulent pastoral. It was a Dutch picture of the daily life of an honest bachelor in an Alsatian town, who spends his hours in washing down heavy dinners and suppers with draughts of Rhenish wine, until at last, at the instigation of a good old Jewish rabbi who has a passion for match-making, he falls in love with a blonde young woman, marries her, and is converted from lonely gluttony to the functions of a good citizen and a paterfamilias. Upon this very slender basis the authors have built a play which, it must be confessed, is signally wanting in dramatic interest. The story was a very pretty cabinet picture, in which especially the soft fumes curling up from the hero's excellent dinner were rendered in the most natural manner. But it is hard to make a drama out of good smells. The authors have helped themselves along by

introducing one of the questions of the hour, which seems rather pushed in by the shoulder. There has been of late a good deal of talk in France about the decrease of the population and its being the duty of good citizens to try and check it. The old rabbi, admirably played by Got, is made the apostle of propagation, and whenever the play drags a little he delivers a little rhapsody upon the beauty of a numerous progeny. The piece owes everything to the actors and to the delightful picturesqueness of the *mise en-scène*. As regards this latter feature, there is in particular a certain Sunday dinner, in the first act, of which the lavish realism makes the reader's mouth water. Got, as I have said, plays the rabbi, as he plays everything, with incomparable richness and depth of humor; Febvre, whose usual line is the injured husband or the dangerous lover of fashionable life, renders the rustic epicure in perfection; and Mlle. Reichemberg has only to be herself and to climb into a cherry-tree above the garden-wall to be the most charming of *Suzels*. The exertions of these artists and the curiosity of the public—curiosity especially to see the table linen and crockery of the first act—will ensure 'L'Ami Fritz' a certain amount of success; but I suspect that before very long the piece will succumb to the excessive tranquillity of its interest."

—Students of the early Romance dialects will be glad to hear that the eminent scholar, Adolf Mussafia, has recently edited an old Catalan poem of considerable length. The subject is the mediæval romance of 'The Seven Wise Masters' ('Die Catalanische Metrische Version der Sieben Weisen Meister'), and the date of the MS. is the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The chief importance of the work is as a contribution to the old Catalan dialect, of which texts are so scarce out of Spain. Mussafia has edited the poem with the care and ability which have distinguished his previous monographs on the old Italian dialects, and the student who is familiar with Provençal will find few difficulties in this text. The editor has confined himself entirely to the philological side of the work, and has not said a word about the relation of this version to the other ones of this famous romance. In one respect it differs from all those with which we are acquainted. The story of Hippocrates and his nephew (technically known as *medicus*) is common to all the Occidental versions except the French Dolopathos, and is not found in any of the Oriental versions. As the story generally runs, Hippocrates kills his nephew from envy, and then dies himself of a disease which his nephew, had he been alive, could have cured. In the Catalan version, after the death of his nephew, Hippocrates incautiously tells his own wife that any one who eats the flesh of a certain sow will surely die unless he drinks after it some soup. The wicked wife gives her husband the fatal pork, and throws away the soup. Hippocrates knows he will die, but determines to take revenge on his wife, and so makes her sit near him on a marble seat covered only with a piece of linen, while he draws up his will and leaves her all his property. After four days, so runs the poem, the coldness of the marble mounted to her brain and killed her. Do any of our readers remember this or any similar story? It may be the invention of the Catalan poet, but it is not likely. He certainly did not find it in any French version which he would have been most likely to consult, and it is not in the 'Historia Septem Sapientium,' or the older version in the 'Scala Celi' which probably served as the original of all the French versions except the Dolopathos.

—We have from Germany a bundle of recent pamphlets upon the emperors of the fourteenth century, which together make a valuable contribution to the history of this period. First in turn comes Dr. Barnim Thomas's Doctor's Dissertation at Strassburg—"Zur Königswahl des Grafen Heinrich von Luxemburg im Jahre 1308," whose chief aim is to determine the share of Pope Clement V. in this transaction—a matter of some moment, in view of the subsequent breach between the Pope and the Emperor. It was shown by Heidemann, in the "Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte," that Clement's interest was chiefly engaged in the project of a Crusade, and for this reason he maintains that the Pope favored the candidacy of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV. of France, who also put forward a claim to the Byzantine throne. Thomas maintains, on the other hand—agreeing in this with earlier investigators—that Clement was lukewarm towards the French project; that it did not promise to advance materially his scheme of a Crusade; and that, in fact, the earnest and chivalrous Henry of Luxemburg was more likely to further his plans. However this may have been, it is certain that the Pope recognized the election of Henry with great alacrity. Dr. Heidemann, by the way, reiterates his former views in a short work entitled 'Peter von Aspelt als Kirchenfürst und Staatsmann,' devoted to the career of the Archbishop of Mentz to whom Henry chiefly owed his election, and who was a leading statesman during the brief reign of Henry and the early part of that of

Louis of Bavaria. He was distinguished through his life, Heidemann says, for his zealous and devoted services, "but never failed to demand the highest possible reward for them." During Henry's absence in Italy, Peter, as Chancellor of the Empire, administered its affairs with great ability and success, and it was chiefly through his efforts that the house of Luxemburg came into possession of Bohemia. Henry's Italian expedition is discussed at considerable length by Dr. Robert Pöhlmann in a treatise entitled 'Der Römische Kaiser Heinrich VII.' His views are entirely consistent with those already described—that the Pope, whatever his preferences may have been, acquiesced cordially in Henry's election, and looked with high expectations to his reign. The tragical events of the visit to Italy are described in full: the complete harmony at first between Emperor and Pope; the exaggerated notion of his own dignity entertained by Henry; the revival of the animosities of Guelf and Ghibelline, which forced the Emperor at last to identify himself with the Ghibellines; the bitter hostility of the Guelfs, headed by Florence; the intrigues of King Robert of Naples; and, at last, the break with the Pope himself and the renewal of the old contest of Pope and Emperor—with the sudden death of the Emperor, in 1313, as was charged, by poison.

—Charles IV., grandson of Henry VII., is the subject of other monographs. First, that of Dr. Worthmann: 'Die Wahl Karls IV. zum Römischen Könige.' This relates the process by which Pope Clement VI. procured the deposition of Louis of Bavaria, as being under the ban of the church. The intrigues and corruption which accompanied this election—the earlier ones of the same century, indeed—would do credit to American politicians. The whole affair was engineered by the Pope, who deposed the Archbishop of Mentz to make room for one who would be more subservient, and bought up the Archbishop of Cologne, by these means obtaining a majority in the electoral college. The newly-chosen king, indeed, had to acknowledge himself the vassal of the Holy Father. Still, he was not a bad or unenlightened ruler, nor, for the matter of that, so very subservient to the Pope, when once on his throne.

—Directly connected with this topic is Dr. Lochner's 'Geschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg zur Zeit Kaiser Karls IV.' It forms a portion of a contemplated history of Nuremberg, and consists of two parts: first, an account of the insurrection caused by the election of Charles IV. as king; second, the history of the city during the rest of his reign. Nuremberg was strongly attached to the Emperor Louis, whose policy was to favor the cities and to oppose the Pope. The deposition of Louis and the election of Charles (the *Pfaffenkönig*) by intrigue, bribery, and papal influence caused great indignation and opposition on the part of the burghers, which culminated in a revolt, continuing from 1347 to 1350. The second part contains an extended and valuable sketch of life, government, and society in this important city during the period in question. A more favorable view of Charles IV. is taken by Dr. Friedjung, in 'Kaiser Karl IV. und sein Antheil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit.' This is a well-printed volume of 332 pages, in which the education and the character of the prince are ably sketched, together with the surroundings, political and ecclesiastical, in which he was brought up. Among the topics discussed are the relation of the Emperor to the University of Prague, which he founded; to the literature and religious life of his time, and to its art and science. The closing chapter treats of his connection with Petrarch and Colas di Rienzo. The author brings out with especial distinctness the progress made in this century in political thinking, as contrasted with the profound metaphysical labors of Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus in the previous century. William of Ockham was the leading intellectual name of this period. Dr. Friedjung does not rate him very high, but recognizes his services in political speculation. These two last-named treatises, looking at the Emperor in a quite different light, present together a tolerably complete view of the intellectual and political life of Germany in the middle of the XIVth century.

MIVART'S LESSONS FROM NATURE.*

IT can hardly be said that, in this volume, Mr. Mivart has brought any new contribution to the discussion of evolution and its consequences, though he has succeeded in marshalling together, in a goodly phalanx, the various doubts, objections, and misconceptions with which the question has disturbed the peace of his mind. The book is so polemic as quite to belie its placid and decorous title. The 'Lessons from Nature' turn out to be a series of eager assaults upon "Darwinians" and "Agnostics," mingled with jeremiads over the tendency of the times when such perverted thinkers can

obtain such extensive following. Though it would be unfair to say that there is no trace of a disposition to interrogate nature calmly and accept the results, yet this disposition is well-nigh paralyzed by a strong mental bias towards considering facts only in their supposed bearing on certain assumed practical needs of theology. An evident struggle between theological predispositions and acquired scientific habits has interfered seriously with the author's balance of mind; and the net result is a book by no means commendable for scientific spirit, though it exhibits praiseworthy industry, and often considerable ingenuity and dialectical skill.

So far is Mr. Mivart from occupying the position of a disinterested student of nature that his numerous misrepresentations can be explained without necessarily charging him with a conscious willingness to be unfair. Sometimes, at least, he appears to misrepresent scientific thinkers through sheer incapacity to comprehend the motives which guide them. Mr. Darwin's candor, for example, in modifying or retracting hasty inferences, implies an attitude of mind which our author seems quite unable to appreciate. The nature of Mr. Darwin's enquiries involves him in the consideration of thousands of exceedingly complex cases of causation, for the unravelling of which a vast experience, the most delicate analytic power, and a prodigious memory for details are absolutely essential. The general sagacity of his conclusions shows that Mr. Darwin possesses these qualities in a degree rarely if ever surpassed by any scientific enquirer; yet once in a while he makes a slip, forgets or overlooks some inconspicuous but important fact, or sets down an inference without his customary caution. Ordinary writers in such cases too often prefer to stand by what they have written, quietly ignoring criticisms that are hard to dispose of, very much as Mr. Mivart, in reprinting his rejoinder to Mr. Chauncey Wright, takes care not to inform the reader of the surrejoinder which came from his powerful antagonist. But Mr. Darwin finds it easy to acknowledge himself mistaken. His interest in his personal reputation for infallibility and his zeal in behalf of the doctrine he is defending are held in entire subordination to the main purpose of getting the facts presented as fairly and completely as possible. This is the true scientific spirit—the spirit in which to acquire lessons from nature, whether in the world of mind or in the world of matter; and when a writer manifests this spirit so consistently as Mr. Darwin, he is sure to win the respect and confidence of his readers in the highest degree. An occasional error goes for little when weighed in the scales against entire disinterestedness.

To a disinterested critic all this, one would think, should be self-evident. Yet so far is Mr. Mivart from recognizing anything of the sort that he cites Mr. Darwin's scrupulous self-corrections as evidence of his utter untrustworthiness! What confidence can we place, he asks, in a thinker who makes so many hasty inferences? overlooking the fact that, in daily experience, those who are the most rash in forming their opinions are apt to be likewise the most indisposed to reconsider them. If Mr. Mivart had any genuine sympathy with the scientific temper of mind, this particular kind of misrepresentation would never have occurred to him.

Along with this inability to appreciate disinterested thinking, Mr. Mivart has one or two other peculiarities which, taken together, give him a real genius for twisting things. He is characterized by a sort of cantankerousness which prompts him to put a controversial aspect on points which properly require only a judicial estimate of the bearings of circumstances. On the question as to just how much effectiveness is to be allowed to the principle of natural selection, he approaches Mr. Darwin with the air of a lawyer browbeating a witness; and when Mr. Darwin admits that formerly his attention was somewhat too exclusively directed toward this cause of the modification of species, his belligerent critic cries out that here is "a change of front in face of the enemy"! Further twisting is caused by unintelligent study of the subject criticised. Mr. Mivart, for example, attributes to the evolutionists the opinion that "virtue and pleasure are synonymous, for in root and origin they are identical." This misrepresentation arises from imperfect apprehension of the fact that, according to the doctrine of evolution, differences in kind result from the accumulation of differences in degree. One might as well say that evolutionists consider the workings of Newton's genius to be identical with reflex action, since in its root and origin all mental activity was a kind of reflex action. Nay, one might as well say that evolutionists consider a man indistinguishable from a cuttle-fish, since in their root and origin the vertebrate and molluscan types have been proved by Kowalewsky to be identical.

For the rest, Mr. Mivart evinces frequent want of sagacity as to the really vital points of the case in which he appears as an advocate. He takes great pains to show that some savage races have degenerated in civilization, and also that the intellectual difference between the lowest men and the highest apes far exceeds the structural difference. But this is, after all,

* 'Lessons from Nature, as manifested in Mind and Matter. By St. George Mivart.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. 12mo, pp. xvi., 462.

a misconception of the requirements of the argument; for on the one hand the Darwinian theory nowhere requires an uninterrupted progress, but rather implies a complicated backward and forward movement, of which an irregular progress is the differential result. And as to the second point, it is just one of the triumphs of Darwinism, as regards speculative consistency with facts, that it does account for the alteration in the series of effects which occurs as we approach the origin of mankind. For when intelligence has increased *pari passu* with physical advantages up to a certain point, the variations in intelligence begin to become more valuable than any variations in physical constitution, and consequently become predominantly subject to the operation of natural selection, to the comparative neglect of purely physical variations. A change of this sort, if prolonged for a sufficient length of time, would go far to account for the greatness of the mental difference between men and apes, as contrasted with the smallness of the structural difference.

That Mr. Mivart should fail to appreciate this point, long since suggested by Mr. Wallace, is perhaps not to be wondered at, since he reduces the enquiry to a mere controversy in which he holds a brief against the Darwinians. What his own views may be as to the origin of man he nowhere explicitly states. But, in spite of his hostility to Mr. Darwin and his theories, he takes pains to proclaim himself an evolutionist—within such limits as a profound study of Suarez and St. Thomas Aquinas may determine.

RECENT MINOR POETRY.

OREGON and California respectively send us, by way of Philadelphia (Lippincott), two volumes of poetry which are like many of the material fruits of the Pacific slope—large, showy, and without flavor. These books have much wealth of paper and typography, they are copiously illustrated, and one of them gives a portrait of the author, Mrs. Duniway. This lady accosts the Muse with easy familiarity, like "Joaquin" Miller; but the Muse grants her no such occasional favors in return—no moments of melody, no pulsations of real ardor, such as sometimes break the monotony of his slipshod verse. She has, however, a certain sincerity of tone which not even two hundred pages of imperfectly-rhymed prose can repress; she has something to say, though she says it very badly. There is, indeed, a certain homely honesty implied in the spirit which dares attach to a poem a name so cumbrous as "David and Anna Matson"; and it may be said that, given the title, the work is very much what one would expect. The same may be said of the anonymous poem, "Sir Rae"; the title speaks for itself. The California writer who selects Scottish feudalism for a theme is likely to be more conventional and insipid, by many degrees, than the Oregon writer who sings of Puritanism; and a comparison of these two books quite justifies this general formula.

The shortness of Professor Huxley's American trip saved him from many sorrows, and among them from that of attending the funeral obsequies of his doctrines, as chanted by Mr. Ormsby in his poem of "Darwin" (New York: McGreen). Mr. Huxley left us, one day, in apparent health, with all his heresies about him:

"The next, with dirges dire and sad array,
Slow through the woodland path we saw him borne;
Approach and read, for thou canst read, the lay—"

but here the quotation fails us. Thou canst not read, nobody can read, this lay of Anti-Evolution, though only twenty five pages long. The name of "Darwin," it should be said, appears in the title only; it is Huxley against whom the gauntlet is thrown down in the author's preface, which closes with a few little puns as inappropriate as ill-timed levity in the judge who sentences an erring fellow-man for sheep-stealing.

The author of "Beautiful Snow" (Peterson) issues that and other poems bound in covers so white that the volume soils instantly, thus strengthening the moral conveyed within. It is certainly a misfortune to a young writer when a single, rather sensational poem so takes the public ear as to become a newspaper favorite; and if there then appears some rival claimant, the poet's misfortune is made. Henceforth his harvest of fame seems ready, and it is only necessary for him to make sure that nobody steals it; of the intrinsic value of the harvest he usually makes no account. The other poems in this volume seem even more ephemeral than that from which it derives its name.

"Joan of Arc" (London: Kerby) is a poem in heroic verse, and was apparently one of those rejected in the competition for the Vice-Chancellor's prize at Trinity College, Dublin. This thin volume seems to the unbiassed eye to be tame beyond the accustomed privilege of prize poems; but it is fair to state that the author describes himself in his preface as one "whom no amount of detraction or neglect will ever persuade to admit that his

time has been spent in vain, or that he has not already attained a considerable degree of excellence and skill in his art" (p. xii).

It must be sorrowfully owned that Mr. Lanier, who has by nature a thin vein of real poetic sentiment, shows no symptom of relaxing that convulsive and startling mode of utterance which amazed the nation in his Fourth-of-July ode. In his volume called 'Poems' (Lippincott) there is a genuine feeling for nature—in some passages of "Corn," for instance—and there are some really dramatic touches in the soliloquy of Columbus. But the entire absence of simplicity spoils everything; and the worst of it is that he has a disciple. Just as Thackeray declared that there was no Irishman in London so out-at-elbows but he had some subordinate Irishman to attend upon him, so the more *bizarre* a poet is, the more sure he is of an imitator. In this case Mr. V. Voldo is the henchman in question. One would almost take oath that the following lines are from some ode of Mr. Lanier's:

"I see now that Triumph must be,
Nay, that he is
With all Columbia his
Wrested from the torment of the sea. . .
And the prairies cry, *It was our prophecy!*
And the lakes reply, *It was our ministry!*
And Freedom sings, *It is my glory!*"

Yet they are from the fourth canto of Mr. Voldo's 'Song of America' (New York: Hanscom).

The early death of an author usually leads his friends to an affectionate exaggeration of his powers, and this is apt to create a reaction in the minds of those who did not personally know him. Perhaps this is the reason why the reader will be apt to find little more than a ready imitativeness in Mr. Weeks's 'Twenty Poems' (New York: Henry Holt & Co.) The best page in the book, perhaps, is that which yields us these two delicate and tender verses:

"ON THE SHORE.
"Here many a time she must have walked,
The dull sand brightening 'neath her feet,
The cool air quivering as she talked,
Or laughed, or warbled sweet.
"The shifting sand no trace of her,
No sound the wandering wind retains,
But, breaking where the footprints were,
Loudly the sea complains."

Even this suggests Landor; but the poetic use of the changed look of wet sand beneath a footstep is new in literature, and the general moderation and restraint enhance the pathos of the poem.

Mrs. Piatt's volume, 'That New World' (Osgood), is illustrated by a single woodcut within and by a design stamped upon the cover. Both represent the same thing—a sun half above the horizon—but whether the scene be sunset or sunrise none can tell. And thus, in reading her books, it is hard to say whether she is yielding to her despair or rising above it—the sun is always half obscured. The dreary sorrow which makes her poems so depressing has never made itself more felt than in this volume; and yet there are passages or phrases here and there—as on pages 23 and 59—which relieve the gloom a very little, and awaken a faint hope of increasing brightness to come. She says of herself (p. 60):

"I nurse a Sorrow—kiss its hands and feet,
'Call it all piteous, precious names, and try,
Awake at night, to hush its helpless cry."

But it has never been apparent until this volume that she made any such effort; nor is there, to tell the truth, much visible striving here. No one can wish to reproach an anguish so poignant and reiterated; yet it is impossible to forget that women more gifted than Mrs. Piatt, and quite as profoundly experienced, have so used their sorrow in verse as to bring peace to multitudes of hearts, where she only deepens despair. It is enough to name "H. H." and Maria Lowell. It would be unjust, however, not to admit that Mrs. Piatt has never appeared to so much advantage, artistically, as in this volume, especially in the two poems, "Lady Franklin" (p. 22) and "Folded Hands" (p. 65).

The career of 'Deirdre' (Roberts Bros.) must be regarded as a bookseller's triumph. The "No Name" series was to contain American novels published anonymously. 'Deirdre' forms the second volume of this series; yet it is not a novel, but a poem; did not appear anonymously, but after semi-official announcement of the author's name; and is scarcely American, for the scene is laid in Ireland and the author is Irish. It is as complete a reversal of the conditions as was Cuvier's celebrated criticism of that definition whereby his student asserted a crab to be a small red fish that walked backward. When we add that this is a poem which would probably, under ordinary arrangements, have fallen still-born from the press, we see how justly Messrs. Roberts Brothers have won their reputation of being the most successful of purely literary publishers in the United States. In

this case they not only set the volume on its feet, but they found critics to declare it the great poem of the century, and to aver that future ages, though they may equal, can never surpass, it. To us, on the contrary, it seems a commonplace tale enough, with sufficient animal vigor to carry the reader on, and with some pleasing touches, as well as many passages that weary or repel. Willis used to speak of the Boston literary beverage of "Channing-and-water," but 'Deirdre' must rather be designated as made up of Morris and blood. The angelic infant in 'Helen's Babies,' who demands that even Scripture stories should be "bluggy, as bluggy as anyfin," could sup full of horrors on the detailed description of the she-bear's horrible banquet, on page 23.

'Poems, Early and Late' (Chicago: Jansen) and 'A Book of Poems' (Osgood) are two volumes by Unitarian clergymen, Mr. Powers and Mr. Chadwick. Both show refined feeling and smooth expression; and Mr. Chadwick has caught from the seaside life of Marblehead an occasional strain of vigorous and unconventional thought. His out-door poems are the best, and even in these the moral is apt to be too obtrusively urged, while many others belong to the department usually classified in hymn-books as "occasional." Yet both volumes will doubtless give innocent and elevating pleasure to many minds. Indeed, the general effect of turning over these many books of well-intentioned verse is to leave the reader in a gentler, not severer, mood; there is an innocent side to the very poorest of these attempts, when one thinks of the glow that each has created in at least one bosom—the author's—and of the probable sympathy of friends and delight of wives. To inspect such a series is like looking into many lighted windows of unknown houses in an evening walk. Most of them would prove tame enough, no doubt, after a little acquaintance, yet each represents the kindly and familiar aspects of daily human life; and so, it might be said, does every author's new volume of verses.

Studies in English Art. By Frederick Wedmore. (London: Richard Bentley & Sons. 1876.)—This is a volume of two hundred and forty pages, clearly and neatly printed on ribbed paper of a pleasant shade, and light to hold in the hand. It contains thirteen essays on different painters and designers of the English school, their lives and works, from the time of Gainsborough to that of our own contemporaries. Some of the papers have appeared in journals; others are new. The preface states that all "were meant from the beginning to be chapters of a book," and, while disclaiming completeness in considering the development of English art, seems still to assert a distinct purpose of sketching some of its most interesting manifestations. The first paper is one on Gainsborough. A short biographical sketch of the painter is accompanied and followed by an account and a critical examination of such of his pictures as are assumed to be most characteristic of his work in general. All this is judiciously done. The important facts in the painter's life are presented in a pleasant and attractive way; the smaller are passed over. The events in his career which affected his work as a painter, and the work itself—its greatness and its limitations, its relations to the work of others—are all made intelligible. The tone of criticism seems to be just and candid. Together with this essay should be read that on Sir Joshua Reynolds; for it seems to us that the work of the two great rivals and fellow-artists is compared in a manner which may prove suggestive. Gainsborough's landscape as compared with his own work in portraiture and with the landscape of others; Gainsborough's portrait-work as compared with that of Sir Joshua; the latter's position as a colorist and as a great portrait-painter, as compared with the Italians and with Velasquez, Holbein, and Hals—all this is very good in its general tendency, and we hardly know where else to find it so well put.

These papers come very near being the type of articles for a new general biography on a very liberal scale. What they lack of that standard is, first, the clearing up of the awkward and almost incomprehensible English of some passages, in which our author gets among the abstractions of the higher criticism, as on page 13, where we long for the exact English translation of a part of the comparison between Gainsborough and Turner, in their skies; secondly, the avoidance of some most unfortunate words, such as one which is neither English nor technical, "seascape," several times repeated; thirdly, less freedom in using such strong and uncompromising qualifications as "great," used more than once in reference to an artist whom few even of the most sincere admirers of himself and of his school would call a "great" designer—Gravelot, the illustrator of the 'Decameron' of 1757, of Voltaire, of Marmontel, and of many an XVIIIth century *livre à vignettes*. These faults seem more serious as we state them than they prove to be as one reads the book. There is a great deal of instruction in it, and more suggestion. It would be well if the student were told where

to find fuller information, statistics, anecdotes, or letters—whatever in each case exists to tell about the life and labors of the artist under discussion. With such an appended note to each essay, the value of the book as a biographical dictionary in little would be complete. And in this way we value the papers on Flaxman and Girtin, on Stothard and Cotman, even more than the two we have named before; for less is known of Flaxman than should be known to lovers of modern art (it is too often assumed that the cold-blooded "outlines" illustrative of the 'Odyssey' and the 'Iliad' and Hesiod's 'Works and Days' are representative of him); while of Girtin what is generally known, except that he was a friend of Turner's, and died young? Stothard is well known by name and as the author of the little figure-subjects in Rogers's poems; but the interesting essay which bears his name in this book is full of matter which will be new to most readers. Cotman, a nearly-forgotten architectural draughtsman, is less important to the history of art; for his big books are on a subject less generally interesting than Stothard's sweet fancies. Moreover, the work of Prout is too decidedly superior in the same direction, and photography to a certain extent has superseded lithographed drawings. Still, Cotman should be remembered, if only as the man whom Turner named as obviously the first choice for a drawing-master, when a proper choice was important; and we have found the essay on Cotman delightful reading.

The essay on 'Liber Studiorum' is at once the best part of the book and the most inadequate treatment of the subject proposed. 'Liber Studiorum' is so very great, its mass is so enormous, the succession of seventy works of Turner's best time is so rich and so varied, that it cannot be grappled with in this way and then let go again. One could write a general essay on Turner, or even on modern landscape, more easily. The moment the subject is narrowed to seventy brown mezzotints of medium size, the reader looks for a treatment of them which shall be exhaustive and completely critical; and he fails to find it. Our author would be, we are sure, the readiest to admit that his essay does less than justice to the subject. His own sense, so plainly visible, of the importance of the work before him is most pleasant and refreshing. If ever there shall appear a classified and critical catalogue of 'Liber Studiorum,' one worthy of the work and its author in accuracy and in delicate perception, after that such essays as this will be welcome to us; until then, we are impatient with them on account of their confessed imperfection.

Viking Tales of the North. The Sagas of Thorstein, Viking's Son, and Fridthjof the Bold. Translated from the Icelandic by Rasmus B. Anderson, A.M., Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, etc., and Jón Bjarnason. Also Tegnér's Fridthjof's Saga. Translated into English by George Stephens. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.; London: Trübner & Co. 1877.)—If we commence by picking flaws in Prof. Anderson's 'Viking Tales,' it is not because we think that he has not done his work well, but only because we happen to differ with him regarding his theory of translation. Archaisms, when judiciously employed, have often a very happy effect; where they appeal to some slumbering linguistic sub-consciousness which is apt to exist in most of us, and thereby, as it were, suggest their own meaning, they add a certain quaintness to the text which in the present case would go far toward reproducing the flavor and atmosphere of the Icelandic original. But where the reader has to have continual recourse to the dictionary and (as in the case of the noun *how*) does not even there find any interpretation, his patience is often sorely tried, and his pleasure abates in proportion. Very few find fault with Tennyson's archaisms, while William Morris's (especially in his 'Æneids') are exasperating; the former has a delicate perception of sound as well as of meaning, while with the latter the taste for linguistic antiquities degenerates into a mania. We are well aware that Dr. Dasent, Morris, and Magnusson have established a precedent for rendering the sagas into this kind of archaic English, and we deeply sympathize with the feeling which has driven every one of the more sensitively organized translators into the same habit. Where Prof. Anderson "busks himself" (prepares, gets ready) and "louts" (stoops), we can easily follow him; nor do we object to "nothing" for villain or "hight" for named; but we are inclined to think that he has occasionally done violence to the language in forcing English words like "bane," "fee," etc., into doing duty for their Icelandic cognates, and Americanisms like "boss," and "letting up" in the sense of ceasing, are positively reprehensible and wholly out of keeping with the dignity of historical narration.

Despite all this, however, Prof. Anderson's book is a very valuable and important one. The 'Saga of Thorstein, Viking's Son,' although it can hardly lay claim to credibility as a history, contains very vivid illustrations

of the modes of life and thought during a primitive age, and has very much the same interest to the modern reader that a novel of Thackeray or George Eliot will have to the historian or the social philosopher a thousand years hence. It teems with magnificently dramatic situations, the impressiveness of which are rather increased by the calm directness and dignity with which they are related. And these features are as characteristic of the English version as of the Icelandic originals; the translator shows an intimate acquaintance with all the intricacies of that cruelly inflected language, and an enthusiastic appreciation of its epigrammatic pith and vigor. In the metrical passages, we regret to state, he has omitted the alliteration, and has not, like Dasent in 'Gisli, the Outlaw,' substituted the rhyme; and the result is that the staves, lacking both melody and rhythm, frequently appear weak. We are profoundly conscious, however, of the well-nigh insuperable difficulties which the translator of Icelandic verse has to deal with, and would not therefore demand the precise reproduction of all the intricate involutions of sense and sound which were the delight of the ancient scalds.

The 'Saga of Frithjof the Bold' (*Saga Frithjofs hins Frækna*) is more logically coherent, and as a work of art more complete, than the tale of Thorstein, while preserving the same realistic strength and objectivity that distinguish the latter. It has all the delightful features of a fireside tale, and is as oblivious of the existence of literary critics as is Mother Goose or Scheherazade. With expressions like "now this saga goes on to tell," or "now this man is out of our saga," it is impossible not to supply the crackling fire on the hearth, the voice of the story-teller, and the wide, wondering eyes of the listeners gathered around him. The refreshing naïveté with which the saga-man expresses his confidence in his audience makes the critic's verdict superfluous or impertinent. "We now finish the Saga of Thorstein, Viking's Son," he says, "and it is a most amusing one."

Tegnér's celebrated poem, 'Frithjof's Saga' (we prefer the modern Anglicized spelling of the hero's name) has been translated nineteen times into English, but never by a poet capable of giving us an adequate idea of the grandeur of the original. Mr. Longfellow has shown us how it ought to be done in his rendering of "Frithjof's Homestead" and "The Temptation," and Bayard Taylor has in his preface to Mr. Strong's translation given us a single specimen verse, showing how finely the old alliterated poetry of the North can be reproduced in English:

"Sits in the sepulchre
Son of the heroes,
Battle-blade by him,
Buckler on arm;
Neigheth his stallion
Standing within it,
Stamping with gold-hoof
The gate of the grave."

Let any one compare this with "Ring's Dirge," in Prof. Stephens's version, which Prof. Anderson has included in his book, and the shortcomings of the latter will be glaringly apparent. Nevertheless it is not improbable that, taken as a whole, the present translation is preferable to any of the others; and the fact that Tegnér approved of it is, we suppose, a point in its favor. Tegnér, however, never knew English well enough to discriminate between its finer nuances of sound and meaning. But for all that the poem, even in the shape in which it is here presented, is sufficiently novel in its theme and abounding in melody and rhythm to yield a large measure of enjoyment.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Knight (E. H.), American Mechanical Dictionary. Vol. III., Pan-Zym.	(Hurd & Houghton)
Kramer (Rev. J. W.), Manual for Visitors of the Poor	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Lamartine (A. de), My Mother's Manuscript	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Lange (Rev. J. P.), Commentary on Ezekiel	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) \$5 00
Leighton (Wm., Jr.), The Sons of Godwin: a Poem	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Lowell (J. B.), Virgil's Memorial Poems	(J. B. Osgood & Co.) 1 25
Lauder (Prof. G.), La Convention de Genève, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Matthews (G. D.), The Coinages of the World	(Scott & Co.) 2 50
McCosh (Rev. J.), The Development Hypothesis	(Robt. Carter & Bros.)
Mell (Rev. P. H.), Manual of Parliamentary Practice, new ed.	(Sheldon & Co.)
Monroe (L. B.), Young Folks' Readings	(Lee & Shepard)
Moore (T.), The Epicurean, and Alciphron	(J. W. Bouton)
Mountain Adventures	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Noblesse Oblige	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 50
Ormsby (R. McK.), Darwin: a Poem	(New York)
Osgood (Rev. S.), Mile-Stones in Our Life-Journey, new ed.	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 50
Packard (A. S., Jr.), Half-Hours with Insects	(Estes & Lauriat)
Pagliardini (J.), Le Petit Grammaire	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 75
Paigrave (W. G.), Dutch Gulana	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 00
Peschel (O.), The Races of Man	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Platt (Mrs. S. M. B.), The New World, and Other Poems	(J. B. Osgood & Co.) 1 50
A Voyage to the Fortunate Isles, etc.	" " " 1 50
Porter (Rose), Christmas Evergreens, swd	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 75
Potter (Rev. H. C.), A Winter in Egypt and Syria	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 1 25
Powers (Rev. H. N.), Poems, Early and Late	(Jansen, McClurg & Co.)
Prentiss (Mrs. E.), The Home at Greylock	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 50
Preston (Harriet W.), Troubadours and Trouvères	(Roberts Bros.)
Public Health, Vol. II., Marle: a Tale	(Hurd & Houghton) 6 50
Pushkin (A.), Marle: a Tale	(Jansen, McClurg & Co.) 2 00
Reynolds (Rev. H. R.), John the Baptist, 2d ed.	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 4 00
Rice (Sara S.), Edgar Allan Poe	(Turabull Bros.) 2 50
Rossiter (W.), Elementary Hand-book of Applied Mechanics	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 75
Elementary Hand-book of Theoretical Mechanics	" " " 75
Routledge (R.), Science in Sport	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Rückert (H.), Geschichte der Neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache, Vol. II., swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Sanford (Mrs. D. P.), A Household of Children	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 2 25
Schuyler (E.), Turkistan, 2 vols.	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 7 50
Seaton (Maj.-Gen. T.), From Cadet to Colonel	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Sir Rae: a Poem	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Smiley (Sarah F.), The Fulness of Blessing	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 50
Smith (W.), Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, Vol. I.	(J. B. Burr Pub. Co.) 8 50
Smyth (G. A.), Ueber die gepaarten Schwefelverbindungen, swd.	(Berlin)
Soley (Prof. J. R.), Historical Sketch of the U. S. Naval Academy	(Washington)
Stephen (J. F.), Digest of the Law of Evidence	(Soule, Thomas & Wentworth)
Stephen (L.), History of English Thought, 2 vols.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Stoddard (R. H.), Anecdote Biography of P. B. Shelley	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Stedman (E. C.), Octavius Brooks Frothingham and the New Faith	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
St. Nicholas, Vol. III.	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 75
Strahan (E.), The Art-Gallery of the Exhibition	(Gebbie & Barrie)
Student-Life at Harvard	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 75
Sunderland (Rev. J. T.), Orthodoxy and Revivalism	(James Miller)
Taylor (B.), The National Ode: Illustrated	(Wm. F. Gill & Co.) 1 50
The Barton Experiment	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00

Wagner's Art Life and Theories.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1877.

The Week.

CONGRESS has accomplished little during the past week, except with the appropriation bills, the amounts appropriated in which will, it seems, not vary greatly from those of last year. The New York petition, signed by influential merchants, bankers, and other business and professional men, has been presented by Mr. Conkling in the Senate, and his speech made on the occasion has caused a good deal of satisfaction from its moderate tone, though it was no secret before that Mr. Conkling's position was an eminently moderate one. On the other hand, Mr. Wright of Iowa has made a speech in advocacy of a bill providing a court for decision of disputed Presidential elections, in the course of which he took extreme ground in favor of the authority of the President of the Senate in the electoral count. Last March Mr. Wright advocated Mr. Morton's bill, which was exactly the other way, and thought that the presiding officer had nothing to do with the matter. Both Houses have had the case of a recusant witness before them, the Senate having to deal with Turner, the Florida telegraphic manager. A debate on his refusal to answer the questions propounded to him with regard to despatches passing through his office ended in a vote of 33 to 3 that he must answer; but no quorum being present the matter went over. The Senate Committee on the Oregon dispute have had Governor Grover before them, but seem to have made little out of him as a witness, the Governor proving pretty clearly that, whether right or wrong, he had a respectable body of opinion on the side of the course he took, and that in all matters of technical regularity the Democratic electors have the best of the argument.

In the House Mr. Fernando Wood, having by means best known to himself got hold of the New York petition, which was entrusted to the care of Mr. Willis in the House and to Mr. Conkling in the Senate, formally presented it, and Mr. Willis presented it in regular order on the succeeding day. A bill granting pensions to soldiers of the Mexican, Black Hawk, and Florida wars was made the occasion of a very small political sensation, some of the extreme Southerners seeing no reason why the measure should exclude ex-rebels, and Mr. Hewitt explaining that otherwise it could not pass. The Colorado case has also come up, the majority of the committee (composed of such men as Knott, Lord, Lawrence, Frye, and Hoar) reporting that, all the conditions for admission having been complied with, Colorado is a State, and that the Colorado "claimant," Mr. Belford, should be admitted. The minority reported that Colorado is not yet a State, but that it ought to be admitted; both reports were recommitted. Barnes, the recusant telegraph manager from New Orleans, was arraigned at the bar of the House to answer for his contempt; but nothing beyond the reading of a long answer, prepared by counsel, and the reference of the whole matter to the Judiciary Committee (Barnes meanwhile being remanded to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms), was accomplished.

Cronin, the now celebrated Oregon elector, was examined last week before the Senate Committee on Privileges. His testimony contained nothing particularly new. He said that on the morning the Electoral College was to meet he went to the room of the Governor's private secretary, and saw that his name was being inserted in the certificate, and only heard the previous day that Governor Grover was going to give him the certificate. The certificate was handed to him in the room of meeting by the Secretary of State, and he put it into his pocket, fearing it might be taken from him. He read the certificate to the Republican electors, but did not lay

it on the table, and called on them to act with him, to which they made no answer, and he took their silence as a refusal to act with him, and had Messrs. Miller and Parker waiting outside the door in preparation for this contingency. He then called them in, showed them the certificate, and appointed them. He was appointed messenger to bring the returns to Washington on the same day, but asked in the evening to be allowed to resign, as he could not afford the expense of the journey, having already spent \$1,500 during the campaign, and being only a lawyer with a practice of \$5,000 or \$6,000 a year. "Several prominent Democrats" who were present then asked how much his expenses would be, and he put them at \$3,000, because he would have to neglect his law business, and they then agreed to make it up for him. An attempt was next made to show that Tilden had sent a considerable sum of money to Oregon for political purposes, through a mysterious man named Patrick, and it appeared that the witness received his expenses not in money but in drafts on New York and San Francisco. Turner, the manager of the Western Union Telegraph at Jacksonville, refused to say whether \$8,000 or any other sum had been transmitted by telegraph to the bank which gave Cronin his expenses.

The news from the disputed States is that in Florida the Democratic State government has been put in possession, all parties acquiescing in the result; in South Carolina, Chamberlain's government gets no support from the people, while Hampton is being made more secure by voluntary adhesions, and by his use of the money received by voluntary taxation for the payment of the most urgent claims upon the State. In Louisiana, matters are much more lively, as the Democrats have resolved not to be content with the dumb show of a *de jure* government. On Tuesday a heavy armed force appeared in New Orleans as militia summoned by Governor Nicholls, and in the course of the day gained possession of all the police-stations and court-rooms, installing the Democratic judges in the Supreme Court, captured the State arsenal, and blockaded the State-House, which contained Governors Packard and Kellogg and the Republican Legislature. As we go to press the situation is unchanged. The besieged Legislature, through the defection of Warmoth and his friends, are left without a quorum and can transact no business. It is a question whether they are sufficiently provisioned to maintain themselves long without surrendering the building. Governor Packard promptly called on the President for troops, but instructions have been given to General Augur to interfere only to preserve the peace; and as no use has yet been made of fire-arms, and as Governor Nicholls has by proclamation urged his adherents to disperse without violence, it is to be hoped that the struggle will lead to no bloodshed.

Among the noteworthy expressions of opinion on the Presidential question during the past week has been a letter of Senator Gordon to the Governor-elect of Georgia, in which he says that none of the plans put forward for "counting in" Hayes have any color of law except that which gives the President of the Senate the power to reject or count the votes of States, and this will not hold water. If he has the exclusive power to count, and count simply, he must include the Cronin vote, and this will give Tilden the required 185. If Congress has the power to go behind the count, and Florida and Louisiana are given where they are due, Tilden has 196 votes, and is elected. If the Twenty-second Joint Rule is readopted, the House alone can throw out Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina, leaving Hayes only 166 votes. If Morton's bill is passed, Tilden will be elected under it. If, in case of the rejection of the votes of one or more States, only a majority of electors legally chosen is called for, Tilden is also elected. In fact, as Mr. Gordon puts it, no matter what happens, barring a break in the uniformity

of nature, Tilden will be elected. He does not believe the Republican managers will have the hardihood to attempt to "put the thing through" by the use of the public force. But, then, he probably had not seen the report of an interview with the eminent Frye of Maine, who says the whole matter is plain as a pikestaff. On the appointed day the President of the Senate will lay all the certificates before him on a table; he will know which are the true and which the false ones, and he will only open the former. He will refuse to hear any motions or objections, the count by him being the only business in order. He will find that, "on a fair count," Hayes is elected, and he will so declare. The declaration once made, it will become the solemn duty of Grant, Cameron, Chandler, and the rest of them to see that he is inaugurated. They would compromise if they could; but how could they, when it is their *duty* not to compromise? Then, if anybody opposes the inauguration by force, they will have to kill him, either with steel or firearms. If anybody does not like this programme, so much the worse for him. He ought to like it, and should struggle with his corrupt nature until he *does* like it.

Judge Campbell, formerly of the United States Supreme Court and now of New Orleans, has also written to Senator Bayard an opinion which appears to represent the Southern legal view. He reviews the discussion of the electoral machinery in the Convention, and comes to the conclusion that the counting power belongs not to the President of the Senate, but to both Houses of Congress in joint session. But to make any acts in the count valid they must agree. If they cannot agree, there is no election, and they must separate and proceed in the manner prescribed by the Constitution in case of a failure to elect, the House to choose the President and the Senate the Vice-President. As to the question at what time the Houses may determine that their difference of opinion is irreconcilable, the answer is that they must determine it themselves, as in other cases. The letter ends with a severe castigation of Chandler, Cameron, and Taft for their conduct during the canvass, to which we wish we knew that these gentlemen had any defence. Mr. E. W. Stoughton, of this city, who was one of the "visiting statesmen" at New Orleans, has also written an opinion addressed to the daily papers. Mr. Stoughton takes the ground that the framers of the Constitution assumed that the President of the Senate would be an officer of such dignity and character that he could be safely trusted with the duty of counting the votes; that it is his duty and that of nobody else; that the two Houses witness the count simply as spectators; that the Democratic theory that either House by withdrawing may stop the count is absurd; that the returns of Returning Boards, be they honest or not, are final; that the Twenty-Second Joint Rule was unconstitutional, mischievous, and ill-judged, and ought not to be revived; and that any attempt to prevent Mr. Ferry's counting the vote in February will be revolutionary; and that all bargains or compromises are not to be thought of—all of which the *New York Times* says is as true as gospel. Mr. David Dudley Field, who has just been elected to Congress in the place of Mr. Smith Ely, the mayor, and will reinforce the Democratic ranks in the next House, has also published a pamphlet in which he takes the ground that the two Houses have complete power over the whole matter, and that what "the two Houses do not agree to cannot be counted." In fact, we are able to reveal to anybody the opinion of any particular jurist or politician upon the law of the count, on receiving his full name and the name of the candidate whom he supports for the Presidency.

Of the way in which the count is destroying all self-respect among our public men a striking illustration has just occurred in the case of Mr. Wright in the Senate, who last week "supported Hayes" in a speech by which he ate his words of ten months ago on the Morton bill in the most unblushing manner, and another is the way in which a number of his colleagues who supported the Twenty-Second Joint Rule for several years now denounce the principle of it

as wild and wicked. Another still, and a very disagreeable one, presents itself in the case of the Frye, Hoar, and Wheeler minority of the committee which two years ago enquired into the doings of the Wells Returning Board in 1874. They reported that "the so-called canvass" made by these worthies "in the interest of Kellogg seemed to them to have no validity, and to be entitled to no respect whatever." In fact, they reported that Wells and his companions had made up a majority for Kellogg without any authority of law, though they refused to call it cheating because they said it was done with good (philanthropic) motives, and with a mistaken view of their own powers, and they warned the country of the danger of having the Presidential election turn on the decisions of such a body. Messrs. Frye and Wheeler are, however, now "supporting Hayes" by declaring that they discovered nothing in 1875 to shake their confidence in the Board or make people distrust it even when it decides a Presidential contest, and they are giving Wells a certificate of character, though they know that General Sheridan discovered him to be a rascal, and that he (Wells) swore in 1874 to intimidation in a parish from which he was absent on election day. The reason Mr. Wheeler now gives for expecting the American people to accept a President calmly from Wells's manipulation of returns is, "that he (Wells) was a faithful Union man who was hunted with dogs through the swamps by the rebels." But Mr. Wheeler knows in his heart that this will not do. He is nearly sixty years old, and knows that many a "faithful Union man" was a great scoundrel—Scott and Parker, of South Carolina, for instance. We warn Messrs. Frye, Wheeler & Co. to beware of tergiversation and equivocation and all forms of double-dealing. People were never less patient with it than at this moment. Neither they nor anybody else can whitewash Wells and his confederates now. It is too late.

The Massachusetts Senatorship seems at present to lie between Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Hoar, with the chances in favor of the former, owing to the influence of Butler. Mr. Hoar is, of course, the candidate of respectable Republicanism, and respectability, of either party, has lately received a heavy blow in the success of the Democrats in the Boston election. The election would probably have been carried, as it frequently has been before, by the Citizens' candidate, but the Custom-house managers got out a split ticket of their own, containing the name of the Democratic candidate for mayor, Mr. Prince, and so elected him. The impression among the "Citizens" at the time was, that this action was intended as a rebuke to the "Silver-tops," or, as we should call them, the "Swallow-tails," by the "Short-hairs," and an intimation that the latter were not going to tolerate any longer having a city government carried on by citizens, or taxes being voted by tax-payers, or ordinances being passed by those who were interested in their enforcement, or any other nonsense of that sort. Whether this alliance between Butler's Custom-house forces and the Democrats means anything more than this it is difficult to say, but it all looks as if it would be safe to expect combinations of a similar sort to be tried elsewhere. An attempt, by the way, has been made to explain the election of the Massachusetts delegation to the next Congress—universally admitted to be, on the whole, the weakest the State has ever sent—by the statement that several of the representatives (Butler, for one instance) were elected by the votes of the foreign-born operatives of the manufacturing towns, and that they are not, therefore, really representative of the people of Massachusetts. However this may be, we desire to inform the politicians of that State that this excuse will not avail them if Boutwell, or any one of like characteristics, should be sent to the United States Senate by the present Legislature. Of the forty members of the present Senate no less than thirty were born in the State, and of the remainder seven were born in New England, three only being foreign-born. The House contains 240 members, of whom 212 are of Massachusetts, or, at least, of New England birth. We doubt if any other Northern State can display an equal proportion of native-born members in the State Legislature—a reflection which should have some effect in encouraging the Legis-

lature, in its coming choice of a Senator, to cut loose from the trading set of politicians who seem of late to be in control.

Cornelius Vanderbilt died at his residence in this city on Thursday last, at the age of eighty-two. This event had been so long expected that when it actually occurred it made none of the stir in the stock market the expectation of which has been the dishonest cause of so many false reports. In rapid succession the three New York citizens distinguished for their unusual wealth have died; but Vanderbilt was something more than a collector of wealth. There was probably a great deal of truth in the remark attributed to him in early life, that he did not care for money but wanted to carry his point. Through his long career he always used his immense wealth as a source of power, which he often wielded with an iron hand. The son of a farmer in moderate but comfortable circumstances, he early entered upon an active career; beginning as the owner of a small sail-boat, he in turn became a steamboat captain, a steamboat owner, a manager of great steamship enterprises, and finally the largest railroad owner that this continent has seen. His whole life was that of a hard-working, clear headed, determined business man. His early education was scanty, and he had few of the refinements of culture; his language was always illiterate and often profane. In his business transactions he was overreaching and exacting, often availing himself of questionable practices; his standard of honor was one which had little regard for his adversary, but it was nevertheless a real standard and one to which he adhered. The stockholders of his railroads felt that their rights were in safe hands, and of the great profits made by his combinations they received their proportionate share. He carried the system of watering stock to an extent which was almost without precedent, but the new stock was distributed as a dividend to all the stockholders, and never used, as has been done by other railroad managers, to cover the "shorts" of his own unfortunate speculations. He was a kind of man whose like we should be sorry to see many of—the typical result of strong character developed by energy and perseverance to the highest point of business success, but softened by no æsthetic taste and tempered by no other refinement than that which is innate in every brave and determined man. His great defect was his want of education, and his worst faults were the natural results of the circumstances which surrounded the first thirty years of his life. That he emerged from these circumstances to be the man that he was, is the only fact from which we can judge what more liberal associations might have made him.

The price of gold expressed in our paper currency has fallen during the week to 105¼, which is the lowest price since June 14, 1862. Aside from the strong speculative influences which are ranged on the side of depressing the price of gold, there continue at work such reasons for the decline as, first, the enormous stock in this market, which, since the January payments of the Treasury, has run up to \$40,000,000; and, secondly, the limited demand, which is now (and must be until there is an export demand) confined to what is wanted for customs payments. According to statistics compiled by the Wells, Fargo & Co. Express Company, the sole carriers of the gold and silver product of the Pacific States, the total gold product of mines west of the Missouri River amounted during the year 1876 to \$44,323,501, which is more than was produced in any year back to 1870; the largest yearly gold product on record was \$65,000,000 in 1853. The silver product for 1876 reached a total of \$41,506,672 against \$34,043,910 in 1875 and \$28,352,100 in 1873, then the largest yearly product on record. The foreign-trade figures showing the commerce of the whole United States for the first eleven months of 1876 (which have appeared for the first time during the week) throw some light on the gold movement between this and other countries. The total merchandise imports (exclusive of specie) during that time amounted to \$395,301,484, against \$471,838,161 during the corresponding months of 1875. The total exports (exclusive of specie) amounted to \$517,355,917, against \$452,963,564 for the

first eleven months of 1875. In short, the imports, exclusive of specie, were decreased \$76,536,677, and the exports were increased \$64,392,353. It will be seen from this outline that all the material conditions for bringing about resumption in 1879 are exceptionally favorable. It may be said to rest wholly with the Government whether we have resumption then or not. As good if not better opportunities, however, have before been wasted by the Government. The old value of the United States legal-tender note for one dollar was at the close of the week \$0.9456. The gold value of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close of the week would have been \$0.9551 with silver in London at 57½d. per ounce English standard, and \$1 23½ per ounce 1,000 fine here.

The foreign news of the week has consisted mainly of the story of the negotiations at Constantinople. The Turks, early in the week, were reported to have refused to discuss the question of an international commission to superintend the reforms, and the question of a foreign gendarmery, and of the use in the tribunals of the language of the majority of the inhabitants of each province, and the Turkish representatives were accorded a delay until Thursday to enable them to make up their minds. Their obstinacy seems to have taken the Conference by surprise, and to have prepared it for summary measures. There are, of course, all sorts of speculations, mostly absurd, as to the cause of their courage. One is, that it is due to their knowledge of the failure of the mobilization of the Russian army, which leads them to believe that they can fight Russia themselves; another is, that "the Jews" have agreed to supply the Porte with money and see it through its troubles, out of exasperation caused by the treatment experienced by the Jews in Rumania. But the fact is that the Russian mobilization, though attended with great difficulties and evidently revealing great defects of organization, is by no means a failure, and anyhow the notion that if Russia once engages in a fight with Turkey she will give in till she brings Turkey to her knees is ridiculous. The Turks, of course, know also perfectly well that they have their best army in the field and have no reserves, and that in fighting on their own soil they are literally operating in an enemy's country. As to "the Jews," if they were in the habit of lending money out of spite to such concerns as the Turkish Government, they would long ago have ceased to have any money to lend. The real source of Turkish obstinacy is undoubtedly natural stubbornness and fondness for "the last ditch," of which they have plenty, and coupled with a faith, which the history of the last fifty years has abundantly justified, that the combination would in some manner be broken up before the worst came to the worst.

Their refusal caused the European members of the Conference to pack up and prepare to quit Constantinople, leaving their respective legations to *chargés*. On Tuesday week and Wednesday the Turks deliberated and got up counter-proposals, which they submitted to the Conference on Thursday, and the Conference made some alterations in their own programme, such as modifying the International Commission and foreign gendarmery, and confining the Turkish troops to certain garrisons; but this would not satisfy the Porte, and the deadlock came, with the advantage apparently in favor of the Turks, owing to the Russian minister's desire to gain time. The London *Times* correspondent at Constantinople, a very good observer and strongly pro-Russian, acknowledges that Russia is not ready to declare war, a fact which probably makes itself known through Ignatieff's demeanor, and probably embarrasses him in pressing for the final decision. In the meantime, the treatment of Rumania, in the Vezier's late note, as a portion of Turkish territory whose integrity was not to be meddled with, has given much offence at Bucharest, and led to a protest, which drew an acknowledgment from the Porte that the Principality was substantially independent, and that the reference to it as part of Turkey was Pickwickian.

WHAT IS OUR DUTY TO THE NEGRO?

MR. RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., has a lucid article on "Points in American Politics" in the last number of the *North American Review*, in which he discusses the present difficulty in the election of the President, civil-service reform, seats of Cabinet members in the two Houses, the resumption of specie payments, and the relations of the Republic to the States lately in rebellion, in such a way that it can hardly be read by anybody at the present crisis without considerable profit. It will be found particularly useful to many Republicans as an aid in clearing their heads of the rubbish shot into them during the late canvass by the party orators and newspapers, and in enabling them to recall what the Republican creed was, is, and must continue to be. The writer is particularly strong and clear in his views with regard to the condition of the Southern States. He also condemns in strong terms the reckless and hasty assumption of the police of those States by the Federal army on the demand of the carpet-baggers, and the use of the troops in the organization of State legislatures.

This is all good; but at the close he has the following paragraph:

"The Republic must keep faith with the negro. For this, force—civil certainly, military possibly—must be used. The Republic must also respect the right of the States to manage their internal affairs, and to furnish their own police and militia for the preservation of order. It ought also to allow the white men of the South, who still furnish far the greater part of its education, its influence in the commonwealth, and its political capacity, to attempt to regain their control of affairs, irrespective of their having been once rebels; but they must understand that no part of the pecuniary consequences of their rebellion is to be shifted to the shoulders of the Republic."

Now, the first sentences in this paragraph have the vagueness of most of the late Republican writing on this subject, and if we said that this vagueness lay at the root of the failure of the party with regard to the South, and was the cause of a great deal of the recent disorder both in legislation and administration, and that it was, as long as it lasted, likely to prove the bane of our politics, we do not think we should be guilty of exaggeration. Hazy talking is said to be the sign of hazy thinking; but in this matter we believe hazy talking has produced and is perpetuating hazy thinking. When the British minister says that Parliament will protect the rights of the blacks in Jamaica or Barbadoes, we know what he means; he means that Parliament will do anything which seems necessary for the purpose—that is, he will set up any form of government, from martial law to a democratic republic, which seems most likely to accomplish the desired object, and he will change the form of government whenever he pleases. So, also, when the Governor-General of India says he will see that the ryots are not oppressed, we know what he means; he means that he will do that which seems proper to him and the Council, and which an army of 300,000 men can carry into effect and the Home Government will approve of. Or when the Emperor of Russia says he intends to protect the Turkish Christians, we know what that means. In all these cases the protecting power has a practically boundless field of experiment open to it. It may do whatever it is physically able to do.

But when an American publicist says that "the Republic must keep faith with the negro," and that for this "force—civil certainly, military possibly—must be used," what does he mean? The idea which inspires his remarks is running through the heads of the great mass of the Republican voters. It has powerfully influenced the late Presidential election; it will doubtless influence others. It is a respectable idea; but what duty does it impose on the Government, and how is that duty to be executed? We have given the negro all the usual guarantees of citizenship under our Constitution. He has the electoral franchise on the same terms as the white man; he is eligible to all offices; he has equal standing in the courts. When all this has been done for a man in the United States, what more can be done? What more are we prepared to do under our system of government? We do not say that we are not prepared

to do anything more, or that nothing more ought to be done; but we do say that every politician ought now to be ready to answer these questions, not in terms of philanthropy or theology, but in terms of law, and that the Republican party ought not to be allowed to go on one year longer with a misty sense of guardianship towards the negro, but without any clear or defined idea of the legal duties of the relation or of the manner of performing them. For instance (there is nothing like details in these matters), if the negro is frightened from voting at all or from voting against the white men, or if he is frightened from seeking redress in the courts for injuries to person or property, what are we going to do about it besides making speeches or writing articles? Are we prepared to enter on a course of exceptional legislation with regard to the Southern States, for the benefit of the negro? If so, are we prepared to establish the precedent that the general Government may single out certain States for exceptional legislation, whenever the majority in Congress may think it necessary? If not, are we prepared to make the enormous addition to the powers of the central Government which would be necessary to enable it to see that every man in *any* State could vote with perfect independence, and profit by all legal remedies, even when he was too timid or corrupt to wish to vote, and too poor or ignorant to be willing to go to law? Are we prepared to arm the Federal Government with complete police powers over *all* the States, by giving its courts unlimited jurisdiction, and Congress unlimited rights of legislation? If so, let us have no more vague talk about it. Give us the proposal in black and white, and let us discuss it.

For our own part, we say unhesitatingly that if we have to choose between the caricature of constitutional government which has been carried on at the South since 1865 and a frank abandonment of the theory that the Southern States are States in the Union; between sham State government and the government of colonies, like India or Algeria, we vastly prefer the latter, and that we are totally opposed to the plan of disguising the nature of the late proceedings in South Carolina and Louisiana with the phrases of moral philosophy. We desire to have them hereafter described in legal terminology, so that when a man talks to us of our duty to the negro or the rights of the negro, we may know exactly what he means. We think the liberties of the North could be preserved even if the Republic had dependencies to govern, even if it were laid down that every State having more than a certain proportion of colored men in the population should be treated as Territory simply and ruled arbitrarily, because in that case the distinction between arbitrary and constitutional rule would be clearly marked, and people's minds would not be confused by seeing frauds perpetrated against constitutionalism in Columbia under the very forms which in Boston are used for its protection. It would not be a very dangerous thing to see a legislature sitting in South Carolina as one might sit in Jamaica or Barbadoes, under permission of the officer commanding the garrison, if that were the law; but it is a dangerous thing to see one sitting in South Carolina which purports in law to be, in all respects the legal equal of that of New York or Massachusetts, and yet may have the qualifications of its members determined by a corporal's guard, and admission to its hall regulated by a brigadier. These things have been done at the South, ostensibly for the protection of the negro. Is this what we mean by "using force to keep faith with him"? If not, what do we mean?

During the late canvass the arguments of the Southern Republicans consisted almost exclusively of stories of outrages on colored men. They had not one word to say for their own legislation or administration, although they had been in possession of the government in several of the States. They confined themselves to showing that a great many murders and assaults had been committed under their own rule in defiance of their own courts, police, and militia. Now this would be a perfectly good argument in favor of military government, or in favor of the reduction of the States in which these things occurred to a Territorial condition and the assumption of full

police powers by the Federal Administration. But nothing could better illustrate the bewildered, not to say muddled, state of mind into which we have got on this subject, than the fact that the argument was seriously used not in favor of any change but in favor of the indefinite prolongation of the *status quo*—that is, the maintenance in power of the very men who had failed to preserve order or protect life or property. How is it that a practical people like that of the North has been able to listen with grave countenances for a whole summer to governors and sheriffs and judges crying out, "We cannot arrest robbers or murderers; they do not mind us, and the State is full of them; we cannot afford the least protection to life or property. The thieves refuse to be honest; the turbulent refuse to be orderly; the criminals will not come into court to be tried; the coroners will not hold inquests, and the tax-payers will not pay taxes; therefore God only knows what will happen if we are not re-elected. The colored man lives in mortal terror, and is and has been without the smallest protection for life or property ever since we came into power. Picture to yourselves what his condition will be if we go out of power."

Not only, however, have these arguments been listened to gravely, but they have been effectual in inducing good people at the North to desire heartily the success at the polls of the carpet-bag politicians, as a matter of great national importance. But more than this; there were tens if not hundreds of thousands of persons whom stories of Southern outrages caused to vote for Hayes, without ever reflecting for five minutes on the question whether Hayes's election would put a stop to outrages, or, in fact, considering in what manner, if at all, a Republican triumph at the North was connected with the condition of the South. The outrages made them angry with the Democrats, and so they voted the Hayes ticket, but never asked themselves in what way Hayes would accomplish what Grant had totally failed to accomplish, or why a South Carolinian or a Mississippian, who had proposed to himself to murder a negro, should abandon his design on hearing that there was to be another Republican President in the White House. For instance, Governor Chamberlain, in South Carolina, used the Hamburg massacre with great effect in the late canvass. He based on it a letter to the President asking him to get the troops ready, as he would most likely need them, although the persons accused of participation in the massacre had been arrested and promptly indicted, and he himself had not tried, as a Northern Governor would have tried, whether the civil force of the State was or was not sufficient for the punishment of the crime. This massacre probably confirmed tens of thousands of wavering Republicans in their allegiance to the party. The criminals, however, have not been brought to trial; so far as we can learn there is no talk of bringing them to trial. The District-Attorney passed his summer on the Chamberlain stump. In other words, the massacre having served its electioneering purpose, no attention was given to the enforcement of the law. The prosecuting officer neglected his duty, and the governor made no attempt to make him do it. The same thing occurs again and again in the carpet-bag States. Now, is it "keeping faith with the negro" to use our influence to keep in power officers who in this gross manner fail to afford him protection? And is it a proper use of military force to lend it to these men to enable them to maintain themselves against the just indignation of the communities which they betray or defraud? If our military and civil force may not be properly used for these things, for what things is it to be used?

THE TEXAS-AND-PACIFIC JOB.

WHILE the attention of the public is generally absorbed by the Presidential question, and withdrawn to an unusual degree from other matters of national interest, the advocates of the Texas and Pacific Railway Bill are taking advantage of the screen which has been so unexpectedly provided to conceal their manœuvres, and, with considerable confidence in the success of their efforts, are expecting an early and favorable report from the Pacific Railroad Committee, and will press the question to a vote within a few

weeks. The bill is understood to be substantially the Atkins Bill of the last session, which provides for the funds needed to construct the road by giving the guaranty of the United States Government to the company's first-mortgage bonds. The route of the Texas and Pacific Railway is that commonly known as the Thirty-second Parallel line, extending from Shreveport on the Red River to the harbor of San Diego in Southern California, a total distance of 1,675 miles, of which 218 miles at the eastern end, from Shreveport to Fort Worth, are now in operation. At the last session of Congress a powerful opposition was raised by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company of California, which has nearly completed its road from San Francisco to Fort Yuma, in the extreme southeastern corner of the State, where it will connect with the Texas and Pacific Railway at a point 270 miles from San Diego. This company, whose president was the vice-president of the Central Pacific Railroad, offered to extend its road eastward through Arizona and New Mexico till the connection should be made with some road to be built from the east, without the aid of any Government guaranty, provided the land-grant already given to the Texas and Pacific Railway should be transferred to it. It was argued, however, with considerable effect in behalf of the Texas and Pacific Railway Bill that this Southern Pacific Railroad Company was but another name for the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and that the construction by it of the southern line across the continent would only strengthen the monopoly which now controls the northern route and nearly the whole railway system of California; that the breaking of this monopoly, by securing another railroad to the Pacific, independently owned, was so important as to call for the financial aid of the general Government. It is now understood that these two interests, which were apparently so antagonistic, have come to an agreement; the California corporation no longer offers to extend its road eastward for a simple land grant, and the Texas and Pacific Railway Company asks that the Government guaranty be given to the bonds of a railroad from Fort Worth to the Pacific, the western part of which is to be built by the same California corporation which a few months ago was so terrible a monopoly that Government aid was invoked to prevent its extension. The revised bill is understood to provide for a branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad of California to San Diego, and for an extension of that road to a connection with the Texas and Pacific Railway in New Mexico, for the completion of the last-named road from Fort Worth to this junction point, and for branches at the eastern end to Vinita, Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans; the bonds of this entire system of roads to be guaranteed by the United States Government. A cooler proposition it would be hard to conceive of.

It is not our purpose to discuss the general question of Government subsidies, but to point out the peculiar features of this case. The Texas and Pacific Railway is now in operation to Fort Worth, the Southern Pacific Railroad is nearly completed to Fort Yuma on the Rio Colorado; the distance between these two points, according to the Texas and Pacific surveys, is a trifle less than 1,200 miles. In these times of low prices \$30,000,000, or less than twice the amount expended by a single city to secure railroad connection with the Southern States, is a liberal estimate of the cash cost of construction. The Texas and Pacific Railway has now 442 miles in operation, the distance from San Francisco to Fort Yuma is 725 miles; this is about one-half of the whole, and has been accomplished with the aid of no Government money. One-half of the unbuilt 1,200 miles is in the State of Texas, and this State, ever bountiful in the disposition of its public domain, has given to this road a liberal land grant, which, unlike the grants to other Texas railroads, is within a sixteen-mile reservation along the surveyed route. With such inducements and so much of the work already accomplished, private capital would soon be interested to complete the whole. The Atkins Bill provides for the issue of five per cent. gold bonds at the rate of \$40,000 per mile, secured by a mortgage of the 1,400 miles of railroad from Fort Worth to San Diego, the interest to be guaranteed by the United States Government, which is to retain \$5,000 per mile of these bonds to meet interest charges during construction.

and provide for future betterments. The issue of bonds under this provision would be over \$58,000,000, or about double the cash cost of the 1,200 miles necessary to complete the connection across the continent, and this amount it is now proposed to give to secure a connection with a road which less than a year ago offered to build one-half of the unbuilt link without a dollar of Government aid, and which is under the same control as the existing line to the Pacific.

If, however, nothing more were asked than a guaranty of the bonds of the unbuilt trunk line the scheme would be comparatively harmless; though the precedent of a Government guaranty is of the most dangerous character, there are fair grounds for believing that the road would earn the interest on its bonds and that the Government would sustain no pecuniary loss. The bill, however, provides for four branches from different points on the eastern part of the line, which are about to be built by Government credit, and which can expect but a small share of the business that may render the main line profitable. East of Fort Worth the Texas and Pacific Railway has a double line; it may be briefly described as a parallelogram of railroads, the longer sides of which run nearly east and west, and the shorter sides have a northeasterly course. Fort Worth is at the southwest, Sherman at the northwest, Marshall at the southeast, and Texarkana at the northeast corner; a spur 40 miles long extending eastwardly from Marshall to Shreveport completes the system east of Fort Worth. All of this is now in operation except the 82 miles which form the westerly side of the parallelogram from Sherman to Fort Worth. At Sherman and Dallas (32 miles east of Fort Worth) connection is made with the Houston and Texas Central Railway, which gives an all-rail line to the Gulf, and, through its northern connections, to the railroad system of the Northern States; at Texarkana connection is made, through the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern Railway, with the railroad system of the Eastern and Southern States.

The first branch provided for by the bill is to leave the main line at Double Mountain, 209 miles west of Fort Worth, and to run northeasterly through the Indian Territory to the present terminus of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway at Vinita. This branch will be 436 miles long, and the bill provides for a guaranty of its bonds at the rate of \$35,000 a mile, an aggregate of over \$15,000,000. Fort Worth and Vinita are already connected by rail by way of Dallas. The proposed branch will establish no new connections whatsoever, and it will run for the greater part of its length through a country where trade and settlement are forbidden by law. The distance from Double Mountain to St. Louis by way of Sherman and Texarkana is 935 miles, and by Sherman and Vinita 885 miles; by the proposed branch to Vinita it would be 800 miles, the differences being about the same as those between the several routes from New York City to Cincinnati. This branch could have no local business, and but a trifling share of the through-business. It could not earn the interest on its guaranteed bonds, and the guaranty would be simply the payment by the Government of \$15,000,000 to build, in the words once happily applied by the president of the Texas and Pacific Railway to the railroad now running through the Indian Territory, a tunnel 400 miles long.

The second branch provided for in the bill is to run from the eastern terminus at Shreveport to the city of New Orleans. The length of this branch will not be less than 320 miles, and the issue of guaranteed bonds, at \$35,000 a mile, will be more than \$11,000,000. The Houston and Texas Central Railway, in connection with Morgan's steamship and railroad line, already furnishes a convenient freight and pleasant passenger connection between the Texas and Pacific Railway and New Orleans. Moreover, the distance by the surveyed railroad line from Houston to New Orleans is but 335 miles, of which 171 are already constructed, and preparations are now making by parties of financial solidity for the completion of the whole. Besides this, the Houston and Texas Central Railway is now extending its Waco branch to Weatherford, on the line of the Texas and Pacific Railway, twenty-eight miles west of Fort Worth. This continuous rail line from New Orleans to Weatherford, 630 miles long, will be completed by private capital before the

line across the continent can possibly be finished. To open a second line, which cannot be more than sixty-five miles shorter, the Government is asked to guarantee \$11,000,000 of bonds of a road which can take but a trifling portion of the business of the trunk line.

The third branch provided for in the bill is to run from Shreveport to Vicksburg; its length will be 170 miles, and the issue of guaranteed bonds about \$6,000,000. Of this distance 72 miles, from Vicksburg to Monroe, are already in operation, but the bill, with its usual liberality, provides for the purchase as well as the construction of such railroads as may be needed to form a part of these branches. There is now a continuous line of railroad from Monroe, through Vicksburg, Montgomery, Atlanta, and Richmond, to New York City, more than 1,300 miles, and with the prospect of 2,100 miles of railroad from Shreveport to San Francisco there can be no real difficulty in procuring the small amount of private capital needed to fill the gap of less than 100 miles.

The fourth branch provided for in the bill is to run from Jefferson, 15 miles north of Marshall, to Memphis; it will be at least 305 miles long, and the issue of guaranteed bonds will amount to nearly \$11,000,000. Of all the branches this is the one for which there is least excuse; the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern Railway is in operation between Texarkana and Little Rock, where it connects with the Memphis and Little Rock Railway, also in regular operation; the distance from Jefferson to Memphis by this route, built by the aid of Government land grants, and over which trains have been running regularly for three years, is 339 miles, while 17 miles will be saved to all through-business by taking the route from Fort Worth to Texarkana by way of Sherman. The Government is asked to contribute \$11,000,000 to provide a Memphis connection only 17 miles shorter than one already secured, the only effect of which would be to divide between two lines of railroad a business which is not sufficient to support one.

These four branches, two of which are absolutely useless, and the other two of which are but duplications of lines which private capital is sure to construct, call for a Government guaranty of \$43,000,000 of bonds, representing 1,230 miles of railroad. Whatever may be said of the guaranty of the main-line bonds being a safe one, it cannot be doubted that these branches would result only in very heavy loss to the guarantor. The total amount of bonds which the bill provides for on main line and branches would be more than \$100,000,000; the aggregate of bonds issued by the Government to secure the construction of the existing line to the Pacific, which was built in a time of inflated prices and with a subsidy which has generally been regarded as much too liberal, was less than \$65,000,000, of which only \$53,000,000 were issued to the two companies which constructed the line, 1,772 miles long, between Omaha and Sacramento.

The Texas and Pacific Railway Bill contains clauses forbidding any combination between the Southern and Central Pacific Railroad companies, and limiting the issue of bonds to the actual cost of the road. The ease with which provisions of this kind can be avoided is too well known to call for discussion; unity of action will be secured without combination, and it is not difficult to make the cost of a railroad equal to the fund appropriated for its construction.

If the bill asked only for a guaranty of \$30,000,000, a sufficient sum to secure the completion of the unbuilt 1,200 miles, there would be some reason in it; but its projectors saw that public opinion was so strongly set against Government subsidies that any such simple scheme would be hopeless; it was necessary to secure the support of local prejudice and special interests, and for this reason the 1,230 miles of branches were added to the original scheme. Each branch represents so many Congressional Districts and so many votes, and it represents so many thousand tons of iron which are to be manufactured in so many other districts which have so many more votes. The 35th Parallel interest has been secured by the branch from Vinita to Double Mountain, and the opposition interest of last year by the proposal to let that interest construct the western part of the line. That the 32d Parallel line would soon be completed by private capital, without Government aid, there can be

little doubt; but such a course would not satisfy the projectors of the Texas and Pacific Railway.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE TELEGRAPH COMPANIES.

IT cannot be denied at this late day that not only Congress but each of its Houses possesses certain powers not expressly conferred by the Constitution, but necessarily implied in the very existence of a supreme legislative body, which may be exercised as well against persons who are not its members as against those who are, which are semi-judicial in their nature, operation, and effects, and which are collectively termed by writers upon parliamentary law its "privileges." In this class of special functions are included the inflicting of punishment for contempts, the ordering the attendance and testimony of witnesses or the production of papers, the compelling obedience to such orders if necessary by arrest and imprisonment, and other similar proceedings by which the authority of the House is upheld and its ordinary business is facilitated. Mr. Jefferson, who, in theory, would construe the Constitution with extreme strictness and restrict the Government within the narrowest limits, maintained the doctrine that neither House has any such power, not even that of punishing contempts, until Congress shall have conferred the authority by statute; and he utterly repudiated the notion that the separate branches of the legislature have been clothed with the attributes which the common law gave to the Commons and the Lords in the British Parliament. This opinion of Mr. Jefferson, however, has never been followed in practice. Very soon after the establishment of the national Government, both the Senate and the House of Representatives assumed the authority which he condemned, and, although no enabling statute has been passed, the same parliamentary "privilege" in some one of its forms has been repeatedly asserted and enforced by each branch of Congress down to the present time. The existence of the power, which has thus been maintained by an uninterrupted course of legislative precedents, has also been established in the most authoritative manner by judicial decision. In the case of *Anderson vs. Dunn* (6 Wheaton's Rep.), the plaintiff having been arrested by virtue of an order of the House of Representatives for a contempt, brought an action against the Sergeant-at-Arms to recover damages for the wrongful trespass. The only question presented to the Supreme Court for adjudication was whether the House possessed the authority which it had exercised, and the judges were unanimous in rendering an affirmative answer. They held that the very conception of such a supreme legislature involves the existence of certain powers, partly judicial, partly ministerial, inherent in each House; that the great function of law-making necessarily includes these ancillary attributes; that these privileges confessedly belonged to the two branches of the British Parliament, and must in like manner be considered as tacitly granted to the Senate and the House of Representatives in the very act of their creation.

The doctrine being thus fully settled that each branch of Congress may under certain circumstances, without the sanction of a statute, interfere with the private citizen, may coerce his attendance and compel him to disclose facts which he wishes to conceal; may require him to produce papers, and may even punish him by arrest and imprisonment for his disobedience and for his words or acts which it pronounces to be a contempt, the practical question remains to be considered, What are the limits, if any, within which the operation of these extraordinary privileges must be confined? In England the assertion of its special functions by the House of Commons has given rise to several most interesting judicial controversies and to most profound and exhaustive discussions by the courts. There has been, of course, no dispute as to the authority of Parliament. Being controlled by no constitutional prohibitions, its unlimited power of legislation over all subjects is conceded. The most memorable as well as the most important of all the judicial contests growing out of an assertion of its privilege by the House of Commons was the case of *Stockdale vs. Hansard*, first decided in

1839. In certain proceedings pending before the House, a document was presented which severely animadverted upon Stockdale as a publisher of immoral books. This document was published by Hansard pursuant to an order of the House, which also passed the following resolution: "That the power of publishing such of its reports, votes, and proceedings as it shall deem necessary or conducive to the public interests, is an essential incident to the constitutional function of Parliament, more especially to the Commons' House of Parliament as the representative portion of it." The paper thus published containing defamatory matter, Stockdale brought an action of libel against Hansard, who set up the foregoing proceedings and resolution of the Commons as his justification and defence. The Court of Queen's Bench, while admitting the privileges inherent in the House of Commons, denied in the most emphatic manner that it was the sole or final judge of their character and extent. In masterly opinions, some of which are models of judicial eloquence, the judges declared that neither House can, without the authority of a statute, invade the legal rights of the private citizen, or authorize any act to be done towards him which the law pronounces to be a positive wrong; that the document was libellous, and that the order of the House did not justify its publication. The following principles have thus been judicially affirmed in England: that neither House of Parliament is the sole or final judge as to the nature and extent of those special powers which are collectively denominated its "privileges"; that such privileges are not without limit, but are, in fact, so circumscribed that they do not authorize or justify any direct invasion of the private citizen's legal rights; and, finally, that they are essentially inferior to the legislative function possessed by the Parliament as a whole.

So far as the special powers which we have described relate to papers or documents, two entirely distinct cases may arise which are governed by very different rules; namely, (1) the simple ordering of documents alone to be produced and laid before the House; and (2) the ordering of witnesses who are summoned for examination to produce papers for the purpose of being given in evidence or of being used in connection with their testimony either before the House itself or before a committee. For the first of these cases the following principles are well established by the Parliamentary law of Great Britain. The motion must in its very terms particularly describe the papers which it intends to reach. The person or persons to whom the order for production is directed must be clothed with some official function or occupy some legal public position. The papers themselves which are demanded must be official in their character—in other words, they must not be mere private documents, such as letters, muniments of title, proceedings in suits, and the like. In the second case, however, the power over papers is much more extensive. Whenever a matter is under examination before the House or before a committee thereof, and witnesses are summoned to testify, they may be required to bring with them and to exhibit for purposes of evidence any writings, even those which are wholly of a private nature. The authority is co-extensive with that possessed by the ordinary tribunals on the trial of civil or criminal causes. A witness can never decide upon the materiality or relevancy of a paper which he is directed in the subpoena to bring into court. In this case, as in the first, the order of the House or the warrant issued in pursuance of it must particularly describe all the documents and writings which the witness is commanded to produce.

These principles which regulate or limit the privileges of the Commons and the Lords apply with equal force to the two Houses of Congress. But are not the extraordinary and semi-judicial powers inherent in the separate divisions of the United States Legislature still further restricted and held in check by those provisions of the Constitution which constitute its Bill of Rights? Mr. Cushing, in his treatise upon Parliamentary law, answers this enquiry in the negative, and lays down the broad doctrine that the Constitutional prohibitions are addressed to Congress only while engaged in law-making, and have no relation whatever with its special functions, which are involved in its very existence as a legislative assembly.

This distinction certainly rests upon no satisfactory principles. The power of legislation is the highest which belongs to a government. It simply expresses the absolute sovereignty of the people. It would be a strange anomaly if Congress, in the exercise of this supreme attribute, should be carefully restrained within impassable barriers contrived to protect the citizen, while a single division of it should be left untrammelled in the enforcement of the subordinate and inferior functions which were bestowed for the sole purpose of promoting the efficiency of legislative business. The privileges of the House of Commons—the representative branch of an omnipotent Parliament—cannot invade the rights of a private citizen; much more is the House of Representatives or the Senate held in check by the prohibitory clauses of the Bill of Rights.

The foregoing doctrines furnish an easy solution to all the difficulties, whether real or apparent, involved in the action of the House of Representatives or its committee concerning the production of despatches remaining in the offices of telegraph companies, whether at New Orleans or elsewhere. It is very clear that no authority exists whereby the House can compel the simple production of such writings. The despatches are not official or public documents, nor are the companies, their trustees, managers, or operators, clothed with any official functions. A sweeping order that a company should merely lay before the House all the messages on file in a certain office, or even any one or more messages however identified, would be in violation of the well-settled principles before stated. On the other hand, it is equally clear that upon the pending examination before the House, or its committee, a telegraph officer or operator summoned as a witness may be rightfully commanded to bring with him and produce in evidence the messages which are in his possession or under his control. It is no objection that such papers are private writings. There is no rule of law which forbids the production of any documents (except for special reasons which have no application to the present discussion) necessary for the administration of justice because they are private. Telegraph messages remaining in the company's office after delivery are analogous to letters which have been transmitted, received, and read by the parties to whom they were addressed. Such letters are always subject to the control of courts if they are material evidence upon the trial of issues. There is absolutely no analogy whatever between the production of such despatches left remaining in the company's office and the opening and reading of letters while in the course of transit through the Post-office. But, finally, the order of the House or of the committee addressed to a witness, requiring him to produce the despatches, must particularly describe the very ones which it is intended should be forthcoming. A general mandate without any means of identification would violate the rule of parliamentary law already quoted, and would be within the spirit if not the very letter of the Constitutional provision forbidding unlawful searches and seizures.

THE WASHINGTON RETURNING-BOARD CONSPIRATORS AND BRIGADIERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 6.

THERE is no excitement in Washington. It is dull in the Senate and dull in the House, and as to the dullness there are, of course, two prevailing theories. Some Democrats, as well as some Republicans, who wish there were more Democrats of the same kind, speak of it as the quiet that precedes the storm, but to the mass of people, myself among the number, it looks like simple, honest dullness and nothing more. There is really nothing to create any feeling. Everybody knows now what everybody else thinks on the all-important subjects of who was elected, whom Louisiana went for, how much intimidation there was in the South; and everybody is tired of hearing them talked about. Besides there is nothing in the political world to talk about, unless it be the count—and of that no one who knows anything about it talks at his ease, because, whether he is a Democrat or a Republican, he sees that by "assuming judicial functions" and declining to commit himself in any way in advance, he avoids many dangerous pitfalls. The consequence of this is that for the moment the political situation is the one thing that is not talked of, and if it were not for such Godsend as the death of Commodore Vanderbilt and the Bennett-

May fracas in New York, Washington would be at its wit's end for news. Yesterday there were strong hopes that the arraignment of the recusant witness, Barnes, for contempt at the bar of the House would lead to some exciting scenes between the "brigadiers" and their opponents, and I went to the scene of action in the half-expectation of hearing the rebel yell, if not of seeing a hand-to-hand fight; but, alas! when the appointed hour arrived, and Barnes was brought in, the wretched man, instead of struggling as a martyr to the principles of privileged communications in the clutches of the Sergeant-at-Arms and making at least one stirring appeal from rebel tyranny to the sense of justice of an American gallery, contented himself with presenting a long and tedious document, evidently prepared by eminent counsel, but possessing no human interest whatever, the reading of which occupied at least an hour, and ended, not in lofty and inspiring debates on great questions of constitutional law, but in the reference of the whole matter to the Judiciary Committee. In the Senate nothing appears to be going on at all. The committees of course have plenty of work cut out for them, and the regular business of the session proceeds in the regular course, but one attracts almost as little attention as the other.

The petitions and memorials addressed to Congress from the large cities, begging senators and members to approach the subject of the electoral count in a judicial spirit, or in a spirit of compromise, or in a spirit tending to "harmonize conflicting views," have had, as far as one can judge here, an effect somewhat different from what they were intended to produce. Amounting, as they almost all do, to little more than a request that Congress will be virtuous and do its duty in the premises, their effect on the Republicans has been to open to them an easy way of carrying on their plans for the inauguration of Hayes, under cover of a patriotic attempt to do right whatever may happen. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, is, of course, the easiest rule of conduct in the world, provided the persons who are to live by it are themselves the interpreters of what *justitia* is. The shrewder Republicans see this, and those of them who had before meant to make Hayes President in a spirit of defiance now mean to make him President in a judicial spirit, in a spirit of compromise, and in a spirit tending to "harmonize conflicting views." To them it makes little or no difference whether they do it in one spirit or another so long as they do it; and if the merchants and bankers and brokers and bank presidents will only tell them in what spirit to do it, in that spirit they are quite ready to have the votes opened and counted. Mr. Conkling's conservative speech on the presentation of the New York petition the other day has attracted a great deal of attention, but a careful examination of it fails to reveal any very definite meaning in his utterances. This so-called conservatism may prove to amount to a great deal, and may, on the other hand, count for very little. The general impression in New York has been, I know, that he was going to "rat," but there seems to be really no foundation for the belief beyond the fact that no one knows what he is going to do, and some people even doubt whether he knows himself.

The general impression here among cool people is, that the investigations and deliberations in committee, though they may settle matters of detail, will settle nothing as to the general result. It is difficult to see how they can. There are a dozen or so going on, and they have five weeks only left. A protracted investigation has been going on over the country since the 7th of November, and it has settled nothing. Why should we expect anything from the short time that is left? South Carolina, to be sure, may be conceded to have gone for Hayes; but it is clear that no such concession will ever be made as to Florida, and far less as to Louisiana. No amount of investigation will ever satisfy the Democrats that the action of the Returning Board in destroying a popular majority of 8,000 at the polls was fair, legal, or binding on anybody, and nothing will ever convince the Republicans that the State was not carried by violence and intimidation. The condition of the black population makes it perfectly easy to accumulate on both sides of any political question a mass of testimony which will perfectly satisfy the mind of any one predisposed to take a particular view of it. Besides all this, the Committee on the Electoral Count, on whose deliberations the innocent public place so much reliance, cannot reach any conclusion, because any *method* of counting they might decide upon would virtually decide the election. The moment you know how the counting is going to be done, that moment you know who is to be counted in. Therefore, as the Democrats on the committee believe that Tilden has actually been elected President, and certainly most of the Republicans that Hayes has been chosen, a method of counting satisfactory to both parties cannot be agreed upon. In other words, the method of counting involves the result of the count, and, as no agreement has thus far been possible on the one, none will be possible on the other.

If this view is sound—and it is rather a conservative Republican view

than that held by the "Conspirators" or the "Brigadiers"—it carries with it an important consequence as to the kind of influence which is likely to tell upon Congress if brought to bear for the purpose of obtaining a satisfactory result. Petitions calling upon Congress to do its duty, be virtuous, act impartially, and so on, have, as I just now said, no effect on the very great number of persons in both Houses whose minds are already made up, and really do little more than furnish them with a sort of moral cover for any operations they may have decided upon. Upon the moderate men of unsettled views they may have some little effect, but not much, because they see that a loud call upon them by their fellow-citizens to be virtuous at all hazards is precisely one of those calls which no fellow-citizen risks anything in signing, and which all fellow-citizens will gladly sign any day in the week, and all the year round, not only irrespective of party, but irrespective of facts. With all due respect to the eminent signers of the various petitions that have been handed in, I am inclined to think that they have been listened to with indifference not wholly unmingled with amusement. Under these circumstances, is there any kind of petition which would affect the minds of members of Congress? Those who hold the general views I have been endeavoring to describe would say that the only kind—if there is any kind at all—likely to have much effect would be an explicit declaration from large bodies of men who voted for Hayes that Tilden was fairly elected, or that there has been no election, or from large bodies of men who voted for Tilden that Hayes is elected, coupled with threats, not of armed resistance, but of political secession and revolt. Such petitions as this would, it is said, if not convert any extreme partisans, at least give a number of wavering and moderate men the moral support they need.

Correspondence.

ELECTING BY A MASS VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : When events recently threw so strong a light upon a weak point in our system of choosing a President, the disgust and disappointment which were felt tended to carry men's minds towards the opposite extreme. Most of us, I think, turned to the idea of choosing by a mass vote as the best remedy, and Senator Morton has made that principle the basis of a proposed change in our Constitution.

I think, however, that consideration will show that such a change would be essentially for the worse. We must always, unfortunately, reckon upon encountering determined efforts at fraud, and our object must, of course, be to render their execution as difficult as possible. Under our present system the temptation will always be (as we have recently seen) to sway the vote of a nearly-balanced State. Under a mass-vote system, on the contrary, fraud will be directed to the rolling up of large fraudulent majorities wherever this can be most easily done, and that evidently will be in those States where one party has a greatly preponderating power. That is, under our present system, fraud is only useful where parties are nearly matched in a State, and there may be hope of overcoming a small hostile majority. Now, it is exactly under these circumstances that parties are able to watch each other most closely, are able to detect and to prevent fraud.

Under the system of mass-voting votes are equally valuable wherever they can be had. Suppose the last election to have been held upon the mass-vote system, how easy it would have been to have added ten or twenty thousand to the vote returned from a State like Kentucky! Several States could be named in any one of which it would have been easier to have returned ten thousand fraudulent votes than one thousand in Louisiana or Florida. At present there is no object to do this, but with a mass-vote system there would be everything to gain by it. Now the temptation to fraud is placed exactly where there is least opportunity; the change to a mass vote would place it where the opportunities would be greatest, and where, however large the fraud might be, the returns would be in perfect order and not open to the least objection; for the dominant party, holding every office and every position, would leave nothing open to criticism.

We undoubtedly need a change in our system of voting, but not a change for the worse, as this would be. We need an open ballot, every vote registered, and an educational qualification. Also a provision disfranchising for ever every man convicted of a criminal offence. What an anomaly that a rogue fresh from jail should have an equal voice with an honest man!

M. C. L.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 1, 1877.

THE PRUSSIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Will you permit me to call your attention to a fact in Prussian political experience which is strikingly like the result of our own experiment with the electoral machinery for President. As you are aware, the members of the Lower House of the Diet are not chosen directly but indirectly, by an election process of two degrees. For this purpose the entire male population above the legal age is divided into three classes on the basis of wealth, or, what is nearly the same thing, on the basis of the tax-roll; and it commonly happens that the first or wealthiest class is in numbers the smallest, the second the next in size, and the third the most numerous. In the legislative districts now, at the preliminary elections, each of these three classes chooses or "appoints" an equal number or one-third of the electors (Wahlmänner). The first step is thus completed. A week later the electors meet, each "college" for its own district, to choose the deputy or deputies. There is more properly deliberation than in the American Electoral Colleges, for assemblies of two or three hundred men are less amenable to discipline than a petty council of half a dozen. Rival candidates appear, and their speeches sometimes turn the result. But as a rule, and much to the surprise, doubtless, of the inventors of this system, the preliminary election decides not only upon principles but also upon persons, and the electors meet simply to register a recorded result. The Prussian primary voter is as unwilling as his brother in America to delegate his discretion even in a remote instance to another person.

In one respect, however, this system of voting—which may be called classified, not limited or partial suffrage—has worked abundantly well. It has thrown the preponderance of political power into the hands of the middle class of society, the one which, being in general better educated, wants alike the narrow bigotry and arrogance of the landed nobility and the brutal fanaticism of the town rabble. The Prussian Chamber of Deputies is much freer from extreme elements of all sorts than the Imperial Reichstag, which is a creation of universal suffrage and direct election.

The Prussian system cannot be too carefully studied by friends of constitutional reform.—I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

H. T.

BERLIN, Dec. 13, 1876.

LOUISIANA POLITICS REVIEWED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : That an election in Louisiana has become a subject for endless talk throughout the country is not surprising to those who have known the history of the State since reconstruction. On the contrary, all fair-minded observers have felt that such a shameful history could have but one conclusion, and that startling to the whole country, dangerous to the whole Government.

In 1868 the Republican State ticket, headed by H. C. Warmoth, succeeded in carrying the election. The manner in which Warmoth obtained his nomination at once drove many true friends of the colored people from the field of politics. But the election was reasonably fair, and may be said to have resulted in a victory for the majority of voters. But since then no State officers have ever been elected by vote of the people. The Governor, though young in years yet a very Catiline in the audacity of his wicked schemes and his shameless defiance of public opinion, immediately entered upon a career of political crime without a parallel even in the infamous history of carpet-baggism. Under the guidance of his evil genius, government became a system of legalized plunder and fraud. It had but two objects—namely, to gather in the spoils and to perpetuate its own evil power. To accomplish the latter purpose, the elective machinery of the State was given such shape and form as to secure, in defiance of the verdict of the ballot-box, not only the triumph of the Republican party, but the election of just such men in that party as Warmoth considered best suited to his own uses. As each election approached, he gathered around him an army of unscrupulous young men, whom he named supervisors of election, registrars, and clerks. He filled the wards of the city with them, and sent them to all the parishes of the State. He dictated and they obeyed: he named the candidates and they returned them elected. Sometimes the choice fell upon citizens of the parish, sometimes upon young adventurers imported from the city for that purpose, more often upon the supervisors and clerks themselves. Sometimes these candidates received a hundred votes, sometimes a dozen. But it mattered not how many people did the voting, or whom they voted for, the men who handled the ballot-boxes did the electing, and Warmoth's candidates never failed to take their seats in the Legislature nor to occupy the other positions for which they had been named. Of course legislatures set up in this way could hardly prove otherwise than subservient to the will

of the Governor. But when a member became recalcitrant his case was at once referred to the Committee on Elections, and his seat was awarded to a more pliant opponent.

In this connection it must not be forgotten that all this was done more or less according to the forms of law. Nevertheless, the degradation and destruction of the elective franchise were complete. Politics became thoroughly debauched, public sentiment was paralyzed, honesty was laughed out of countenance, character and qualification, the influence of talent, the wisdom of years, and the power of wealth were driven from the field. The whole thing was a game of fraud, of bribery, of perjury, and of every form and species of wicked device.

In this condition of affairs came the election of '72. From the very outset it was felt that the result of the contest would not depend upon the voters but upon those who should do the counting. Hence the passage of the Enforcement Act, worked through Congress by Kellogg, then a United States Senator, hence the famous race between Warmoth and Pinchback from the North to the State capitol. Both knew that the stroke of a pen would fix the result of the election, and hence the double Returning Board. The Republican party proper was beaten, but a game of sharp practice could be played after an election as well as before it, and so they kept right on. Legislatures were instantly called together; governors were put out and put in in the twinkling of an eye; courts were abolished and established with a rapidity that would have dazzled the eyes of a professional juggler; the midnight order of a partisan judge was executed before people awoke from their morning nap; event outran event and act outshamed act with such confusing rapidity that even the most sober head lost its reckoning. What was wanting in votes was made up in affidavits. These were produced from all kinds of men; some had not voted because they preferred to stay at home, others because they had left the parish, and still others because they had long been resting quietly in the oblivion of the grave; but all alike were made to swear to affidavits, usually signed by "his mark," which declared that they had been deprived of their votes by intimidation or fraud.

In this way a foothold upon office was gained and a form of legality was given to proceedings which never could have succeeded outside of a reconstructed State. The United States Senate could not stand it, but the people of Louisiana were compelled at the point of the bayonet to stand it. In 1874 another general election occurred, and again the old election machinery was put in motion. Again the usual number of supervisors, registrars, etc., were appointed, and as usual they were selected according to their knowledge of, and aptitude for, "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain." But the manifest intention to commit fraud, and the despair of securing anything like a fair election which it excited in the minds of the Democrats, hurried them on to the famous riot of September 14. Whatever other effects this riot may have had, it taught the party in power some wholesome fear, and put them more upon their good conduct in the management of the election.

This resulted in another defeat to the Republicans, but again they proceeded to do what election day had left undone. The Returning Board met and began its canvass of the returns. In spite of the dark past and the successful frauds of other days, there was a prevalent feeling that the results of the election could not be reversed. It was thought that no body of men would dare sit down in the broad light of day, under the eyes of an intelligent community, and falsify the verdict of the ballot-box. But as the proceedings of each day unfolded the evil intent of the next and the wickedness of the final purpose, the blood began to tingle in the veins of honest men, and the tide of wrath rose higher and higher. When the infamy was consummated indignation had reached such a pitch that another tragedy seemed inevitable. But again the bayonet was called for, and again the people were compelled to submit to what reason, conscience, heart, and soul taught them was wrong.

Unexpectedly to the leaders here and elsewhere, the North also was greatly aroused, and Congress felt called upon to send a committee of investigation. This committee, composed of two very able Republicans and one Democrat, was overwhelmed by an array of facts which could neither be answered nor explained away. Their report was exceedingly damaging—altogether too much so to suit the tastes or serve the purposes of the party in power; therefore a second committee, more partisan in spirit and with a desperate determination to make things look right, facts or no facts, was sent. This committee likewise failed to convince itself or anybody else that things were right, and the result was a compromise which acknowledged the evil and made a slight attempt at reparation.

And now we have had another election; it was put through the same old mill, the same hand was upon the crank, the same hand emptied the bag

into the hopper, and again there was the same unsatisfactory grist. The Republicans were beaten—badly beaten. But the Returning Board still lived and there was hope. It was not known that they had experienced any change of heart or been subject to any moral improvement, neither had they lost any of their partisan spirit or brazen defiance of public opinion. The leaders breathed freely, and the knowing ones winked hard, looked wise, and said little above a whisper. The men of the other party looked one another in the face and said, Will the Board dare to tamper with the returns in such a solemn moment as this? Will they dare to count in a defeated candidate for the Presidency as they have counted in defeated candidates for the Legislature? But even before the question was fairly off their lips they mutually answered, "Yes! and they will do it; they will do anything required for the perpetuation of party power." And they have done it.

That there has been a fair and honest count not a dozen honest, intelligent men in the State believe. If you were to ask a Republican politician confidentially whether the counting had been fairly done, he would laugh in your face, shrug his shoulders, and give you a look that implied that you were either a fool or a novice.

A Republican politician said to me not long since, "Our politicians are so bad that the North cannot realize or believe the infamies of our elections." This may account in part for the attempt which has been made at the North to justify these things, but still there is much reason to suspect that the Northern people are wilfully blind, and that partisan spirit has led them into an endorsement of the greatest political infamy of the age.

A HAYES REPUBLICAN.

NEW ORLEANS, December 27, 1876.

Notes.

ROBERTS BROS. will issue in the spring the 'Life and Letters of Charles Sumner,' of which Mr. Edward L. Pierce is the editor. It will make two volumes octavo.—A memoir of the late Gen. W. F. Bartlett will be written by Gen. F. W. Palfrey, of Boston.—Joel Munsell, Albany, announces 'Christopher Marshall's Diary, 1774-1781,' which was kept in Philadelphia and at Lancaster, Pa.—The *Atlantic Monthly* is shortly to admit illustrations to its pages, of a practical kind. Mr. Edward H. Knight, whose remarkable 'American Mechanical Dictionary' has lately been completed, will contribute to the magazine a series of articles on "Crude and Curious Inventions" at the Centennial Exhibition, to which, of course, illustrations will be indispensable. The index to the *Atlantic's* thirty-eight volumes (1857-1876), by the way, has just appeared, following the example of *Harper's* and *Scribner's*. It differs from both these indexes as the magazines differ among themselves, and agrees with *Scribner's* in not being a topical index like *Harper's*. In running over the list of contributors one is struck with what seems the premature retirement of writers still active in other fields. We suppose this accords with the experience of all editors of literary periodicals.—A useful paper by Mr. Samuel S. Green, librarian of the Worcester Public Library, which was read at the Librarians' Convention last October, has been reprinted separately from the general report. It is on "the desirableness of establishing personal intercourse and relations between librarians and readers in popular libraries"—G. P. Putnam's Sons publish at once Lieut.-Col. R. I. Dodge's 'Plains of the Great West,' and have in press the following works: 'The Question of Rest for Women,' by Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi; 'The Jews,' a study of crime, pauperism, and disease, by R. L. Dugdale; 'Spinal Paralysis,' by Dr. E. C. Seguin; a 'Class book in Geology,' by Prof. J. S. Newberry; a new edition of Bastiat's 'Political Economy,' with an introduction by David A. Wells; 'The Childhood of the English People,' by Ella S. Armistage; and 'The New Testament and the Messiah,' by Rev. O. B. Frothingham.—We hasten to relieve Messrs. Jansen, McClurg & Co. of the imputation cast upon them by a typographical error in the setting of their advertisement in a late number of the *Nation*. "Our critic says" was printed for "One critic says"; and although there are houses which appear to keep critics for the public's enlightenment as to the merit of their wares, the Chicago house in question is not one of them.

—Prof. J. D. Butler, of the University of Wisconsin, writes us:

"The Bureau of Education Report on Public Libraries in the United States, says (p. 894): 'The British Patent Reports, numbering about 2000 volumes, which had been given by the British Government to the Chicago Young Men's Library, and was burnt in 1871, was the only set in the West.' This statement is erroneous. The Historical Society of Wisconsin has such a set in the State Capitol here, and it had received that gift three years before the Chicago fire. For particulars see Wis. Hist. Collections, vol. vi, pp. 11-12."

—The names of Mr. James O. Woodruff, Indianapolis, and Prof. W. L. B. Jenney, Portland Block, Chicago, and J. B. Steere, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, are affixed to a "preliminary announcement of a scientific expedition around the world" now before us. The project embraces a two years' voyage in a first-class steamship of a thousand tons burden, fitted with saloons for study, lectures, and work, and provided with steam-launches and a sufficient armament. The object is to visit points of general and special interest, especially localities nearly or quite unknown to naturalists, to study their architecture, archaeology, and geology, as well as fauna and flora, and also make collections. "The scientific corps will consist of a faculty of ten, now being organized from among the professors of the leading universities." Sixty to eighty students can be accommodated. A physician and surgeon, a chaplain and a photographer will accompany the expedition. The collections will be divided equally between the faculty and the students on the one hand, and the ship on the other. The start will be made from this port July next. The course as now outlined is *via* the Bahamas, Tortugas, and Havana, the mouth of the Amazon, Rio, Montevideo, the Falkland Islands, the Straits of Magellan to Valparaiso (so far, in the track of the *Beagle*); thence to the Polynesian Islands, Australia, New Guinea, Celebes (Macassar), Philippine Islands, Hong-kong, Canton, Formosa, Singapore, Malacca, Sumatra and Java, Calcutta, Ceylon, the Laccadive Islands, and Bombay; thence *via* Aden and the Suez Canal to Alexandria, from which point excursions up the Nile and to Palestine are planned, and subsequently to Constantinople, the chief islands of the Mediterranean, the chief cities of Italy, France, and England; and finally home by way of the Azores. "Several of the faculty will be accompanied by their wives or daughters." We have only hinted at the programme, but we have given enough of it to show that it is purely American in its conception. Those desirous of further information in regard to it should address the gentlemen named above.

—It is stated that an effort will be made to insert in the Sundry Civil Service Bill a clause authorizing the President to organize and send out one or more expeditions towards the North Pole, and to establish a temporary exploring colony at some point north of 81° N. lat., on or near the shores of Lady Franklin Bay. This is in furtherance of the scheme of Capt. H. W. Howgate, U.S.N., who proposes, using this colony as a base, to establish other depots from time to time in such manner as to take advantage of the most favorable conditions of the Polar Sea for navigation. The period of exploration contemplated is indefinite, but might embrace several years. On the other hand, Dr. Petermann has taken advantage of the failure (to reach the Pole) of the Nares expedition to advocate afresh his theory of the east coast of Greenland as the best approach to the Pole. His argument, which is addressed to the Royal Geographical Society, is forcible, and backed by the unrivalled learning of the Gotha geographer, but is coldly received in England, where there seems little disposition to prepare the *Alert* and *Discovery* for a fresh expedition by the route indicated. The feasibility of reaching the Pole from some advanced point of land by balloon has been discussed in the English papers, but that this method is at present impracticable is generally confessed. As it is one, however, which would be available for all difficult countries in all latitudes, it would seem economical to spare ships and men for a while and offer international encouragement to the numerous experimenters in aerial navigation, which is no longer regarded as chimerical. A premium for an airship capable of being steered and of maintaining itself for a thousand miles might bring out the invention before which the North and South Poles and the Equator would yield up their mystery. We may add that a copy of the Admiralty map of the discoveries of the late Arctic expedition is given in the *Geographical Magazine* for December (John Wiley & Son).

—The *Atlantic* for January contains a number of good things and some poor ones. Mr. James's story, "The American," which has now reached its eighteenth chapter, has gradually become the familiar feature of the magazine, for which most of its readers from month to month grow impatient, and it is a story which certainly gets more interesting as it goes on. We confess to having had at first a feeling of irritation at being called upon to take an interest in a specimen of a type which, as a type, is, to say the least, not æsthetically attractive. The self-made American, who has suddenly grown rich by "operations" of one kind or another, and has taken himself and his wealth to Europe, is a familiar enough character in literature, but usually the character has been made a comic one, and we have been called upon to laugh at the ridiculous figure cut by our compatriot in the gilded saloons of the effete but critical Europeans, or at his shocking display of ignorance and barbarism as he wanders through "specimen ruins" and "specimen galleries." Mr. James, however, has

placed before himself a very different task. He has undertaken to make use of this same type as a serious character in a love story. Newman, as we understand him, is a man who by means of a God-given talent for making money has, while still a young man, accumulated a great fortune (we confess to a sneaking curiosity as to which side of the market he operated upon), and while being in externals an entirely untrained and unsophisticated person, is possessed of that tact and adaptability to circumstances and refinement of mind which have always been set down as distinguishingly American traits by such unbiassed observers as the English. This man is now taken to France, made to fall in love with a charming French widow, of a family as old and blue-blooded as any in France, filled with and living on the pride of ancestry, ignorant of any world but their own, and looking down with sovereign contempt upon all persons "in trade." It is in this atmosphere of perfectly cold politeness and perfect inanity that our American barbarian lover has to appear to advantage, and to interest the reader. That he does so at all is a striking proof of Mr. James's power as a novelist, and he unquestionably does so a great deal. Of the story as a whole it would be rash to express an opinion till it is completed; but it is safe to say that it is by far the most important contribution to American fiction made for a long time.

—A disciple of Buckle or Taine who desired to trace Norwegian civilization to its cause in the physical conditions of the country, or to race-characteristics conjoined with these, would find some good materials in an article on "Norway and the Norsemen" in the current number of *Scribner's*, by Mr. Hjalmar H. Boyesen. Here we have a country lying in high latitudes, the northernmost part having an annual mean temperature of 28° Fahrenheit, peninsular in shape, ridged in the middle with a chain of mountains, and penetrated along its entire coast-line by arms of the sea which temper the climate and furnish natural high-roads to the population. The country affords a scanty subsistence, and while the difficulty of living and the climate produce a hardy and adventurous race, accustomed to exposure at all times, the land furnishes no scope for the display of these qualities, and the thoughts of the inhabitants naturally turn to the sea. The conformation of the country makes ship-building easy, and the absence of all traffic with foreign countries relieves us from the necessity of considering what might have been the effect of a tariff on materials entering into the construction of ships. The attractiveness of the sea, combined (*pace* Prof. Boyesen) with the unattractiveness of the land, produces the vikings, who conquer Normandy and England, and fill Europe with the terror of their name. Those who remain at home, being, of course, less adventurous spirits of the race, develop themselves in a tamer way, and become the hardy, industrious, simple, frugal, honest people that we know them. In a country in which the greater part of the year has to be spent in wringing subsistence from the soil, and in which the polar night prevails, we should hardly expect a great development of literary tastes, and accordingly we do not find that there is much; on the other hand, it would not be unfair to expect that in a country with such conditions amusements of a sort suited to the popular tastes would be cultivated sedulously. And so we find that music and dancing have reached great perfection. Formerly, Mr. Boyesen observes with a shade of regret, "brawls and even bloody fights were of no rare occurrence" on the occasion of weddings, so that it was said that "wives were in the habit of bringing shrouds for their husbands in their hand boxes, counting the chances of their being killed as on the whole predominating." We have not space to make the case as complete as it might be made; but any ingenious person who will take Mr. Boyesen's description of Norse character, habits, and civilization, and ask himself how they were produced by physical conditions, etc., will find that there is no more trouble in arriving at correct results than Taine finds in evolving all English literature from the mingling of the Saxon with the Norman, or than Buckle did in deriving the religion of any given country from its food.

—'Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade' is the title of a characteristic pamphlet lately put forth by Mr. Swinburne, in reply to the letter on behalf of Russia published by the friends of Mr. Carlyle towards the last of November. Mr. Swinburne in these pages is as hysterical and vociferous as usual; but he has found a better text for his vaticinations than it sometimes befalls him to do. The burden of his discourse is that the Turks may be great brutes, despoilers, and murderers, but who and what is Mr. Carlyle that he comes down on them for it? Mr. Swinburne charges the panegyrist of "Frederick the Second" with the grossest inconsistency, and makes good his case, in his own fashion, by a pamphletful of that ingeniously furious rhetoric which at the end of a sentence seems masterly, and at the end of a page puerile. Mr. Carlyle has never stood

forward for any of the oppressed of the earth, or advocated liberty for any person or class; he has, on the contrary, praised to the skies that rule of unscrupulous force for which it should be the privilege of a feeble order of sentimentalists to summon the Turk to a reckoning. This is an honor which Mr. Carlyle has logically forfeited, and the impropriety of his conduct must be pointed out. "His innate loathing of the mere word [liberty] is too ungovernable an appetite to be suppressed or disguised for an instant." What, therefore, "is the peculiar sanctifying quality in the Bulgarian which is to exempt him at need from the good office of 'beneficent whip' and 'portable gallows'?" "The Bashi-bazuks," Mr. Swinburne continues, "are shamefully and incredibly maligned, if they have earned no right to claim fellowship with the torturers, the hangmen, and the women-whippers of Hungary, of Poland, and of Jamaica." And he goes on to say, with a very Swinburnian touch, that no man can doubt on which side or to what effect Mr. Carlyle's "potent voice would have been lifted at its utmost pitch before the throne of Herod or the judgment-seat of Pilate. No tetrarch or proconsul, no Mouravieff or Eyre of them all would have been swifter to inflict or louder to invoke the sentence of beneficent whip, the doom of beneficent gallows, on the Communist and stump orator of Nazareth." Mr. Swinburne considers the Russians no better than the Turks, and entertains an ineffable mistrust for the good intentions of the Czar, whom to call "honest," as Mr. Carlyle does, is to be fooled as *Othello* was by honest *Iago*. As to Mr. Carlyle's saying that after the Bulgarians have been righted the Russians will leave the "peaceful Mongol inhabitants" in tranquillity, Mr. Swinburne affirms that the author of 'Sartor Resartus' "has shown himself always the greatest and sometimes the uncleanliest of all great English humorists since Swift; but the grossly indecent irony of this hideous jest might have disconcerted Aristophanes and made Rabelais think twice." That may be called talking. Mr. Swinburne is of the same way of thinking as what may be termed the English literary radicals generally as to the propriety of the oppressors of Bulgaria being chastised by the oppressors of Poland. They enquire, "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" This sentiment is expressed in a noticeable article by Mr. Frederick Harrison in the *Fortnightly Review* for December. Mr. Swinburne draws up with his usual chiaroscuro a "lurid" indictment of the Russian Imperial House, which he compares to that of Atreus, and declares it smells too much of blood to be accepted in a redemptive capacity. As for the attack on Mr. Carlyle's consistency it was pertinent enough to have been made in a less thunderous style of irony.

—Prof. Reuleaux's sweeping censure of German industry in the light of the Philadelphia Exhibition has elicited a very temperate rejoinder from Herr H. Heine, an engineer who spent eight years in this country in mechanical pursuits which gave him an experience of our best machine-shops, and a good insight into our system of mechanical training and the causes of our mechanical superiority. He reproaches Prof. Reuleaux with having judged his countrymen, on the one hand, simply by their accidental entries at the Exhibition, and, on the other, from much too limited observation of American industries. He meets the charge of chauvinism brought against the sending over of Krupp's guns, for example, by pointing to the ordnance exhibit of the U. S. Government, and sets up the general defence that the Exhibition was a challenge to the pretensions of the United States "as the best country in the world." Herr Heine next enumerates the particulars in which German machinery and manufactures must yield to American, and those in which they excel ours. Their superiority he finds manifest in heavy machine and tool-building, as in almost all forms of steam machinery, like stationary engines, water-works and foundry and rolling-mill apparatus; in locomotives and steamships—a list which will not be conceded by our iron-masters and machinists without dispute. In the wholesale production of articles for which there is a general and constant demand he gives the palm to American manufacturers. The specialization which distinguishes it he attributes to our cheap and fostering patent-system. Other favorable conditions which he enumerates are the coal, iron, and wood resources of the country (the qualities of hickory call for special comment); the abundance of labor at the command of the manufacturer, with the dearth of it in the agricultural regions—prompting to the invention of labor-saving machinery; the monopoly which our tariff secures, the broad expanse of our territory, etc. Herr Heine concludes his sketch with a criticism of German technological schools, which, in striking contrast with the schools of mining, attract almost no English or American students. His observations on this head are summed up by saying that the Americans lay a practical foundation for subsequent scientific training, while the Germans waste precious years in reversing this process; and he acutely remarks that with us the superintendent or the manufacturer stands, as regards practical development, on

the level of the humblest workman ("Dort steht der Beamte oder der Fabrikant mit dem geringsten Arbeiter auf dem gleichen Boden einer praktischen Entwicklung")—reason enough, we may add, for the inventiveness of American artisans, which could scarcely fail of encouragement and recognition under such circumstances.

—We have received the Calendar of the Tokio Kaisei-Gakko or Imperial University for 1876, an interesting volume of 165 pages. This institution, as we learn from the Historical Summary prefixed to it, is twenty years old, having been opened in January, 1857, by the Government of the Tokugawa family for the retainers of that family—an exclusiveness which was soon abandoned. The only language at first taught was the Dutch, but among the first fruits of this university was the publication of an English and Japanese Dictionary. The first foreign teacher employed was a Hollander, Mr. Gratama, Professor of Chemistry (1866). The year 1871 marks another epoch in its history, as the Department of Education was then entirely reorganized. In June, 1875, eleven students were selected from the Kaisei-Gakko to be sent abroad for further study. In September of the same year but one foreign language began to be employed for the purposes of higher education in the University, and that language was the English. Of thirty-five professors and assistant instructors nearly one-half are natives, mostly assistants; seven professors are from America, five from Great Britain, four from France, and two from Germany. The library contains 34,778 volumes, of which 11,703 are in English, 6,798 in Japanese, 6,706 in Dutch, 4,214 in Chinese, 3,233 in French, and 2,124 in German. Nine students have been sent to this country, eight to England, three to France, and one to Germany. In the organization of the University we remark the hospital, under the charge of a competent medical staff. At least once a month the students, their rooms, clothing, and food, are inspected, and in case they receive medical attendance at their rooms or in the hospital they are required to pay one-fourth the cost of the medicines prescribed. Two years of the course are allotted to zoölogy and botany, and the students are employed in making collections of materials to illustrate the natural history of Japan, for the study of which native works are not wanting. A fair beginning of a cabinet in these branches has already been made; other cabinets are expected from Europe. "All the students in the institution are required to read Japanese books, to practice in Japanese composition, and to make translations from English into Japanese. The law students are also required to study Japanese law, and special parts of Chinese law." The final-examination questions of 1876 occupy 67 pages of the calendar. The total number of students, including those sent abroad, is 312. Tokio (68), Ishikawa (23), Kôchi (16), Hiroshima (12), Tsuruga (12), Niigata (11), and Mitsuma (10) furnish the greater number. One hundred and twenty-seven follow technical and scientific courses.

STANLEY'S JEWISH CHURCH.*

DEAN STANLEY is a didactic historian or an historical moralist. His sermons, his pamphlets, his lectures, or his speeches all bear the same stamp. They are all attempts, some of them most successful attempts, to advocate with all the arts of honest rhetoric the moral doctrines of what in England is known as the Broad Church. This fact must be borne in mind by every critic who wishes fairly to estimate the value of the Dean of Westminster's historical works. That they are all written with a conscious or unconscious didactic purpose is patent, but there is some danger lest a perception of this fact should blind the eyes of students to the Dean's remarkable gifts as an historian. There is no living English writer who can with equal ease and power amass together a body of small facts so as to form a really vivid picture of a great historical place, or scene, or era. The chapter, for instance, on Babylon constitutes as fine a specimen of historical painting as is to be found in the pages of any history written in the English language. The description of the Golden City, its society, its worship, its temples, brought as it is into contrast with the condition of the little band of Israelites residing there during the Babylonian captivity, gives life to a portion of history which, though well known to every careful reader of the Bible, has become, partly because of familiarity with the words of the document in which it is contained, a mere blank to the imagination of most English-speaking men and women.

To give new life to familiar terms is admittedly one of the highest feats of imaginative genius, and this feat Dean Stanley indubitably performs. Whoever doubts this should read the first two chapters of the present volume of lectures, and then ask himself whether the fall of Babylon has

* 'Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. By A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster.' Third Series. From the Captivity to the Christian Era. London: John Murray; New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

not become to him for the first time as real an event as the death of Cæsar or the capture of the Bastille. Nor is this result produced simply by pictorial effects. The author of the 'Lectures on the Jewish Church' is a "picturesque" writer; but this quality of picturesqueness is apt to be dwelt upon in a way which tends most unfairly to represent him as mainly an adept in what (in the literary slang of the day) is called "word-painting," and to conceal his far more important gifts. The chief of these gifts is the power of seizing the critical points in the character either of an age or of an individual. It is not only Babylon itself, but the essential importance of the crisis in the progress of mankind involved in the fall of Babylon, which the Dean brings before our minds. Readers see, probably for the first time, the true character of the era when the Persian stood forward for a short time as the "central man of the world." Here the Dean of Westminster displays his capacity for seizing the features of an epoch. The sketches of Socrates, of Herod, of Antiochus Epiphanes display his capacity for seizing the salient points of individual character. We do not, of course, assert that the view taken by Stanley of historical personages is one in which all the world will agree. Influenced by the views of Dr. Arnold, he pays a tribute to the imagined virtues of Pompey which nothing in the life of that commonplace general justifies. Pompey's merits and talents have been underrated by the modern adulators of Cæsar, but it is difficult to believe that he was "one whose clean hands and pure heart, compared with most of the contemporary chiefs, David would have regarded as no disqualification for a dweller on God's Holy Hill." Still, even in this case much is gained by having presented to one's mind a clear if not altogether satisfactory view of a man who certainly appeared great to his contemporaries.

The picture, however, of Antiochus Epiphanes is a more satisfactory portrait, and the suggestion that his violent attempts to introduce Greek civilization into Judea have a faint resemblance to the efforts of Peter the Great to force his subjects into the path of progress, displays one peculiarity of the Dean's method which, though sometimes exaggerated into a weakness, certainly contributes not only to the popularity but to the legitimate influence of his works. No writer, except Macaulay, ever rejoiced so much as the author of the 'Jewish Church' in illustrations. He is never satisfied with describing any event or character until he has compared it with some other event or character belonging to a different time or country. These illustrations or parallels are often extremely happy. The comparison, for example, between Socrates and the Jewish prophets is, as it is used by Dean Stanley, extremely suggestive, and suggestive (as such parallels always are) as well of contrasts as of similarities. The hypothesis that the use of Chaldean characters for the sacred books probably originated in the desire to have an additional mark of distinction from the Samaritans, "as the English pronunciation of Latin is said to have been suggested or confirmed by the wish to make an additional test to detect the Roman conspiracies against the Protestant sovereigns," is one of those suppositions which, whatever its intrinsic worth, bring to mind the way in which the uniformity of human nature is constantly producing accidental parallelisms in the annals of different countries. A comparison almost inevitably suggests a contrast. The author himself is careful, for example, to point out the essential difference between a royal revolutionist who, like Antiochus, attempts to destroy a national faith and national patriotism, and a royal revolutionist, like Peter the Great, who attempts to direct his countrymen towards a higher civilization. Still, there is a real gain to ordinary readers in being forced to notice the "union in both cases of lofty policy with petty buffoonery, and of high aspirations with small vexations." The gain is at least this, that students are led to feel that Antiochus was once as real a human being as Peter the Great. It is something also that they should be reminded that human eccentricity and humor are not in reality absent from any portion of history. This capacity, indeed, to appreciate the humor of history, is one of those subtle gifts which ought never to be entirely wanting in a great writer, and which certainly gives a flavor to all Dean Stanley's writings. What he possesses himself he vividly appreciates and lavishly acknowledges in others. The note in which he directs attention to the address by Mr. Collyer of Chicago on the words "Gashmu saith it," probably the only sermon ever preached on the wild Arab, is a small but curious illustration of his keen taste for "quaint humor and wisdom" which, like his own, serves to give interest and life to the teaching of a preacher.

For though Dean Stanley has many historical gifts he is rather a moralist who teaches historically than an historian. In all his work you can trace an influence which he certainly would be the last to disclaim. Though the quality of his writing is very unlike that of Dr. Arnold, still the impress of Arnold's character on the most eminent of his pupils is unmistakable.

Neither the head-master nor the Dean has about him the least touch of what is termed priestliness, but both of them are preachers. While engaged in the study and exposition of history, they are each occupied, in part at least, with the moral conclusions which history suggests. This peculiarity, viewed on its favorable side, has been described as writing with "a view to edification," and it cannot for a moment be doubted that all Dean Stanley's writings are (in the good sense of the word) edifying. A preacher who dwells, in season and even occasionally out of season, on the virtues of justice, of liberality, of charity, and of truth; who never, even for a moment, is led by the love of paradox to worship successful force, or to cast contempt on virtue when apparently failing to command success, can hardly fail to exercise, as Dean Stanley certainly does exercise, an elevating influence not only on contemporary morals, but on the moral treatment of history. When to this is added a singular power for perceiving and displaying to others the virtues of men who belong to different schools and different ages, and of embodying their character in traits and anecdotes full of point and interest, it cannot be wondered that the teacher not only improves but, what is far rarer, interests his audience. We are fully convinced that if the didactic element in the Dean's lectures were deducted, they would to the mass of readers lose half their attractiveness.

We are anxious to make this admission in the fullest terms, because we are forced, as honest critics, to state that, in our judgment, the very element in Dean Stanley's lectures which more than any other gives them their popular influence constitutes their weak point. They lose as history what they gain as sermons. The investigation and narration of facts are one thing, the drawing morals from facts is another, and it may be doubted whether the two ends can be satisfactorily combined. The evil effects which, in the case of the 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' result from this combination are twofold. The first is that the history is impeded by the moral, and the moral itself is from time to time overstrained. The word "God" is, for example, never mentioned in the Book of Esther. The omission is certainly remarkable, but the absence of this name does not naturally suggest the inference that "it is expedient for us . . . that there should be one book which omits it altogether to prevent us from attaching to the mere name a reverence which belongs only to the reality." Nor, again, can we perceive that the scruple among the Jews in mentioning "the Ineffable Name" has any bearing either for good or bad upon "the reserve of sceptical enquirers," or "the adoption" by them "of other forms and phrases than those in common use for the supreme goodness and wisdom in whose power we live and move and have our being."

The second evil result is a tendency to look upon facts as in one sense unimportant. It would seem, for example, that the date of the Book of Daniel is as material a fact, from an historical point of view, as any which can claim consideration, but the Dean of Westminster appears to hold that its date may be left an open question. He with perfect openness avows, if we understand him rightly, his own inclination towards the later date, but still appears to think that the question of date is one not of vital importance. The argument that "the events of the Thirty Years' War remain unquestionably part of the history of the seventeenth century, though they have been described and colored by the genius and passion of Schiller, who lived more than a hundred years afterwards," does not carry the matter far. If it were alleged that Schiller wrote during the Thirty Years' War; still more, if it were believed that Schiller wrote prophetically a century or two before the war broke out, an historian of the seventeenth century would be called upon to make up his mind one way or the other as to the date of Schiller's life. He certainly could scarcely maintain that the work might be treated equally well either as prophecy or history. Thus to treat the question of date is, in fact, to confound the functions of a preacher and of an historian.

Our cordial admiration for the Dean of Westminster's gifts, both as an historian and as a teacher, has itself made it a duty to point out what, in our judgment, is the weak side of historical writings, but it must always be remembered that to point out defects in a good work is a different thing from denying that a work is good. The 'Lectures on the Jewish Church' is a book such as no other English writer could produce. Authors who deal with Jewish history have to handle a subject which is at once familiar, and yet in reality unknown, to readers who have been accustomed habitually to read without really (from an historical point of view) understanding the Bible. The writer has, therefore, to struggle at once with familiarity and with ignorance. In the latter part, indeed, of Dean Stanley's volume this particular difficulty is removed, since the Apocrypha is an unknown book to millions of Englishmen and Americans; but if one difficulty is removed, the new difficulty arises in its place of teaching ordinary readers

to realize that centuries elapsed between the end of the Old and the beginning of the New Testament.

With these obstacles and many others the Dean of Westminster has struggled with marvellous success. He has placed before Englishmen a connected view of Jewish history which presents to them that history down to the coming of Christ as a whole. He has presented it in a form in which it can be read and understood by thousands. That it will be read far and wide is undoubted. To have achieved this result is a feat of no common merit. Even from a merely historical point of view, it is an immense gain that the English-speaking world should read the Bible as a book not only of devotion, but of history. A critic who perceives how much has been achieved may regret that the Dean's genius as a preacher should interfere with his efficiency as an historian, but can hardly censure severely striking historical lectures because they are blended with striking moral essays.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Appleton's Journal, July-Dec., 1876.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Beard (J. M.), K. K. K. Sketches.	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger)
Biddle (C.), Poems.	(Lindsay & Baker) \$3 50
Black (W.), Madcap Violet.	(Harper & Bros.)
Bourne (H. R. F.), Life of John Locke. 2 vols.	(Chase & Hall) 2 00
Braden (C.), The Problem of Problems.	(Hurd & Houghton) 2 50
Brown (Dr. F. H.), Medical Register for New England.	(Schober & Co.)
Campbell (J. V.), Outlines of the Political History of Michigan.	(R. Worthington)
Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature. 3d ed., 2 vols.	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 25
Chambers (Rev. T. W.), The Psalter.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Chambers (J.), A Mad World.	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
De Liefde (J. B.), The Maid of Stralsund.	(D. G. Brinton)
Dobeli (Dr. H.), Coughs, Consumption, and Diet in Disease.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 2 00
Elam (Dr. C.), Winds of Doctrine.	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. V. Can-Cle.	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Fairbairn (A. M.), Philosophy of Religion and History.	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 00
Fitzmaurice (Lord E.), Life of William, Earl of Shelburne. Vol. III.	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 1 50
Gray (Rev. A. Z.), The Land and the Life.	(Roberts Bros.)
Grillparzer (F.), Rappho.	(Hurd & Houghton) 2 50
Index to the Atlantic Monthly.	(Ginn & Heath)
Leighton (R. F.), Harvard Examination Papers. 6th ed.	

Chitty on Pleading.

In Two Volumes. New Edition, 1876. Edited by J. C. Perkins, LL.D.

The attention of the profession is respectfully invited to this new and much improved edition of Chitty's Pleadings, so long a popular work in Great Britain and the United States. It is now presented in two instead of three volumes, as formerly—the first being the well-known exhaustive Treatise on Pleadings, and the second what has been issued in England as 'Chitty's Precedents,' the forms of which are believed to be much superior to those formerly constituting the second and third volumes of 'Chitty's Pleadings.' The present two volumes contain a larger aggregate number of pages than the former three volumes, are presented in a more convenient form, and the work is believed every way much superior. Price as before.

From Chancellor Hammond, Head of the Law Department, Iowa State University:

"IOWA CITY, Oct. 24, 1876.
"It would be mere presumption in me to offer any praise of a work so well known to all lawyers trained under the older system; but in our Code States there seems to be an impression that Chitty is obsolete, or at least that its merits are too closely allied with the technicalities of common-law pleading to be of much value under a freer system. There could hardly be a greater mistake. The gradual steps by which the common-law pleading has been simplified and improved have now brought it so nearly to the form of what 'Code pleading' ought to be that an intelligent lawyer, or even student, will find no difficulty in adapting the forms of the new second volume to the practice of any State in which he may practise or study. The contents of the first volume are for the most part equally applicable under both systems. Indeed, I know none of the recent works on Code practice that contains half so much useful, practical law, of daily application in the court-room and the office, as may be found compacted in this single work. I shall recommend it to our students in its present shape as one of the most useful books they can buy at the very beginning of their professional life."
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The International Review.

1877. JANUARY-FEBRUARY. 1877.

The INTERNATIONAL REVIEW begins its new volume with the following contents:

I. "The Antiquities of Olympia in the Museum at Berlin" presents an account of the results of the first great effort of the German Empire in the investigation of the domain of classical antiquity. This article is by the German scholar and archaeologist, Ernst Curtius, the director of the Olympian investigations, which are attracting considerable attention on both sides of the Atlantic.

II. "The Paris Salon of 1876" is by Charles Gildrieux, of Paris, and describes the paintings on exhibition at the Paris Salon as well as the present condition of French art. The article was translated by the wife of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, and revised by the latter, will be an interesting fact to many.

III. "Prof. Huxley in New York" is the subject of a review by J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., Principal of McGill College, Montreal. The writer criticises the views of Prof. Huxley relating to the doctrine of evolution, as expressed in his lectures delivered recently in New York.

IV. "The International Relations of Japan" are discussed by E. Warren Clark, formerly Professor of Chemistry in the Imperial College of Tokyo, Japan. The writer also considers the character and results of the celebrated Japanese Embassies.

V. "Daniel Deronda," the latest production of George Eliot, is reviewed by R. R. Bowker.

VI. "Political Corruptions—the Root of the Evil" is a survey, by David Dudley Field, Esq., of the evils which attend our present system of appointing officials and administering the Government through personal and party favorites. The article suggests reforms by which the present state of affairs may be improved.

The present number of the REVIEW also contains a new Sonnet by William Cullen Bryant, and an unusually large number of reviews of American and European books. Philip Gilbert Hamerton's letter to Americans on Art in Europe, and a record of scientific and contemporary events, complete the number.

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BOOKS.—E. W. NASH, 107 Fulton Street, N. Y., has issued a new CATALOGUE of Works relating to American Antiquities, Indians, Local Histories; also some miscellaneous books. Sent free on application.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1877.

The Week.

BOTH Houses of Congress have passed a bill abolishing the District of Columbia Police Commissioners and transferring their duties to the District Commissioners—a respectable body. In the Senate Mr. Dawes has presented a petition complaining of the rate of interest allowed by the Government under the Alabama award (four per cent.), and asking that it be increased to six. This ought in common decency to be done, as the Government got six per cent. from England, of which it has retained two without the slightest shadow of an excuse. The silver question has come up in the Senate on the presentation by Mr. Boutwell of a petition from the Boston Board of Trade asking for an International Silver Commission to “consider the expediency of remonetizing silver coin, at a fixed relation of value to gold coin, by all the nations.” The Senate had already passed a joint resolution providing for an International Commission to fix the relations between silver and gold, and also to consider the question of the double standard, and, besides this, a bill authorizing a convention between this country and England by which the gold coinage of the two countries may be harmonized. This resolution was defeated in the House on Tuesday by the votes of the silver men. The House has directed the Sergeant-at-arms to bring Mr. Orton before it for contempt, and Mr. Orton has appeared and answered, but not purged himself. Barnes, the contumacious New Orleans telegraph manager, has also been brought up, and declared that he has been removed from his position and has no longer any control of the telegrams required; but he has been again declared in contempt. Habeas-corpus proceedings may now be expected.

The House Committee on Pacific railroads has agreed to report a Texas and Pacific bill with all the branches, but there will be a good deal of opposition to the measure in the House, and it is at least doubtful whether it can pass in its present form. The opponents of the bill think that while as a Southern Pacific bill it might pass, the branches, which are entirely unnecessary and foreign to the whole purpose of the measure, will kill it. Its friends, on the other hand, say that the branches are the only things that give it any life, and their meaning is very obvious to any one who will take the trouble to see where the branches run—viz.: one to New Orleans, to secure the Louisiana vote; one to Memphis, to secure the Tennessee vote; one to Vicksburg, to secure the Mississippi vote; and one in a northeasterly direction through the Indian Territory, to enable all the Southern Pacific freight to get an outlet on the Pennsylvania road, and so render nugatory all the legislation for the benefit of the other branches. The Government is to guarantee the interest on the companies' bonds, at a rate not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars a mile, though railroad experts maintain that it can be built for about fifteen thousand. The enemies of the scheme will try to ensure the Government against loss by a restriction of the amount issued to the actual cost of building, under the superintendence of a strong commission. But the whole scheme ought to be defeated. The whole experience of the Government with the other Pacific roads shows that any bill of this kind is only the entering-wedge for lavish extravagance if not fraud, and the chances are ten to one that any expert supervising commission now appointed would be quietly superseded two or three years hence by a commission in the interest of the road, just as the first mortgage of the Government on the other Pacific roads was quietly converted into a second mortgage by the very same branch of the Government which had insisted on a first mortgage as a measure of security. It is not at all improbable, too, that the branch-roads are put in partly as something to surrender by way of compromise.

The House Committee on the privileges, powers, and duties of the House as regards the electoral count have agreed to report: first, that the power to count is not conferred by the Constitution on the President of the Senate; second, that this power is conferred by the Constitution upon the Senate and House; third, that in the execution of the power the House is at least co-ordinate and equal with the Senate; and, fourth, that no vote can be counted against the judgment and without the assent of the House. This report was only carried by a strict party vote, probably on account chiefly of the last proposition, which does not take into view the case of double returns. Many Republicans think—as Mr. Morton does, or, at any rate, did last spring—that, in the case of double returns, it ought to require the vote of both Houses to reject the vote of a State; but the fact is that the moment you begin to talk about throwing out a State because the House thinks it ought to be counted one way and the Senate the other, you are adrift on an ocean of doubt, without chart or compass. The question of double and single returns is a mere question of detail and does not touch the principle involved, as any State in which it becomes of importance can get up double returns at the shortest notice, just as Oregon has now done. In the present condition of the South, if it were settled that no State which sent double returns could be thrown out without the vote of both Houses, we should no doubt have in future two sets of returns from every Southern State. There is no half-way for Congress between counting the regularly authenticated certificates ministerially, and converting itself into a national Returning Board.

The latest news from Washington represents the committees, both of the House and Senate, as having almost agreed on the plan for the counting of the Presidential vote. Its leading features are said to be: The Vice-President is merely to open the certificates and hand them to the tellers. Where the only return from a State is objected to, its reception shall be debated by each House separately, but unless both concur in rejecting it, it shall be received. Where there are two sets of returns, and the Houses disagree as to which is the true one, all questions connected with them are to be referred to a commission composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five of six judges of the Supreme Court, one having been dropped by lot so as to make an odd number and prevent a tie, and their decision is to be final. The objection to this made on both sides is that it is bad policy to bring so many judges of the Supreme Court into the affair; that it is ignoble to settle a question of such magnitude by drawing lots, and that it would be wrong to leave anything in it to chance, inasmuch as one candidate has been elected, and it is the duty of Congress to find out by the exercise of its intelligence which it is.

It seems unwise to bring in so many judges when the Chief-Justice might by a casting vote do all that Congress cannot do. But in reply to the objection to allowing chance to play any part in the matter, it may be said that the crisis is unprecedented; that there is clearly no proper provision for it in the Constitution or the laws; that at this juncture it is impossible to supply this defect in a careful and considerate way; that the one duty of Congress is to get the country out of its present scrape in a way that will satisfy people of all parties—as, if not fair, on the whole not unfair; that exact justice cannot be done; that in this, therefore, as in divers other controversies, a decision of some kind is of far more importance than a decision of any particular kind, and that whenever this is the case a moderate use of chance is allowable. It is, in short, one of the differences in which almost any expedient not in itself bad is desirable in order to

escape a judgment in his own favor by one of the parties. When we have the present dispute settled, regular machinery can be provided for others of the same kind which may occur hereafter, so that what is done now need not establish a precedent. The extreme men on both sides will make a great mistake if they suppose the country cares which of the two competitors gets the Presidency, and does not care a great deal about having one of them get it quickly and in quiet and orderly fashion.

A new point in the Louisiana case has been raised by Mr. R. B. Pullan, a Cincinnati layman, and it has attracted a good deal of attention from lawyers, and certainly seems to have a good deal of technical force and to be likely to cause some trouble to the gentlemen who have charged themselves with the "solemn duty" of seeing that Mr. Hayes gets the Presidency. Mr. Pullan takes as the groundwork of his argument a history and description of the Returning Board furnished to the "visiting statesmen" by the person who drafted the law making it—Judge Hugh L. Campbell, of the Third District Court of the parish of New Orleans. According to this gentleman the ballots put in the boxes are merely ballots until the returns are made up by the Board. In the eye of the law the Board is constructively present at all the polls, receives all the ballots, and purifies and assort them, but they do not become *votes* until the Board has passed upon them. In fact, the Board casts the vote of the State and properly holds the State election. Until it has made its return there has been no election. Now, the Constitution of the United States gives Congress the power of "determining the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes," and provides "that this day shall be the same throughout the United States." Under this clause Congress has made the first Tuesday in November the Presidential election day for all the States. But according to Judge Campbell the Louisiana election did not take place on that day, nor until the 5th of December following. The conclusion is of course plain, that there was no election in Louisiana on the legal day, and therefore none on any day. Of course this point is made all the stronger by the arguments of the friends of the Board. We think, however, we shall before long see the public in full concurrence with Governor Robinson of this State, that a State which has a Returning Board like that of Louisiana does not possess a Republican form of government.

The Springfield *Republican* says in a late number:

"Now that the Lord Chief-Justice and the London *Times* have expressly recognized the discretionary power of a government to disburse an award, like the *Alabama* award, according to its own sweet will, as the *Republican* has always claimed, it is to be hoped that the New York *Nation* will obtain some relief from the excruciating degree to which it has been scandalized by the prevalence of this view in Congress. The *Nation* can split a hair finer and give up a real issue quicker than any fellow of his size in these parts."

This leads us to fear that the *Republican* does not understand and has never understood the matter. The *Nation* laid down the law as the Lord Chief-Justice has laid it down, many times—say forty or fifty—before that functionary had opened his lips about it. That is to say, we have always maintained, and supposed that all persons of ordinary intelligence knew, that the claimants under the *Alabama* award had not in this country, and would not have in England or in any country, any legal redress for the retention or improper distribution of the fund by the Government. This is what the Lord Chief-Justice has decided in the Chinese case, without, we are bound to say, any suggestion or communication from us. But his jurisdiction is not in an affair of this kind as wide as ours, and he was therefore precluded from saying what we have always said—that the exemption of a Government under such circumstances from legal liability only rendered its moral responsibility all the stronger, and ought to sharpen instead of blunting its sense of honor. We must point out, too, for the benefit of persons who, like the *Re-*

publican, bestow little thought on these things, that the Chinese indemnity, on which the late claim was put forward in the English courts, was extracted by open war; while the *Alabama* indemnity was procured by submission of the dispute to a tribunal. The effect of our conduct, therefore, is, as we have pointed out time and again, to discredit arbitration, a result which does not follow from the British use of the sum it extorted from the Chinese at the mouth of the cannon. Any editor who has not grasped these distinctions ought to work over them until he is able to do so, and ought, if necessary, to procure professional aid.

The Washington police has been for some time past in the hands of a Board of Commissioners, having at their head a man named Murtagh, the editor of a very scurrilous and low Republican paper, the Washington *Republican*, which has defended the Administration through thick and thin. The Board was not satisfactory to anybody, and was believed to be guilty of collusion with gamblers and other disreputable persons. The other day the President demanded the resignation of the whole Board, and Congress passed a bill abolishing them altogether. The President, however, instead of signing the bill, immediately reappointed Murtagh as the head of the Board. Meanwhile, a House committee has been investigating the affairs of the Board, and has discovered that during the investigation of Mr. Robeson's department at the last session Murtagh interested himself greatly in the matter, and, apparently thinking that the committee were not thorough enough, proposed to the Superintendent of Police that the latter should examine into the affairs of the chairman of the committee, Mr. Whitthorne, who he, Murtagh, was informed and believed was an improper person to investigate anybody, being in the habit of going to places where he ought not to go, etc., etc. Murtagh declared further that the Secretary of the Navy took a great interest in Mr. Whitthorne's proceedings and wanted to know where he spent his evenings, and, finally, insisted on it that the true way to find this out was to hire a woman to entice him into some place of doubtful repute in which he could be surprised by the police, and the Secretary in this way vindicated. This the Superintendent pretended to agree to do, but as a matter of fact did not do; and now the whole story has come out, and the Superintendent is backed up by other testimony, while Murtagh is backed up by the President, who reappoints him while all this is going on and while Congress is passing an act to get rid of him and his followers, and after the charge and evidence against Murtagh have been laid before him.

We are glad to say that at this writing the chances against Mr. Boutwell's re-election in Massachusetts seem strong and improving. That such a man should have so long enjoyed high office at the hands of the Massachusetts people, coupled with Butler's and Banks's political success, gives a touch of the comic to the lofty disdain with which the press of that State is accustomed to speak of the politics of the "New York slums." "The slums" have sent perhaps men of less personal integrity into political life than Mr. Boutwell, but they have only sent them to the House, and they have certainly sent no man to any assembly of more curious ignorance and conceit. Morrissey, even, has that high mark of culture and civilization which consists in knowing where one's knowledge ends, but Boutwell's state of mind towards many of the leading questions of the day is rather that of a bigoted Mussulman pasha or imam than that of an imperfectly-educated Christian. The Springfield *Republican* tells of him in a late issue a story, for the authenticity of which it vouches, that hearing a leading New York business man, a financial adviser of Lincoln's administration, quote Adam Smith in a conversation with him, he started up and declared that "no two books in the world contained so many lies as the Koran and the 'Wealth of Nations.'" This is the talk of a barbarian rather than of a civilized-ignorant man, and "the slums" produce nothing like it.

General Woodford has been appointed District-Attorney *vice* Mr. Bliss, to the relief of the community, which feared some such eccentricity as the appointment of Sickles. Mr. Bliss goes out against his will, but distributes testimonials from every judge (except one) now living who has held court in this District since he has been in office, to the capacity and fidelity displayed by him in the discharge of his official duties. We presume the real reason of his dismissal is his success in making enemies among prominent and ardent Republicans, as well as a lack of devotion to Mr. Conkling. But it is poetically just that no efficiency in the performance of his duties should save him; he is one of the most zealous supporters of the system in which this forms only a secondary claim to consideration. We wish we could believe that his failure to sue Tilden for his withheld income-tax and for his "perjury" had something to do with his retirement. Our readers will remember the amusing farce which he and Mr. Raum and the *Times* and *Tribune* kept up during the canvass on this subject. The newspapers would discover Tilden's astounding frauds, and then the reporters would run up and see Raum and Bliss, and Raum would be found "getting the papers ready" for the District-Attorney, and Bliss would be reported as saying that he was waiting for Raum, and "had not yet decided what course he would pursue," leaving the public to suppose he was thinking deeply over it; and then we were told over and over that "the papers would be served in a few days," and then the sobs of the *Times* would be heard as it reflected on the horrid approaching spectacle of a Presidential candidate pursued in the courts for revenue frauds. Finally, Blaine announced solemnly on the stump that the exact amount of the frauds was \$250,000, and Bliss tried to get one railroad to let him look at its books to see if there was not something down in them that "Sammy" had not returned, and being refused he meekly acquiesced and the whole subject dropped. If the horrors of real life were only as fleeting as those of a campaign!

The merchants of New York are endeavoring to obtain a reduction in taxation on bank capital, and at their request a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was held to consider the subject. It was there shown that the taxes on bank capital in this city exceed five per cent.; that the effect has already been to drive a large amount of capital out of banking; that unless there is a reduction in taxes the banking facilities of New York will be so impaired as to cause mercantile distress, and possibly disaster, when business again becomes active. The Chamber of Commerce recommends that petitions be addressed both to the National and State Legislatures asking that bank taxes be reduced, and these petitions are now in fact receiving the signatures of business men. In the meantime a bill has been introduced into Congress by Mr. Willis intended to secure the relief asked, but of so sweeping a character that it is not likely to become a law. Mr. Cowdin, a representative New York merchant, who is this year a member of the Albany Legislature, has introduced there a bill which simply asks that in levying State and local taxes there shall not be unjust discrimination against capital which happens to be employed in banking. The vulgar prejudice against banks may defeat this bill, but, now that the borrowers from the banks ask for a modification of the law, it is possible that reasonable views may prevail.

If one were to judge from the amount of space devoted by the newspapers during the week to "the May-Bennett duel," one would infer that it has been the event of the year next in importance after the Presidential election. In reality it has been the quarrel of two young men about town—one, we believe, a very handsome but obscure clerk in a dry-goods store, the other the proprietor of a large revenue and addicted to riotous living and attacks of what is literally though not technically mania-a-potu. Mr. Bennett's connection with the *Herald* is apparently that of a man who

has inherited a great and rare opportunity for usefulness and for the attainment of power of the best kind, and has as little appreciation of it as a savage of a watch. We do not remember any recent case in which the society of a great city has reached a lower point of inanity than New York society in the minute and painstaking discussion of this wretched brawl, which seems to have had a disgusting origin, and has ended apparently in a farcical attempt to shed blood. The solemn truth of the matter in its latest stage, as ascertained by the reporters, is that one of the principals has sailed for Europe, and that the other is hidden somewhere in this country. The police-surgeon who went with them to the field has successfully refused to answer before the Grand Jury, the law protecting him in doing so when the duel took place out of the State.

Mr. Wickham has furnished New York with the novel spectacle of an outgoing Mayor to whom a body of respectable citizens wished to testify their respect for his conduct in office by giving him a dinner. He was entertained last week by a large number of leading citizens of all parties, though of course mainly Democratic, in acknowledgment of the fact that, if he had not reformed the city government—this no man can do—he had made a gallant stand against evil influences, and had made appointments which, if not the best conceivable, were remarkable for their goodness. Nothing, for instance, could have been more creditable than his opposition to the various schemes for converting the public works into charitable undertakings, and it was entered on at a plain risk to his popularity, which city politicians are not apt to face. One of the grotesque incidents of the close of the municipal year was the appearance of the new Comptroller, Mr. John Kelly, at the office with a powerful body of police to demand possession from his predecessor, Mr. Green, who thereupon laid down his pen and went forth upon the world. Such are the amenities of official life. It is not often, however, that an officer as honest and useful as Mr. Green has been makes himself so thoroughly detested, even by honest men, by bad manners and an apparently passionate love of chicane and intrigue.

The elections for the new German Parliament took place last week, but we have only confused reports of the returns. In upwards of sixty cases a new election must be held. The contest owes most of its importance and of the excitement which has attended it to the apparent split between Bismarck and the National-Liberals—the great party which has supported him through all the later years of his strivings after German unity. The division has arisen over the Judicature Bills, or bills consolidating and unifying the judicial system of all the states of the Empire, on which a commission has been at work for two years, and which made a report to the Reichstag a year ago, in which the bills now pending were drafted. They were no sooner introduced than it became evident that the Ministry and the Nationals would have to part company if they could not compromise. The points in dispute are the restoration to the public prosecutor, an officer of the Government holding his place at pleasure, of the exclusive right of making criminal charges; the refusal to allow Government employees to be sued in damages for abuse of official power, without the permission of a special court existing for this purpose; the liability of editors to be compelled to give the names of the writers of the articles in their papers, and to be tried by single judges; the Government right to furnish assistant judges in the lower courts for special occasions or for short terms, at the pleasure of the Crown; the right of the public prosecutor and court to order seizure in the mail not only of particular letters of suspected persons but of all letters in their handwriting. Against all these things the Liberals at first fought hard, but just before Christmas they gave way on the question of trying press offences by jury, to which the Government was opposed, causing great excitement among their constituents out of doors.

THE CHANGE IN THE ESTIMATE OF RUSSIAN POWER.

NOTHING is more striking to those who recall the almost superstitious dread with which Russia was regarded by Western Europe from the battle of Waterloo down to the death of the Emperor Nicholas, than the doubts which now begin to spread as to her ability even to deal in a summary manner with Turkey. The impression made on Europe by the destruction of the Grand Army was very great, and it was maintained and deepened by the enormous size of the armies kept up by Nicholas as compared to those which the other Powers at that period attempted to raise, to the mystery with which he surrounded his Government, and to his hatred of all forms of Liberalism and well-known readiness to deal summarily with it. His two appearances on the military stage—his war with the Turks in 1828 and his interference in Hungary in 1849—heightened his prestige, and, in fact, he remained down to 1853 a kind of "Great Father" to all the petty princes of Germany, and a senior partner, owning by far the larger share in the business, to Prussia and Austria. People used to repeat as a great saying Napoleon's *mot*, that "In fifty years Europe would be either Republican or Cossack." Nicholas, too, made Russia such a hard place both to get into and get out of that they felt about it somewhat as children feel about the dark, as if it were a quarter out of which unknown but terrible things might any day come. The Crimean war, which it is now the custom to belittle and which certainly produced no result worth the powder and shot, did, however, destroy Russian prestige and tore aside the veil of mystery. It proved that the Czar was really the monarch of a very barbarous people, able to keep up a huge army in time of peace, but without resources to meet the drain of a long or severe war, and not at all formidable to any first class power which could force him to come to his own frontier to fight. Indeed, Nicholas's death revealed the fact that he was a great speculator, whose operations had, in the language of Wall Street, been too extended, and who when a pinch came had to fail on his contracts.

The reputation of Russia as a great military power was revived a few years ago by her breach of the Treaty of Paris as regarded her fleet in the Black Sea and by the rapid extension of her conquests in Central Asia; but it is now becoming very apparent that this process of expansion has been carried on at a cost which at this moment threatens the state with bankruptcy, and is likely to make the process of transforming the serfs into peasants one of considerable danger, particularly if the impending conflict with Turkey should prove stubborn and protracted. An article by M. Leroy Beaulieu in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the present condition of the Russian finances, brings out in a strong light the impediments to great exertions of any kind created by the smallness of the accumulated wealth of the Empire and the poverty of the great bulk of the population, and the consequent inelasticity of the taxes. The country is not capable of the financial "spurts," as one may call them, which may be counted on in countries like France, England, or America, of which the savings are enormous, and in which the bulk of the people have reached a high degree of industrial activity and intelligence. Russian resources increase, but they increase slowly and in a measured way that is unfavorable to great enterprises. The Government, too, has become responsible to the landholders for the compensation due to them on account of the emancipation of the peasants, and relies for reimbursement on the collection of annual instalments from the peasants down to 1910; but the peasants are generally so near absolute penury that a bad year, besides seriously diminishing the general taxes, throws a larger share of the burden of the indemnity on the treasury. There is no great system of exporting industry to make up for a temporary falling off in agricultural products.

The reorganization of the army, too, is likely to bring out somewhat sharply one of the great defects of the Russian social organization—the absence of an instructed middle class. Under the old régime the officers were all nobles and the soldiers all serfs, and the work of command was made easy by the class distinction. Now all

classes are liable to serve, and the commissions are open to all who can pass the required examinations. The result is that the officers no longer have the aid of social ascendancy in controlling the men, and the educated class is still by far too small a body to supply a sufficient number of applicants for commissions who will possess evident superiority to the rank and file in the matter of culture or manners. In a country like Russia it is of great importance that the officer should possess claims to obedience, over and above those given him by his commission, which the private can understand and appreciate.

The prodigious extension of Russian sway over barbarous peoples in the East, which we have witnessed within the last thirty years, is creating another difficulty which will probably prove more serious a few years hence than now, and that is the difficulty of finding material for the large and able and highly-instructed civil service which will be needed for the government of those distant dependencies if the conqueror is ever to do much of the work of civilization in them. It is as certain as anything of the kind can be that had England not had a numerous well-educated middle class, with good social training, and, on the whole, a high sense of honor, to draw on for the army and civil service of the Indian Empire, she could never have assumed any better relation to the people than that occupied by the East India Company in its earlier days, and would have done little or nothing towards the improvement of Hindu civilization. Russia has no such class, and must necessarily either administer her conquests through the army (a system of which the deadly effects on industrial and social progress have been well illustrated in French Algeria), or through a body of civil servants who can give but few guarantees, either social or personal, for honesty and efficiency. All accounts agree that her civil service is already even in the capital itself very corrupt, as might naturally be expected in a country in which the press is feeble and public opinion can as yet hardly be said to exist. What it will be in the remote regions of Central Asia, into which she has now undertaken to carry order and justice, and among a population which will probably have to be ruled as subjects for an indefinite period, must be left to the imagination. The hope of improvement must lie in the growth of an educated commercial and manufacturing class, with business habits and morals, and in good intellectual relations with the rest of the civilized world; but this is something which, of course, cannot take place in one year or in ten. There can be little doubt that the revelations which the world is receiving of this intestine weakness may powerfully affect European politics by removing the British dread of aggression on the side of India.

THE NERVOUS ELEMENT IN THE PENDING TROUBLES.

THERE is at last such a general abatement of passion in people's mode of considering the way out of the present Presidential difficulty that one can safely undertake a little examination of its elements. The danger of the crisis after the election lay in the fact that both sides came out of the campaign in such a heat that all compromise or concession either as to means or ends of settlement seemed impossible. Now that both sides are cooling down, and admitting that compromise and concession *are* possible, and that there is something to be said for each of the opposing views of the matter, every one feels that all danger is past, and that settlement will probably be easy. In other words, we are getting out of the Mexican and into the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind. The chief feature in the Anglo-Saxon frame of mind about politics is a readiness to consider difference of opinion as compatible with purity of motive, and to look on political opponents as honest, reasonable persons whose views can be changed by argument. Belief in the general honesty and general *reasonableness* may be said to be the foundation of our system of government, a fact which is fully recognized in our political canvasses by the prodigious use made of public speaking, newspapers, and documents. Any influence which tends to weaken this belief and teach people that political opponents are

not reasonable and not honest is French or Mexican, or, at all events, un-American and hostile to a constitutional régime. Now, that the war, like all wars, was such an influence there is no denying. War is an open confession that reasonableness has been laid aside, and that the decision of the controversy has been referred to brute force directed by intelligence trained only for purposes of destruction. When it begins, the cultivation and maintenance of a heated state of mind, and the support of the theory that the other side is not open to reason and needs to be beaten into subjection, are absolutely necessary to success. The faith that brings victory is faith that the other side is not only utterly wrong, but has its heart hardened and ears stopped against the right. This faith does not by any means die out when war is over; it lingers long in peace, and influences politics for many a day after all the questions raised by war are dead and forgotten. That it has had its influence in the late campaign there is no denying. One met with it constantly, and it was and is the one element of danger in the controversy now pending.

When we say that no class of the community does so much to keep this faith alive, and consequently give a French tone to politics, as the very best class morally—the women, we are saying something which, however startling, is well known to everybody whose calling brings him at an exciting period into close relations to various phases of public opinion. There is probably no editor on either side who has not had experience of it during the late canvass, though we have seen no reference to it, as one of the causes of the prevailing bitterness, except in the *Springfield Republican*. At a time like this, when party ties are loosening and persons who have long acted together and taken similar views of public affairs begin to part company, there is under all circumstances a good deal of acerbity of temper and angry wonder over other people's courses. For this bitterness the mass of excitable persons who do not appear in public as speakers, and are doubtful whether they can appear in print, have absolutely no vent except writing letters to obnoxious editors, accusing them of mingled folly and depravity, and, in bad cases, inflicting a fine of from one to two dollars, by "stopping their paper." We think, and we have no doubt other editors have had the same experience, that some of the most fervid of such letters come from women; and this fact has a close connection with another which is very prominent in history—viz., that women are never so active and so useful in politics as during war. It is not simply that they display extraordinary devotion in their care of the sick and wounded, but they keep up the martial ardor of the combatants by the intensity of their own sympathy, and the almost fierce strength of their own faith in the justice of the cause. The men waver, and treat, and compromise, and shake hands, and try to forget, but to the women this is all weakness or baseness. If it was ever right to fight, they cannot conceive of its being ever right to make peace until the other party goes down on his bare knees in the mud and acknowledges himself an unmitigated scoundrel and traitor. Of politics, as the practical art of living peacefully in society with various kinds of men, and making their tastes and opinions compatible with your tastes and opinions, and enduring what you cannot cure, they know nothing, and suspect that there is some moral rotteness in it. In the late canvass Tilden and the Democrats were unfavorably associated in the minds of many good Republican women with the Rebellion, and that this fact could be qualified or modified or outweighed by other facts, or by time or change in circumstances, was to them an atrocious consideration; and they made predictions as to the course of Tilden's Administration based on the assumption that he would conduct himself pretty much as a Confederate general who had seized Washington by a *coup de main* in open war. They swallowed all the Blaine and *Times* and *Post* stories about "claims" and "repudiation," and all the Returning-Board stories about "outrages," without hesitation or enquiry, and, finally, a large number of them got into the state of mind attributed to General Grant, who did not think, it was said, that any man who was elected by States lately in rebellion, or by

wicked States like New York, which had "slums" in them, ought to be allowed to take the Presidency. They thought, in short, that the country ought to be governed by the good people, and that they were the good people.

We do not wish to make these observations too sweeping. There are women in abundance—every man has some of them among his friends—who have political wisdom as well as political fervor, and who know how little of its happiness the world owes to passion, and in whom rational and moderate courses find support which is none the less efficacious for being unostentatious and unseen, and who see the heroism and nobility of forgiving and forgetting as well as the heroism and nobility of fighting and remembering, and who think that close attention to public affairs is necessary to trustworthy judgments about them. If it were possible to enlarge the number of such women, and give them an influence on politics, female suffrage would be undoubtedly, at such crises as this, the help of which some of its friends draw such fanciful pictures. But, as matters stand, it is safe to say that crises like the present, in which the chief needs are patience, good temper, moderation, and capacity for seeing something of both sides, and remembering the lessons of history, have their difficulties aggravated rather than diminished by female interest in public affairs. Whether this defect in women as politicians is remediable by training or experience we do not propose to examine here. But we ought to make the concession that, for the purposes of this discussion, the term "female" ought to be taken to cover excitable men. There are a great many persons who busy themselves a great deal about politics, and have much to say about it, who think themselves male politicians, when in reality they are female. They have the intensity, the implacability of temper, and the incapacity to understand that two views can be taken of the same question, and the fondness for following a prophet which is the characteristic of most women politicians. The common quality which forms the class is, we have little doubt, weakness of nerves; or, in other words, a physical rather than a mental or moral quality. Nobody has gone through an exciting phase in public affairs, especially one involving difference of opinion with old associates, without finding the merely physical strain of the ordeal very severe and very hard to bear. To keep the balance of one's judgment, to avoid the conversion of disputes into quarrels, to remember the claims of expediency, to bear in mind the evanescence of bad temper, the shallowness of prejudice, the folly of invective, and to keep alive in the midst of tumult one's faith in long-tried principles, tries people's bodies no less than their souls. In campaigns persons whose nerves are shaky and whose sensibilities are keen will do well, whatever their sex, to keep silent and avoid strife and controversy, unless they are willing to put themselves under the guidance of cooler heads. The political history of the civilized world should be to such persons a Manual of Domestic Medicine. The calm and steady and shrewd peoples, who sang little and wept less, and were parsimonious in vituperation, who knew exactly what they wanted, and never fought except in the last desperate resort, have succeeded in government. The feminine nations, on the other hand, with keen susceptibilities, poetic imaginations, and vague political and social aspirations, and bitter and insatiable hostility to the wicked, have failed miserably, and have usually ended in having their affairs managed by a pre-eminent rascal. We wish sincerely they had succeeded, for their world, if they could realize it, would be a happier and better one than this we live in. But their story is nevertheless a melancholy one, and full of the instruction of warning. Politics is business, almost as much business as the work of a counting-house—stern, prosaic, practical—with the same pitfalls for the dreamer and the enthusiast and the angry man. It makes but little provision for the expression of the emotions. You may get wealth and power out of it, to be expended in the cultivation of art and literature and charity, or in the gratification of cherished hates or distrusts. But you have to keep the getting and the spending separate; if you mix them up, you are sure to get finally into bankruptcy.

DEMOCRATIC HOPES.

WASHINGTON, January 13.

THE Democrats talk of the situation here with less reserve than the Republicans, and their talk is all of one kind. They are confident that Tilden has been elected, and will be declared elected and inaugurated; but after a good deal of conversation with several of the leaders of the party I cannot help thinking that their confidence is less real than it professes to be, and that the feeling of the Conservative Republicans, which I endeavored to describe in my last letter, is a truer reflection of the condition of mind in which most impartial persons find themselves. Perhaps I cannot give you a better idea of the Democratic feeling than by means of a conversation which I have just had with a prominent Southern Democrat, whose name is well known all over the country, and who may be taken as well as any one to stand for Southern opinion. He said in substance (I do not pretend to give his exact words):

"We are confident that Tilden has been elected, and that he will be declared elected. In this crisis of our country's history enough moderate men will, we trust, be found in the ranks of the Republican party to frustrate the schemes of the extreme leaders."

"What are the facts on which you base this hope?"

"Well, sir, I am not much of a Gradgrind, and I cannot do more than state my opinion as to the direction in which matters are drifting."

"Is it possible to arrive at any opinion as to how particular Senators will vote? Can you count noses in the Senate?"

"No, I think not. The members of the Senate naturally are disinclined to declare in advance the views which they hold on questions which they must soon decide judicially; and therefore it is impossible to know how many Republicans will decline to support their party in extreme measures."

"Have the Republicans abandoned their theory that at some stage in the counting the President of the Senate must intervene as an arbiter?"

"The Republicans have abandoned nothing. They hold the same positions that they have always held."

"What is the temper of the South?"

"The temper of the South is pacific. The Southern country has been through a long and unsuccessful war; our people have been killed, our property taken from us, we have been misgoverned, and are just emerging from a condition which has been almost one of anarchy. We are not anxious to fight or go to war. We want to live at peace. At the same time, though I do not desire war, and though my people do not desire war, war may come. The South is to-day fuller of fighting material than it has been for many years. The emancipation of the slaves, and Northern emigration into some of the States, have made the South actually stronger to-day than when the war broke out. Besides that, I am given to understand that the feeling among the Western Democrats is very strong; that they will not submit to a usurper, and that it will be difficult to restrain them. I do not myself think that there will be any fighting, but at the same time, if the present contest is decided in Hayes's favor, the South will feel that all further attempts to better their condition through the ballot will be hopeless. They will never vote for another President, because they will say, It is of no use; we may vote, but no matter which way the votes go we shall be counted out."

"Hayes appears to have been approaching the Southern members with a view to a compromise—or rather, his friends seem to have been doing so?"

"As to that I am unable to give you any information. There is no doubt that a project of that kind has been attempted, but it can have no effect. So far as I myself am concerned, I have felt from the beginning that the proposition was one with which I could have nothing to do, and, of course, it is a proposition which no one can know anything about without, in a certain sense, becoming a party to it. To try to get information would be unbecoming, and therefore I know nothing about it."

"Well, at the North, those who voted for Mr. Tilden, and a large number of Conservative Republicans, too, who voted for Mr. Hayes, think that Mr. Tilden ought to be inaugurated; and the frauds and tricks and contempt for law shown by the Republican party have made a good many of us regret that in the present peculiar condition of affairs the danger of popular resistance should be altogether removed from the calculations of the party in power; that the Republican leaders should feel, as they do feel, that no matter what they do there will be no revolution and no rising; but at the same time most of us feel that nothing under heaven would induce us to begin cutting each other's throats again, and that as for going to war, a country with a civil war every fifteen years would not be worth fighting for."

"Sir, your remark is very good. It would not."

If this is—and it undoubtedly is—a fair reflection of Southern opinion,

an equally fair reflection of the drift of Republican feeling will be got from a conversation with a leader on that side of the House, whose name is also well known all over the country, and who stands as high as any one in the party councils. He said in substance: "We propose to examine all the questions relating to this election in a fair-minded and judicial way. If, on looking into the Oregon case, it appears that the Cronin certificates are the true and valid certificates, under the laws of the State and the United States, we shall cheerfully yield to the decision and Mr. Tilden will be inaugurated—but, then, we do not think the Cronin certificates are valid. If the two Houses can agree upon a method of counting the electoral vote, the vote will be counted in accordance with the rules agreed upon; but, then, it is very doubtful whether the two Houses can agree. The difficulty is, as you say, that the moment any method is agreed upon, it either determines the result or else refers the whole matter to some new tribunal. In the latter case the difficulty is merely removed one step, and in the former, no Democrat will agree to a method of counting which involves Hayes as a result of the count, and no Republican will agree to a method which involves Tilden. The Democrats make a great fuss now about the jurisdiction of the President of the Senate, but all the better and earlier law on the subject shows that he has in certain contingencies the right of counting, and the duty of doing it is imposed upon him. Why, our position is not half so extreme as that of the Democrats. There's Judge Black over there, who says that the Senate has nothing to do with the matter, but that the House has control of the whole thing; why don't people say that that is revolutionary? The Democrats say that clothing the President of the Senate with the power to count the votes is lodging the entire power to decide a disputed Presidential contest in the hands of one man, and that such a thing could never have been intended. But it is not at all greater than the power which everybody admits that he has—of opening them. He may open them, but he cannot count them. Suppose that he should open the wrong ones, or burn some of them up, or conceal them, what would be the remedy? You could not between the 14th of February and the 4th of March correct the error, and the result would be no election. Does it make any difference whether he has the power to produce such a result by 'opening' or by 'counting'? Everything, you may be certain, is working for us. These meetings the Democrats have been holding, and this talk about a hundred thousand unarmed citizens coming to see Tilden inaugurated, are doing us good. And, after all, the Democrats may talk as much as they please about fairness and impartiality and all that, but what I say to them is this: 'Gentlemen, if you had such a hand as we have got, wouldn't you play it?'"

Very different from either of these views is that of the Northern Democrat. He is equally convinced that Tilden will come in, and his confidence, like that of the Southerner's, is based, not on any enumeration of persons who are going over to Tilden in the Senate, but a conviction that the plan of counting Hayes in is so monstrous that it cannot be supported by fair-minded Republicans. The talk of these gentlemen about a rising in the South is very different from that of the Southerners. They represent themselves as now engaged in the arduous task of keeping the South quiet. They are, I know as a matter of fact, in receipt of all sorts of wild promises of support to the death from the more excitable local Southern leaders, and they appear to think that a belief that these mean mischief will conduce more to convincing the Republicans of the errors of their ways than will the opposite course. In the present state of uncertainty and confusion the moment you cease to doubt you can believe anything you please, and some of the most influential leaders among the Northern Democrats have persuaded themselves that if Tilden is not declared President it will be impossible to restrain their followers any longer. In fact, they are afraid of a rising in the South, much as some of the Southerners are afraid of one in the West, and they talk about it in much stronger language. One of them said to me the other day: "When a newspaper correspondent comes to me we generally have this conversation: 'Do you think that if Tilden is not declared elected there will be civil war?' 'I do.' 'Do you think there will be civil war?' 'I do not.' 'Do you think that Tilden will be declared elected?' 'I do.'" Serious as this matter is, it is impossible, after hearing a good deal of talk from different persons about the "rising," and finding that it is always going to occur in some new place, not to be reminded of the fabled Giascutus and the difficulty that was experienced in keeping him under.

The plan said to be proposed by the Senate members of the Joint Committee on the electoral count to the House members, which has already found its way into the papers, meets with a good deal of hostile criticism from the Democrats. They say that it is nothing more nor less than the reference of the matters in dispute to a new committee which will

not begin its labors till after the 15th of February; that its composition is unfair, as three of the four senior Justices of the Supreme Court are Republicans, so that even after dropping one of the lay members by lot there will still be a partisan majority on that side; that the introduction of chance into the decision of the question would be a violation of principle, inasmuch as there has been an election, and somebody has been elected, and the only question is as to the man, or else there has been no election, and in either case the House, being part of a court charged with the duty of canvassing the returns, must decide all matters that arise judicially, and not leave them to be decided by the hazard of a party majority in a sham non-partisan committee. The project was put out as a sort of "feeler." The Southern Democrats are much more averse to a compromise than the Republicans. If Tilden comes in all is well; if Hayes comes in by force, it might be endurable; but a compromise by which Hayes should come in with the aid and connivance of a certain number of Democrats—that would be fatal to the party. The Southern Democrats would then all be forced to make the best terms they could, and it would be so clearly for their interest to do so, as well as for the interest of peace and order, that a very well-known Southerner told me to-day that under such circumstances "he was not at all sure that he could not advise it." As to what overtures have actually been made by Mr. Hayes's friends to the Southerners, although there is a general agreement that something of the kind has taken place, it is impossible as yet to get any definite information. The introduction of the subject is fatal to conversation. The Republican whose opinions I have given above, though willing enough to state his views and opinions as to almost everything else, manifested a sudden reticence when this topic was approached, and begged me to excuse him, as he "must go and vote on this bill."

The impression appears to have got abroad that the President, by his recent inaction in Louisiana affairs, has given proof of a conservative disposition which augurs well for the future. How this impression has been created it would probably be difficult to say; but I think it comes from the general determination of the Democrats to talk confidently and behave as if their success were an assured thing. Certainly it does not come from those who know what took place at the interviews. The President did not talk about Louisiana affairs, but listened to what the Louisiana representatives had to say; said that, as he was not in possession of all the facts in the case, he could not yet make up his mind as to his duty in the premises, and produced upon those who heard what few remarks he made, the impression that his delay and his desire to get full information did not conflict with an intention and desire to recognize Packard as soon as possible. A great pressure in this direction has been brought to bear upon the President within the last few days, and if he withstands it, no one will be really more surprised than the Democrats.

THE PRINCESSE DE CONDÉ.

PARIS, December 29, 1876.

THE Protestant faith found its first adepts in France in the highest ranks of the aristocracy as well as among some popular communities, such as the weavers of Meaux. The movement, which was purely evangelical among the people, was half political and half religious in the nobility. The French aristocracy was very different in the sixteenth century from what it became after the wars of religion, and under the long reign of Louis XIV. There is not a more interesting period in our annals than the history of the troubled times of the last Valois. It may be said that this history is still unwritten. When the Protestant cause was defeated the Catholic writers tried to bury the times of the wars of religion in oblivion; and at the present moment, the teachings of the French University on that period are extremely meagre and imperfect. It is only in the original documents of the times, in the vast correspondence of Henri IV., in the pamphlets of the Huguenots, in the histories of Bèze, of D'Aubigné, etc., that you can form a correct idea of the most dramatic epoch of our history.

The Duc d'Aumale has made a very valuable addition to historical science by the publication of the first two volumes of his 'History of the Prince de Condé.' He had many documents in his own archives, and he was allowed in the State Paper Office to copy the interesting despatches written by the ministers of Queen Elizabeth. In the course of his work, he came across a singular episode connected with a lady called Isabelle de Limeuil, who was at one time used by the court as the means of corrupting the great Huguenot chief, Louis de Condé. A curious article on this subject has appeared in the publications of the Philobiblion Society of London. I shall not speak to-day of Isabelle de Limeuil, but of Condé's wife, Eléonore de

Roye. If the Huguenots believed in saints, she would have a right to be classed among the Huguenot saints. She was well chosen by Count Jules Delaborde as the type of the great ladies who, horrified by the corruption of the Valois, embraced the new doctrine of Calvin. Religion had become a mere form; the Valois and their courtiers thought, perhaps sincerely, that they could "ensure their salvation" (*faire leur salut*) if only they followed processions, went to Mass, prayed in Latin, and confessed their crimes. Is it to be wondered at if the purest minds of the times, brought face to face with the terrible truths of the Calvinistic analysis of the human soul, understood that empty works were nothing if the soul itself did not feel that longing for purity and perfection and truth which theology calls grace?

The grandmother of Count Delaborde's heroine was Louise de Montmorency. She had confessed on her death-bed her attachment to the new religion, and told her son, Cardinal Châtillon, that she needed no Catholic priest, "as God, by a singular goodness, had taught her the means of fearing and serving him, and how to escape from the bonds of the body." The mother of our heroine was the Comtesse de Roye, who openly adopted the Protestant religion and educated Eléonore in the new ideas. At the age of fifteen Eléonore was married to the first gentleman of the kingdom, Louis de Bourbon, with the permission of Anne de Montmorency, the *Connétable*, who was looked upon as the chief and head of all the Châtillons (Louise de Montmorency had married twice, her second husband being the Maréchal de Châtillon, father of the great Coligny). Louis de Bourbon was then only twenty years old. He was handsome, brave, gay, poor, and ambitious. He had hardly been married when he was forced to go to war; he took part in the short campaign of 1552, which gave France the three bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun; he went afterwards to Piedmont. He spent five years in campaigning till 1556, when peace was signed. Meanwhile, Eléonore, who was now commonly called the *Princesse de Condé*, lived away from the court, in the country. War recommenced, and the army of Philip II. attacked Saint Quentin. Condé was neither killed nor made prisoner during the terrible siege; he rendered great services to France in Picardy, and he fell ill. It was towards that time that the *Princesse de Condé* and her husband began openly to adopt the practices of the Huguenot church.

When Henri II. died in 1559, Catherine de Médicis took sides with the Guises against the princes of the blood and the Châtillons. The King of Navarre, Condé, Coligny, all the gentlemen of the houses of Bourbon and Montmorency met at Vendôme and formed a league against the Guises. Condé was, in reality, the head of the party, as his brother, Antoine de Bourbon, was incapable of becoming a leader. The "tumult" of Amboise was the beginning of new difficulties. Condé went to Nérac, and there a plan of campaign was prepared by the Protestants. The court was advised of these plans. Condé and his brother, the King of Navarre, were summoned to Orléans, where Francis II. was at the time, and they boldly went there. They were immediately arrested, and Condé's trial was appointed. As soon as she heard the fatal news, Eléonore left her children and started for Orléans. She was first stopped on the way, in the midst of the Beauce, and then allowed to come. She implored the king and Catherine de Médicis; but the Guises had resolved on the death of Condé. He had refused to answer before the commission named by them; but the sentence of death was passed in November and the execution was fixed for the 10th December, the day on which the States-General had been summoned. Francis II. became suddenly dangerously ill. On his death-bed he still promised "God and all the saints in paradise, particularly Notre Dame de Cléry, if his health was restored, to purge the kingdom of the wicked heretics, and asked God to make him die at once if he spared wife, brothers, sisters, relations, or friends, who might be only suspected of heresy." Coligny saw Francis die, and said simply: "Gentlemen, the king is dead; let his death teach us how to live."

Condé was saved; he had shown the most admirable fortitude in prison. The Queen-Mother was now afraid of becoming herself the victim of the Guises, and threw herself into the arms of the Châtillons. The innocence of Condé was declared, and the Protestants were allowed to have public worship in many places. The Duc de Guise openly took the leadership of the enemies of tolerance. The massacre of Vassy was the signal for hostilities. Orléans had become the stronghold of the Protestants, and Condé was charged with its defence. For four months the *Princesse de Condé* encouraged the population and nursed the sick and the wounded. A terrible pestilence had broken out in the town. A Protestant army marched on Paris under the guidance of Condé, and soon afterwards the Catholics under the *Connétable* (who had remained faithful to the old religion) and the Huguenots under Condé fought a great battle at Dreux. The two commanders were both over-

powered in the battle and made prisoners. The Princesse de Condé heard at Orléans of the capture of her husband; she wrote to the Queen, but Condé was thrown into prison and securely guarded. After Dreux, Guise marched on Orléans; he wrote to Catherine de Médicis "that he would give her news of the capture of the town in twenty-four hours, begging her to forgive him if, against his inclination, which was not cruel, he should forgive in Orléans neither sex nor age, and should ruin the town so that its memory would be lost." The evening of the same day he fell himself under the pistol of an assassin.

The Princesse de Condé had a conference with the Queen-Mother, and a truce was soon arranged. Condé was free again. Peace was presently concluded. The Protestants were not satisfied with the provisions of the treaty; the "edict of pacification" made the Protestant public worship the monopoly of the noblemen; it was only allowed the people in one town in each bailliage. Condé remained at court, though his wife's health had much suffered at Orléans, and the truth obliges history to confess that Catherine de Médicis succeeded in chaining the young lion. Condé threw himself into a life of dissipation; he forgot not only his duties to the great religious party which he represented, he forgot his duties to the noble and faithful wife, who was already the mother of many children. She had borne everything—pestilence, absence, the dangers and horrors of war; the infidelity of her husband was more than she could bear. She never complained, but one can read, however, the torments and sorrows of her heart in her letters to Calvin, to Théodore de Bèze. She had looked for consolation where consolation is always found. She never despaired of Condé; she knew his levity, but she also understood his admirable qualities, and felt sure that if he did not always live well he would die well in the service of a holy cause. Tired of the court, the princess departed to her château of Condé-en-Brie with her four children (she had lost two). She was chiefly interested in their education and with the troubles of the Protestant churches. She became very ill, and Condé joined her. She kept up an active correspondence with the minister Pierre Viret. She soon felt that she must die, and asked two friends to inform her husband. She made her will and called for her minister, Perussel. She called her eldest son, Henry, and told him to fear God and the king. "Honor also the Queen of Navarre (Jeanne d'Albret), the Cardinal de Bourbon, your father, your grandmother, your uncles de Châtillon and de Larochehoucauld." . . . Then came many Christian counsels. She ended thus: "If you do all this, my darling, you will, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have God's benediction and mine, which I give you with this diamond ring, which you will keep in memory of me." She asked again for Condé at midnight; they conversed for an hour, when she remained alone with Perussel; she died towards morning. Condé called for his son, and, impressed as he was by the solemnity of the occasion, told him to follow his mother's example rather than his own. "People will often tell you when you are grown up of things your father did which you need not imitate, but in your mother's life you will find nothing that is not worthy of imitation."

The princess was only twenty-nine years old. The emotions which she had gone through, six confinements, sometimes under the most extraordinary and perilous circumstances, her fatigues at Orléans, had broken her delicate frame. She had lived like a hero and she died like a saint.

Correspondence.

SHOULD EX-PRESIDENTS BE PUT TO DEATH?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In party platforms, and even in candidates' letters of acceptance, every one naturally looks for loose, illogical, and inconsequential political thought. When, however, a man like Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr., takes up his pen in the *North American Review* we have a right to expect something better. In his political article in the January number of that periodical Mr. Dana adopts the proposition of making the President ineligible for re-election, on the ground that, being thus deprived of all selfish inducement thereto, he will not abuse his power and patronage by using it as a political weapon. The doors of preferment being closed upon him, the President of the future will devote himself wholly to the present and to immortality! You have already pointed out in your columns the singular practical illustration of this theory in the recent public action of President Grant. Going out of power himself, he has exerted his whole official influence and patronage, as no President ever allowed it to be exerted before, to secure the succession to the candidate of the party which he (the President) says

"he represents." Mr. Dana surely, therefore, must have seen that the remedy he proposes does not meet the difficulty. Ineligibility does not secure impartiality. What, then, will? Clearly we must go further.

It is obvious, the fact that a President cannot be re-elected by no means deprives him of all interest in the election of his successor. But the hope of reward or political office, as well as partisanship, may induce him to sell his influence to a candidate. Logic must teach us, then, to guard against this danger, and a Constitutional amendment disqualifying one who has been President from ever holding any office of trust, honor, or emolument might meet the case, and deserves consideration. Even this, however, would not ensure unselfish devotion. Presidents may be poor men, they may have families; after a brief term in the Presidency they must have the means of decently ending a life in retirement. Here is a terrible temptation for poor human nature. Surely it should be cut off. Logically I can see, therefore, but one remedy for that great evil. To ensure in our Presidents a perfectly unselfish and unpartisan devotion to the duties of their great position, they must be so situated that they cannot possibly draw any benefit from abusing them. If every President knew that he was, like Lincoln, to die in office, he would strive to make his administration worthy to rank with Lincoln's. Worldly ambition would be eliminated from his official thoughts. I would suggest, therefore, that death, and not ineligibility or disqualification, is the true Constitutional remedy for the political evil which Mr. Dana so acutely points out. The President throughout his term should be elevated by the thought that when he lays his office down it will be to join the select circle of the immortals. Under these circumstances we might surely count on our Presidents putting worldly motives behind them; and surely it would add greatly to the impressiveness and solemnity of our now somewhat meagre inaugural ceremonies if it were made the Constitutional duty of the Chief-Justice to immediately put to death, before all the people, the old President, after administering the oath to the new one. This would be a complete, as well as both logical and philosophical, remedy for a confessed Constitutional defect.

X. Y. Z.

THE LIBRARIAN'S WORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The increase of our libraries of late years has been so unusual that most of them have decided to provide an improved catalogue for the more convenient use of their treasures. Consequently, we now find almost all our libraries filled with busy assistants, more in number than are employed in the largest libraries in the world. The kind of work they are doing has been described in detail by Mr. John Fiske, in a paper entitled "A Librarian's Work" (*Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1876). The aim of the intended work is doubtless a noble one; but, as the execution will cost Boston and Cambridge about a million of dollars, the public, for whose benefit it is undertaken, has a right to ask the following questions: (1) What is the object of a catalogue? (2) Is it possible to carry out the intended catalogue in the way proposed? (3) Can the aim be reached by a simpler, less expensive method?

First, then, the object of a catalogue is to determine whether any given book is in the library and where it is placed. This simple aim of recording the books and rendering them accessible has been accomplished everywhere at comparatively small expense by alphabetical catalogues.

Second. Is it possible to carry out the plan of a more elaborate catalogue in the way proposed? I think I should answer that this additional task, included under the head of subject and reference catalogue, does not properly belong to the cataloguing of a library. The European libraries possess either very imperfect subject-catalogues or none at all, because this task belongs to the bibliographer, and requires conditions not to be found within the limits of any one library. Every one who has had any experience in work of this kind knows that, to give it any real value, he must consult not one library alone, nor even the libraries of one country, but that his material must be collected from many libraries throughout different countries. A complete bibliographical work even on the history of the United States could not be prepared from the libraries of this country alone. If, then, a trained worker cannot make a subject-catalogue of any value in the limits of one library, it is evident that such a work now undertaken in many libraries in this country is a simple waste of money; and, since the work is as costly as it is impracticable, the sum thrown away is a large one. If a library catalogue is made to cost twice the value of the library itself, every one will admit that something is amiss, and, with the method now pursued in our libraries, this is likely to be the result. There can be no doubt as to the value of bibliographies, and our need of them; did they exist in every branch of science the whole world would be benefited by

it. Were the sums now expended in our libraries on subject-catalogues and reference-catalogues directed to this purpose, in the right hands such an object could be at least partially carried out. But, as connected with a catalogue, this work is an encumbrance, a mountainous obstacle; and, when it is found that it cannot possibly be overcome, the end will probably be *parturiunt montes*.

Another insurmountable obstacle seems to me the attempt to make a catalogue equally suitable for all. "To students' unaided faculties a great library is simply a trackless wilderness; the catalogue of such a library is itself a kind of wilderness, albeit much more readily penetrated and explored." In plain words, a catalogue is after all only a tool, the use of which has to be learned, and can only be learned at the cost of time and labor. The question is whether the student cannot spend his time more profitably, since the catalogue, though a daily necessity to the librarian, has only an occasional value to him. This consideration, and the risk of injury to the catalogue from inexperienced handling, have induced most of the more prominent libraries in Europe to refuse the public access to their catalogues. The British Museum and some smaller libraries are exceptions to this rule. It should be added that this caution has nowhere proved an impediment to students. Indeed, the personal handling of the catalogue is not important to the student and merely a loss of time. A catalogue adapted for all is simply an impossibility, were it only for the immense difference in the culture and intellect of the readers, which makes an average standard for the catalogue of very little use.

Lastly, can the aim be reached by a less expensive method? The important thing is to make the catalogue handy and useful for the librarian and his assistants—a limitation by which the work is greatly simplified and rendered far less costly. All that is needed for such a catalogue is the title of the book clearly written out, the date of publication, its size and place in the library. Everything else is either bibliographical or is not essential to the true use of the catalogue. Duplicate copies may occasionally be bought in consequence of the less perfect catalogue; but is it not cheaper for a library to lose a few dollars annually than to spend thousands in trying to prevent such mistakes? Again, suppose a student enquires for a book published by J. Smith. The fact that the librarian has with much pains ascertained the true significance of these initials is of no value for him. Equally indifferent it is to him whether the true authorship of an anonymous work which he wishes to consult is known to the librarian. In nine cases out of ten the student needs the book for its contents, and whether the author is this or that J. Smith, or shelters himself anonymously, is not his affair. Again, no one able to consult Grimm's great dictionary needs to be told who are or have been Grimm's collaborators, and the multiplied headings and cards required for such reference do but swell the catalogue and the cost of making it. Of course it will often happen that the alphabetical catalogue is insufficient, and the student must call upon the librarian for help, which the latter will have time to give if he does not voluntarily add bibliographical work to his legitimate duties. The courteous liberality with which such aid is tendered in all libraries here is the best proof that it interferes neither with the librarian's duty nor with his private studies. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that "a great library affords means of study and reflection to every one except the librarian," when we look at the work of men like Panizzi in London, Haase in Paris, Heine in Göttingen, Held in Munich, Immanuel Kant and Lobek in Königsberg.

Certainly, the complicated and artificial mode of cataloguing now in use may be simplified. In every large bookstore the work described as that of the "principal assistants, with two or three subordinates to ascertain if the books at hand correspond with those charged in the invoice," is done by one, or at most two, of the younger clerks. The subsequent task when, "five or six more assistants arriving on the scene, the work of collating begins," I have seen assigned in a large library to the janitor and the book-boy in their spare hours. If it "seem certain that the peculiar system adopted entails considerable delay in bringing up the catalogue," the simplest way would be to abandon this system as soon as possible.

Card catalogues are found convenient in small libraries, but their fitness for large libraries is by no means proved. A serious obstacle is the difficulty of fully lighting the numerous drawers in which the cards are kept. The consequence is that the cards are taken out to be read and are misplaced. But the greatest objection, next to the expense of such a catalogue, is their bulk, which seems likely to compel the library sooner or later to encamp outside the building. We are told that the evident inconvenience of the card catalogue is to be cured by a printed one. This remedy is worse than the disease. The experiment of printing a catalogue was tried

long ago, but is rarely repeated by the same library, for it always proves still more inconvenient and costly. This result is considered as final in Europe. Except in limited portions of a library and for special purposes, all of a decided bibliographical character, the printed catalogue is abandoned there. In fact, it offers, at an enormous expense, only a very transient relief; for the catalogue begins to be imperfect before it is published.

The objections against written catalogues in book-form, according to the general custom, are trifling if the catalogue is not to be placed in the hands of all comers. Even if used by the public the disadvantages are not evident. The catalogue of the British Museum, for instance, is purposely divided into a great number of volumes, each about the thickness of two fingers. I have seen them used daily for months by ladies without difficulty or fatigue. The whole arrangement of the catalogue in that institution is a marvel of British skill and industry. They save both time and money by making several identical copies at once, to be pasted later in the books, a more economical method in every way than that of writing three card catalogues and subsequently copying them into books.

The final and principal objection to the system now in use here is the fact that, if the increase of the libraries continues at its present rate, the contemplated work cannot be continued, for it will soon outgrow the most liberal patronage without having attained its purpose.

DR. H. A. HAGEN.

CAMBRIDGE, December, 1876.

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press Lady Barker's 'Letters from South Africa,' which have been running through their magazine; 'Worthy Women of Our First Century,' edited by Mrs. Owen J. Wister and Miss Agnes Irwin; and 'The Molly Maguires,' by F. P. Dewees, a member of the Schuylkill County Bar.—Benj. R. Tucker, of New Bedford, Mass., the translator and publisher of Proudhon's works, invites support for a projected *Radical Review*, quarterly, which will especially discuss the labor question, though other topics of human interest will be treated, and "poetry and the lighter features of the monthly magazine will not be disregarded." Mr. Tucker names with permission a number of intending contributors; but the list is so far from being homogeneous that it is not easy to foresee which of the groups represented by Stephen Pearl Andrews, John Fiske, and O. B. Frothingham, for example, will determine the complexion of the Review.—Hurd & Houghton announce 'Alexander Hamilton,' an historical study, by Chief-Justice Shea, of the Marine Court.—The State Charities Aid Association will be glad to receive at their office, 52 East Twentieth Street, old books, magazines, and illustrated weeklies, to be distributed among the sick and suffering in the hospitals.

—There can be no doubt of the sincerity of the letters of approval which accompany the publishers' prospectus of the *Magazine of American History* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.), because there is undeniably a want of such a periodical. But experience has shown that the historical magazine least of all can count upon a steady and adequate support in this country. We do not believe this has been altogether or mainly due to the conductors; the most serious difficulty is with the American mind, which does not dwell on the past, does not easily recall it, forgets as freely as it forgives, and only by a miracle secures for its legislation and its institutions an historical development. This mental condition is confirmed by the vast expanse of the country and the great subdivision of political interests, so that it is well-nigh impossible for anybody but a student to maintain a sense of proportion in watching the progress of affairs State and national. To one-half the Union, for example, Federal interference in Louisiana does not and cannot be made to seem, at the time, the same thing that it would be in Massachusetts. A midnight order of Judge Barnard's seems much more significant than one of Judge Durell's. The rule of Tammany is more alarming than the rule of Bullock, or Scott, or Kellogg. But it is needless to multiply examples. The next difficulty pertains to the literary rather than the financial support of an historical magazine. Being restricted to American history, which has had and still has but few workers in the broad field, it is almost shut up to the consideration of minute and special points, and tends to run to what, for want of a better word, we may call antiquarianism. This is still further aggravated by the infrequent appearance of works which admit of reviews not inferior to themselves in scope and originality.

—We dare say all this has occurred to Mr. John Austin Stevens, who is to edit the new Review. Mr. Stevens is the librarian of the N. Y. Historical Society, which gives him a clear advantage in resources. His scheme is to offer each month "an original article on some point of American

history from a recognized and authoritative pen ; a biographical sketch of some character of historic interest ; original documents, diaries, and letters ; reprints of rare documents ; notes and queries ; reports of the proceedings of the N. Y. Historical Society ; notices of historical publications." This is fully carried out in the January number, and on the whole with good results. Mr. Marshall's paper on Champlain's expedition against the Onondagas in 1615 is well-reasoned and convincing ; and Mr. O'Callaghan's sketch of David Jamison, Baurmeister's narrative of the capture of New York, and Laurence Butler's letters, are all worth printing and reading. The notes and queries have as yet hardly the air of "business" ; and the book notices are not very promising. The proof-reading is far from being what it ought to be—first-rate. On the very first page we read of the "headquarters of the River Trent," and there are too many smaller typographical blunders. We make these criticisms in a friendly spirit, and wish complete success to the new enterprise.

—Trübner & Co., of London, have just published a 'Concise Persian Dictionary,' of about 360 pages, by Professor E. H. Palmer, of Cambridge. It is intended to give especially the colloquial vocabulary, and to be of use to "travellers and others in Persia" ; but it also includes all that is needed for reading the ordinary text-books of beginners in the language. The same firm send a volume of poems, 'Song of the Reed and other Pieces,' by the same author. Its contents are chiefly versions from the Persian and Arabic ; at the end are added a few original humorous pieces, in Praed's manner, but without Praed's talent ; they were hardly worth putting into the same covers with the rest. Trübner also proposes to publish a third volume of Indian Miscellanies ('Indische Streifen'), by Professor Weber of Berlin, the celebrated Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar, if the work obtains in advance a moderate number of subscribers (150). This ought not to be questionable, as the contents of the volume, like those of its predecessors, will doubtless be of the most solid and valuable character. Few critics in the whole department of Oriental literature write with a more competent and conscientious pen. The price is to be about fifteen marks or shillings, and the two preceding volumes will be added for nine more.

—In the review of Max Müller's labors upon the 'Rig-Veda,' of which we spoke some weeks ago, as published in the *New Englander* for October, expression was given to the regret generally felt that Aufrecht's (transliterated) edition of that 'Veda' was not stereotyped, and had long been to be had only at second hand and with difficulty. Since then it has been learned that a new edition of the work was even at that time in the press, and may probably be looked for in the course of the winter. It is carefully revised, and more clearly and handsomely printed than before. For some time the 'Rig-Veda' text has been almost inaccessible to students, the stereotyped edition published by Trübner, and bearing Müller's name on the title-page, having been also out of print. A new impression of this is understood to be about to appear. Students of the 'Veda,' it is pleasant to know, are not so rare even in America that the announcement is wanting in public interest. Helps to the understanding of the 'Veda' have been multiplying of late. Müller's first volume of translation, indeed, containing twelve hymns, has never had a successor. But Roth and two of his young pupils, in their 'Seventy Hymns' (German metrical version, Tübingen, 1875), have given the outsider such a specimen of the Vedic poetry as had never been within his reach before. In 1876 the veteran Grassmann produced a version, also metrical, of books ii-viii., about half the whole text ; the other half is to follow. And now within a few weeks has been completed a German translation of the entire 'Veda,' by a much younger scholar, Ludwig of Prague. Ludwig is a very venturesome investigator, walking in a track of his own and usually provoking sharp criticism, which he repays as sharply ; but, whatever may be his faults of method, he is a faithful and laborious worker, and his volumes are a contribution of no insignificant value to Vedic knowledge. His work has the honor of being the first complete version of the 'Rig Veda' in a European language—if we throw out of account the French one of Langlois, which is so untrustworthy as to be worse than none.

—The sudden death, on the 12th inst., of Professor Alexander Bain, of the University of Aberdeen, at the comparatively early age of fifty-eight, will be felt as a serious loss to the philosophical scholarship of the time. Professor Bain was always an indefatigable worker, and was author of books upon various subjects, but his treatises upon the 'Senses and the Intellect,' and upon the 'Emotions and the Will,' are those by which he will be longest known. Through these works chiefly Professor Bain has made a strong impression upon the mental science of the age. They are, in fact, the only methodical and comprehensive expositions that we have of psychical science in which intellectual and emotional phenomena are treated throughout in intimate and essential connection with their physical concomitants.

Professor Bain was, perhaps, the leading representative of the modern school of psychology that has had so marked a development in England as to be known as the "English School," and which maintains that the study of mind can yield satisfactory results only when its corporeal conditions or physical bases are taken into account as fundamental elements of the problem. From this circumstance it has been also loosely characterized as the materialist school. The first of these volumes appeared in 1855, and Professor Bain's ideal of the work seems to have been to supply something like an exhaustive natural history of the human mind. But as natural history itself has undergone a change in recent years, and in its philosophical aspects has become merged in biology, the necessity of a corresponding change in mental science was felt by Professor Bain, as was shown by the adoption of the principle of evolution in the later editions of his works. Professor Bain began his career as a college lecturer at the Andersonian University of Glasgow, where he held the chair of natural philosophy, but in 1860 he was appointed by the Crown professor of logic and moral philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. He was the author of text-books on astronomy, electricity, and meteorology, and of various other works, and was besides an industrious editor, who supplied the notes to the recent editions of the works of James Mill and George Grote. Professor Bain held radical and advanced views on the subject of education, and at the time of his death was engaged in the preparation of a volume on 'The Science of Education,' for the "International Scientific Series." He was a man of slight stature and very active temperament, a free talker, overflowing with wit and anecdote, which he told capitally.

—Dr. Schliemann has written to the *Times*, under date of Nov. 25 and 28, giving accounts of further interesting discoveries at Mycenæ. He mentions a tomb cut out of the solid rock, 21 feet long and 11 feet broad, which had been filled with earth "brought there from another place." Fifteen feet from the top he reached a layer of small stones, below which he found the calcined remains of three bodies ; these "had evidently been burnt simultaneously in the very place where they lay," as appeared from the ashes of the clothes and of the fire-wood, and from the color of the stones. With each body he found five diadems of gold, each 19½ inches long and 4 inches broad in the middle, but ending in a point at each end ; also fourteen "golden crosses in the form of laurel-leaves," each 7½ inches long and 1½ inches broad. In another tomb he found "the mortal remains of three ladies," covered with a layer of pebble-stones and lying on a similar layer, the latter being 30 feet below the surface of the hill. These bodies were "literally overwhelmed with jewels, all of which bore evident signs of the fire and smoke to which they had been exposed on the funeral piles." In still another tomb he found the bodies of five men, "literally overloaded with jewels," all bearing the same marks of fire. In one case skeletons were found which had not been burnt ; but most of the human remains appeared to have been subjected to the action of fire sufficiently to remove the flesh and the clothes without harming the bones or the ornaments. The accounts of the funerals of Patroclus, Hector, and Achilles in Homer show that no such semi-cremation as this was in the poet's mind. The collection of the wood for the immense funeral-pile of Hector occupied nine days. The pyre of Patroclus measured a hundred feet in both length and breadth, which is not surprising when we read of the numerous offerings—sheep, cattle, honey, ointment, four horses, two "table-dogs," and twelve "noble sons of high-souled Trojans"—which Achilles placed upon the pile with the hero's body. The fiercest winds were invoked by Achilles to blow their blasts upon the fire a whole night, and in the morning the hero's "white bones" were carefully collected, placed in a golden vessel between two layers of fat, and covered with a linen robe. After the death of Achilles, according to the 'Odyssey,' his bones were mixed with those of Patroclus. One part of the account of the burial of Hector is interesting : the golden coffin, covered with soft purple robes, was placed in a hollow tomb (or grave), and was then "covered with large stones, closely packed," before the mound was raised above the burial-place. This last agrees with the manner in which the "three ladies" above mentioned were buried.

—We have a list of the jewels with which these ladies were "overwhelmed." Among them are twelve golden crowns, ten golden diadems ; "one gigantic golden crown, 2 feet 1 inch long and 11 inches broad, with thirty large leaves" ; two hundred and fifty round gold leaves ; six splendidly-ornamented golden vessels ; two large, splendidly-ornamented breast ornaments, in form of wreaths or garlands ; twenty-two flat pieces of gold, seven of which represent "two lions standing on their hind legs opposite each other" (evidently the arms of the Atridae) ; six butterflies, three women, and four lions, all of gold ; one cross of gold ; sixteen earrings and twelve plain ear-pendants of gold ; one long necklace of amber ; one enormous golden breastpin, representing a woman with outstretched arms

and a crown on her head; two sceptres of silver, with handles of rock-crystal; and many other curious ornaments of gold, silver, and bronze, with a large amount of pottery. Dr. Schliemann writes that it would be vain to try to give "only a faint idea of the splendid ornamentation of all the above jewels of gold." "Nowhere," he adds, "can I discover a space as large as a quarter of an inch which is not ornamented." Among the treasures found with the bodies of the five men are one hundred buttons of bone, covered with blades of gold, "on which are engraved beautiful spiral ornaments, or the symbolic sign of the holy fire." This "suastika," or cross, representing the primitive instrument by which fire was produced by friction, it will be remembered, was frequently found in the ruins of Troy (see Schliemann's 'Troy,' p. 102, Engl. ed.) The skulls of three of the five men were enclosed in "large, massive golden masks," which Dr. Schliemann thus describes:

"All the three masks are made with marvellous art, and one fancies one can see there all the hairs of the eyebrows and whiskers. . . . There can be no doubt that every one of them faithfully represents the likeness of the deceased hero whose face it covered. Were it not so, all the masks would show the very same ideal type. One shows a small mouth, a long nose, large eyes, and a large head; another, a very large mouth, nose, and head; the third, a small head, mouth, and nose."

The tomb containing these five men proves perhaps the richest of all. In it have also been found two hundred and sixteen splendidly-ornamented gold buttons; a magnificent golden handle, probably of a sceptre, terminating in a dragon's head, with the scales imitated by a mosaic of rock-crystal; "one enormous, most magnificently-ornamented, massive golden bracelet, weighing 360 grammes," which Dr. Schliemann thinks may have been worn on the leg; two seal-rings with exquisite devices; a large and heavy golden helmet, found at the head of one of the bodies, whose breast and sides were covered with a thick plate of gold 1 foot 8 inches long and 1 foot broad; and "a large golden vase, weighing 1½ kilogrammes." These are but a small part of the articles mentioned. No sign resembling alphabetic writing has yet been discovered, and the worshippers of Wolf's 'Prolegomena' need not yet feel alarmed by Schliemann's discoveries.

—Dr. Schliemann has ascended the steep mountain now called St. Elias, 2,500 feet above Mycenæ, and found there important Cyclopean walls, five feet thick and (now) ten feet high, which he thinks must have defended an ancient temple of the Sun-god, whose name, *Ἡλῖος*, he thinks has been corrupted into Elias, the name of the saint now worshipped there. Lest any should too rashly assume that this etymology is decisive, we will merely recall to mind that Dr. Schliemann derived the name of Troy, *Ἴλιος*, from the same name of the Sun-god, and that there are many hills in Greece dedicated to St. Elias, among which are those of Ægina, Chios, and Thera; while, on the other hand, Pausanias (ii. xviii. 3) passed an altar of the Sun as he crossed the Inachus, on the road from Argos to Mycenæ. We must not forget Mrs. Schliemann's services, who helps her husband in all his work. Dr. Schliemann writes:

"We have to do the work ourselves; the task is exceedingly difficult and painful, particularly in the present rainy weather, for we cannot dig otherwise than on our knees, and cutting with our knives the earth and stones carefully away, so as not to injure or let escape any of the gold ornaments."

—Prof. A. de Gubernatis gives in the last number of the *International Review* an inside view of journalism in Italy. Not one of all the papers, great and small, has a circulation exceeding 20,000 copies, while the fluctuation is sometimes extraordinary. The *Pungolo* of Milan varies from 8,000 to 14,000; *Funfulla*, Rome, from 8,000 to 20,000; the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, Florence, from 12,000 to 20,000. Then, again, the circulation of the *Perseveranza*, which is "beyond question the most serious and important journal of Lombardy," and which Prof. De Gubernatis calls the Italian *Débats*, "does not surpass, if it attains, a limit of 3,000 copies"; while the *Nazione*, likewise "of all the journals published in Tuscany the one most distinguished for excellence of style and dignity of tone," "has hardly 1,000 subscribers on its books, and outside of Tuscany it is but little in request." Florence, we are told, has attained as a publishing centre an importance far exceeding that of Rome, and as for Milan, it is "the city of Italy where there is the most reading, good or bad." Here, too, we meet with two publishers who of themselves issue four or five journals, all profitable. The number of deputies who aspire to the rôle of journalists, or of journalists who continue to write for the press after they have secured seats in Parliament, is large, and probably larger than our own press and Congress can show at the present moment; nor could we ever point to a Congressman who united so many functions without neglect of any, as Professor and Deputy and subsequently Minister of Public Instruction Ruggiero Bonghi, for many years editor of the *Perseveranza*, and still Deputy (and we believe

Professor) and "inspirer" of the *Gazzetta di Napoli*. Such men, types of the versatility which has remained a national trait from Da Vinci to Massimo d'Azeglio, may be common enough in Italy to call for no special remark; and in fact Signor Bonghi receives from Prof. De Gubernatis even more passing mention than some of his fellow-journalists less known to fame, and not known at all as publicists.

—A new example of the astuteness of the Japanese, or rather a fresh proof of how apt they are at engrafting scions of Western craft upon their own original stock of cleverness, has recently come to light. During several years past the hatching of silkworms' eggs in France and Italy has been very precarious, the entire produce of more than one season having been carried off by disease. Accordingly, cultivators have had to look to other countries to supply them with eggs, both to replenish their nurseries and to give fresh vigor to native breeds of silkworms. Japan has been the principal source of the required supply, and in the fall of each year *graineurs*, as they are called, arrive in that country, deputed by French and Italian nurseries to purchase the cards on which the eggs are deposited. The number of these cards supposed to be required for the season of 1876 for Europe was 1,200,000. Mr. Shibusawa, formerly Vice-Minister of Finance in Japan and at present director of the First National Bank of that country, has been grieved that a large profit should accrue to the foreign *graineurs* at the expense of native producers, and has devised a scheme to divert it into Japanese coffers. Before the opening of the season he organized a confederacy, of which he constituted himself the head, of the principal holders of silkworms' egg-cards. When the *graineurs* arrived, they found, to their dismay, that they could only buy cards at a fixed, and what they considered an exorbitant, tariff. So they bought a few, comparatively, of such cards as they were bound to have at any price, and then drew off to wait until the holders should come to their terms. Meanwhile they purchased here and there, from Japanese not in Shibusawa's confederacy, what cards they could find. In all, their purchases barely exceeded 350,000. And now Shibusawa, after giving them plenty of time to come to his terms, has called "check!" By the *City of Peking* a number of *cartons*, estimated at some 250,000, were shipped for consignment direct to Italy by the association, two members of which travelled by the same vessel to Milan, for the purpose of establishing there a Japanese agency for the sale of silkworms' egg-cards, and thus to do away with the necessity of the intermediary work of Italian and French *graineurs*, and the consequent diversion of profits from first hands.

MR. TENNYSON'S NEW DRAMA.*

THE author of 'Queen Mary' seems disposed to show us that that work was not an accident, but rather, as it may be said, an incident of his literary career. The incident has just been repeated, though 'Harold' has come into the world more quietly than its predecessor. It is singular how soon the public gets used to unfamiliar notions. By the time the reader has finished 'Harold' he has almost contracted the habit of thinking of Mr. Tennyson as a writer chiefly known to fame by "dramas" without plots and dialogues without point. This impression it behooves him, of course, to shake off if he wishes to judge the book properly. He must compare the author of 'Maud' and the earlier 'Idyls' with the great poets, and not with the small. 'Harold' would be a respectable production for a writer who had spent his career in producing the same sort of thing, but it is a somewhat graceless anomaly in the record of a poet whose verse has, in a large degree, become part of the civilization of his day. 'Queen Mary' was not, on the whole, pronounced a success, and 'Harold,' roughly speaking, is to 'Queen Mary' what that work is to the author's earlier masterpieces. 'Harold' is not in the least bad: it contains nothing ridiculous, unreasonable, or disagreeable; it is only decidedly weak, decidedly colorless and tame. The author's inspiration is like a fire which is quietly and contentedly burning low. The analogy is perfectly complete. The hearth is clean swept and the chimney-side is garnished with its habitual furniture; but the room is getting colder and colder, and the occasional little flickers emitted by the mild embers are not sufficient to combat the testimony of the poetical thermometer. There is nothing necessarily harsh in this judgment. Few fires are always at a blaze, and the imagination, which is the most delicate machine in the world, cannot be expected to serve longer than a good gold repeater. We must take what it gives us, in every case, and be thankful. Mr. Tennyson is perfectly welcome to amuse himself with listening to the fainter tick of his honored timepiece; it is going still, unquestionably; it has not stopped. Only we may with-

* 'Harold: A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson.' London: Henry S. King & Co. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

out rudeness abstain from regulating our engagements by the indications of the instrument.

'Harold' seems at first to have little, in form, that is characteristic of the author—little of the thoroughly familiar Tennysonian quality. Nevertheless, there is every now and then a line which arrests the ear by the rhythm and cadence which have always formed the chief mystery in the art of imitating the Laureate. Meeting in the early pages such a line as

"What, with this flaming horror overhead?"

we should suspect we were reading Tennyson if we did not know it; and our suspicion would be amply confirmed by half a dozen other lines:

"Taken the rifted pillars of the wood."

"My greyhounds fleeting like a beam of light."

"Suffer a stormless shipwreck in the pools."

"That scared the dying conscience of the king."

'Harold' is interesting as illustrating, in addition to 'Queen Mary,' Mr. Tennyson's idea of what makes a drama. A succession of short scenes, detached from the biography of a historical character, is, apparently, to his sense sufficient; the constructive side of the work is thereby reduced to a primitive simplicity. It is even more difficult to imagine acting 'Harold' than it was to imagine acting 'Queen Mary'; and it is probable that in this case the experiment will not be tried. And yet the story, or rather the historical episode, upon which Mr. Tennyson has here laid his hand is eminently interesting. Harold, the last of the "English," as people of a certain way of feeling are fond of calling him—the son of Godwin, masterful minister of Edward the Confessor, the wearer for a short and hurried hour of the English crown, and the opponent and victim of William of Normandy on the field of Hastings—is a figure which combines many of the elements of romance and of heroism. The author has very characteristically tried to accentuate the moral character of his hero by making him a sort of distant relation of the family of Galahad and Arthur and the other moralizing gallants to whom his pages have introduced us. Mr. Tennyson's *Harold* is a warrior who talks about his "better self," and who alludes to

"Waltham, my foundation
For men who serve their neighbor, not themselves,"

—a touch which transports us instantly into the atmosphere of the Arthurian Idyls. But *Harold's* history may be very easily and properly associated with a moral problem, inasmuch as it was his unhappy fortune to have to solve, practically, a knotty point which might have been more comfortably left to the casuists. Shipwrecked during *Edward's* life upon the coast of Normandy, he is betrayed into the hands of *Duke William*, who already retains as hostage one of his brothers (the sons of *Godwin* were very numerous, and they all figure briefly, but with a certain attempt at individual characterization, in the drama). To purchase his release and that of his brother, who passionately entreats him, he consents to swear by certain unseen symbols, which prove afterwards to be the bones of certain august Norman saints, that if *William* will suffer him to return to England, he will, on the Confessor's death, abstain from urging the claim of the latter's presumptive heir and do his utmost to help the Norman duke himself to the crown. This scene is presented in the volume before us. *Harold* departs and regains England, and there, on the king's death, overborne by circumstances, but with much tribulation of mind, violates his oath, and himself takes possession of the throne. The interest of the drama is in a great measure the picture of his temptation and remorse, his sense of his treachery and of the inevitableness of his chastisement. With this other matters are mingled: *Harold's* conflict with his disloyal brother *Tostig*, Earl of Northumberland, who brings in the king of Norway to claim the crown, and who, with his Norwegian backers, is defeated by *Harold* in battle just before *William* comes down upon him. Then there is his love-affair with *Edith*, ward of the Confessor, whom the latter, piously refusing to hear of his violation of his oath, condemns him to put away, as penance for the very thought. There is also his marriage with *Aldryth*, a designing person, widow of a Welsh king whom *Harold* has defeated, and who, having herself, through her parentage, strong English interests, inveigles *Harold* into a union which may consolidate their forces. Altogether, *Harold* is, for a hero, rather inclined to falter and succumb. It is to his conscience, however, that he finally succumbs; he loses heart and goes to meet *William* at Hastings with a depressing presentiment of defeat. Mr. Tennyson, however, as we gather from a prefatory sonnet, which is perhaps finer than anything in the drama itself, holds that much can be said for the "Norman-slandered hero," and declares that he has nothing to envy *William* if

"Each stands full face with all he did below."

Edith, *Harold's* repudiated lady-love, is, we suppose, the heroine of the story, inasmuch as she has the privilege of expiring upon the corpse of the hero. *Harold's* defeat is portrayed through a conversation between *Edith* and *Stigand*, the English and anti-papal Archbishop of Canterbury, who watches the fight at Senlac from a tent near the field, while the monks of Waltham, outside, intone a Latin invocation to the God of Battles to sweep away the Normans. The drama closes with a scene on the field, after the fight, in which *Edith* and *Aldryth* wander about, trying to identify *Harold* among the slain. On discovering him they indulge in a few natural recriminations, and then *Edith* loses her head and expires by his side. *William* comes in, rubbing his hands over his work, and intimates to *Aldryth* that she may now make herself agreeable to him. She replies, hypocritically, "My punishment is more than I can bear"; and with this, the most dramatic speech, perhaps, in the volume, the play terminates. *Edith*, we should say, is a heroine of the didactic order. She has a bad conscience about *Harold's* conduct, and about her having continued on affectionate terms with him after his diplomatic marriage with *Aldryth*. When she prays for *Harold's* success she adds that she hopes heaven will not refuse to listen to her because she loves "the husband of another"; and after he is defeated she reproaches herself with having injured his prospects—

"For there was more than sister in my kiss."

Though there are many persons in the poem it cannot be said that any of them attains a very vivid individuality. Indeed, their great number, the drama being of moderate length, hinders the unfolding of any one of them. Mr. Tennyson, moreover, has not the dramatic touch; he rarely finds the phrase or the movement that illuminates a character, rarely makes the dialogue strike sparks. This is generally mild and colorless, and the passages that arrest us, relatively, owe their relief to juxtaposition rather than to any especial possession of the old Tennysonian energy. Now and then we come upon a few lines together in which we seem to catch an echo of the author's earlier magic, or sometimes simply of his earlier manner. When we do, we make the most of them and are grateful. Such, for instance, is the phrase of one of the characters describing his rescue from shipwreck. He dug his hands, he says, into

"My old fast friend the shore, and clinging thus
Felt the remorseless outdraught of the deep
Haul like a great strong fellow at my legs."

Such are the words in which *Wulfnoth*, *Harold's* young brother, detained in Normandy, laments his situation:

"Yea, and I
Shall see the dewy kiss of dawn no more
Make blush the maiden-white of our tall cliffs,
Nor mark the sea-bird rouse himself and hover
Above the windy ripple, and fill the sky
With free sea-laughter."

In two or three places the author makes, in a few words, a picture, an image, of considerable felicity. *Harold* wishes that he were like Edward the Confessor,

"As holy and as passionless as he!
That I might rest as calmly! Lo! at him—
The rosy face, and long, down-silvering beard,
The brows unwrinkled as a summer mere."

We may add that in the few speeches allotted to this monarch of virtuous complexion this portrait is agreeably sustained. "Holy, is he?" says the Archbishop, *Stigand*, of him to *Harold*—

"A conscience for his own soul, not his realm;
A twilight conscience lighted thro' a chink;
Thine by the sun."

And the same character hits upon a really vigorous image in describing, as he watches them, *Harold's* exploits on the battle-field:

"Yea, yea, for how their lances snap and shiver
Against the shifting blaze of *Harold's* axe!
War-woodman of old Woden, how he fells
The mortal copse of faces!"

We feel, after all, in Mr. Tennyson, even in the decidedly minor key in which this volume is pitched, that he has once known how to turn our English poetic phrase as skilfully as any one, and that he has not altogether forgotten the art.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES.*

THE Marquis de Talleyrand's 'Study upon the United States' is chiefly historical—a sketch of the colonization of the country, the causes of the War of Independence, and the establishment of the Constitution, with con-

* Etude sur la République des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Par le Marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, Attaché à la Commission Française de l'Exposition de Philadelphie. New York: Hurd & Houghton, Imprimeurs-Editeurs; Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1876. 8vo, pp. 237.

stant and special reference to Constitutional growth. A French translation of the Constitution occupies one chapter, and is followed by a comparison between the condition of the country in 1776 and 1876. Some errors in matters of fact may be noticed: for example, the settlement of Virginia is placed in 1601 and attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh; that of New Jersey is assigned to the Swedes; and James I. is said to have lost his crown and head. In the main, however, events are described correctly, as well as with great fairness and a good degree of insight. The sketch of the Southern colonies is particularly good.

Coming to this country, we suppose, at just the time of the terrible developments with regard to Belknap and Babcock, and the serious and never-disproved charges against Robeson and Blaine, while the disgrace of Schenck and Delano had not yet faded from the public mind, what wonder that this intelligent observer—noways an enemy of republicanism—was shocked at the contrast between 1776 and 1876? In searching for the causes of what he is certainly justified in regarding as an alarming degeneracy, he is led to attribute it chief of all to the immigration of an immense mass of ignorant foreigners, intellectually and morally far below the level of the country into which they came, and who have had a powerful influence in dragging the native population of the country down to their own level. In this he is no doubt right. So far as we suffer from universal suffrage, the evil comes from the power put into the hands of a heterogeneous element (black as well as white) received into the political system faster than it could be absorbed—that is, invested with power which it had not the slightest notion how to use. Hitherto our author's remarks are sagacious and instructive. In the pages that follow we think he misses the point, and fails to do justice to either the defects in the machinery of government (which are of course remediable) or the wave of radical democracy which swept over the country thirty years ago, and from which a very decided reaction is now visible. Again, he calls attention to the fact that there is no perceptible difference in point of principle between the two parties—a fact which he appears wholly at a loss to explain. But this is, after all—so far as it is true—not so very hard to understand, and at the same time it is one of the most instructive facts in our political history. It is not merely because we are at a period of political equilibrium, when old issues have passed away and new ones have not yet shaped themselves—this was also the case in the administration of the younger Adams; nevertheless, the Adams faction and the Jackson faction were not separated merely by their connection with the then great leaders, but were embryonic parties in the strictest sense. The present phenomenon has a much more radical cause. The Republican party is probably the only great party in history which was founded upon a moral idea. This is the source of its greatness; it planted itself impreguably upon a great moral truth, and did not cease its efforts until it had carried through a reform as necessary for the prosperity of the South as of the North. But this, its title to fame, is also a serious element of weakness. It is not well that parties should be founded upon moral ideas; it is not well that the citizens of a Republic should be divided into organizations on questions of right and wrong. Parties are organizations for political action, and should be based upon political principles—either in the interpretation of the Constitution, as the English Whigs and Tories, and the American Federalists and Republicans, or upon measures, as the later Whigs and Democrats. It was an unhealthy condition of the public sentiment when one party could assert—and with a good share of right—that it contained the *best* elements of society; it would have been an unhealthy condition of things the present year if one party could have arrogated to itself without dispute the title of *reform party*. It seemed a very hopeful thing last summer that both parties promised reform of administration, but appeared to be taking sides on the financial issue.

In the peculiar circumstances of the country at the time when the Free-Soil party was organized there was no choice but to found a party upon a moral issue. An institution which our fathers supposed would disappear of itself had grown into a gigantic evil; it had resisted the spirit of free institutions; it had resisted the purely moral processes of the Abolitionists; it had claimed the support of the Constitution; it was rapidly bringing both the great parties under its influence, and threatening to subvert our liberties even here at the North. An exceptional danger called for an exceptional means of defence. But when the work for which the party was organized had been accomplished; when slavery was abolished and freedom secured by Constitutional provisions, then was the time for the *moral party*, if it wished to live, to transform itself into a *constitutional party*, and to return to the natural methods of free governments, in which party issues are purely political in their nature.

Now, the Democratic party is essentially, and through its entire history,

a constitutional party; and in saying this we do not intend any praise beyond that which belongs equally to its rivals, the Federal and Whig parties. Nevertheless, it has been the good fortune of the Democratic party to enjoy a continuity of life not allotted to either of its rivals; it represents at the present day precisely the same political principle—restriction of the power of the national government—which it represented when first organized by Jefferson. As issues have shifted, and the nation has passed through the successive phases of its life, it has been now a defender of the most priceless features of free government, now a disruptive force, threatening to wreck the government on the theory of State rights; but, wholesome or harmful, it has never forgotten that a political party should rest upon political and not moral issues. Nay, so stubbornly did it hold to this essentially right principle, even at a time when the exceptional peril of the nation demanded the exceptional instrumentality of a moral party, that it even dared to be false to the principles of liberty, and set itself up as the apologist of human slavery—even here, however, preserving a certain logical consistency, in refusing to go behind the letter of the law and interfere with the organized institutions of a sovereign State.

A chief source of our present political demoralization is this abnormal relation of parties. The party of a moral idea has brought its idea to fruition, and has not been able to find any distinct political issue on which to place itself; the party of a constitutional principle carried this principle to a logical extreme, which made it false at once to the principle of freedom and the safety of the nation. Nothing is now more to be desired than that parties should again divide upon questions upon which honest men can honestly differ, to be determined by expediency, not by right. Slavery, therefore, has been the great demoralizing force in our politics; not so much, however, by its direct influence as by its forcing upon the country a moral issue—drawing men away from the proper questions of politics, tempting one class of men to climb to power through a simulation of zeal, and encouraging in another class the even more dangerous practice of closing the eyes to considerations of right, and placing the letter of the law above all other things.

We have not left ourselves space to speak of other points in this book. We wish, however, that the author, where he speaks of the withdrawal of men of culture from public life, had thought to mention the fact that in the present campaign each of the four candidates for President and Vice-President was a college graduate. So far as it goes this is a good sign of the times, and surely, in the bitter experiences of the Centennial year, we are entitled to whatever crumbs of encouragement we can find. Again, when he reminds us, with too much truth, that our civilization is material, a Centennial Commissioner might surely have remembered that the very centre of the Main Hall at the late Exposition was occupied by a work of art dedicated to an American man of letters.

Condensed Classics. Ivanhoe. Condensed by Rossiter Johnson. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.)—Lockhart tells us that on the eve of the publication of one of Scott's works a worthy person connected with the printing-office—at any rate, some one who saw the manuscript or the sheets—thought that he could give the author of 'Waverley' a few judicious hints which, if adopted, would improve the quality of the forthcoming novel, and in the kindest possible spirit he imparted his critical suggestions to Sir Walter. It is a melancholy incident of our fallen nature that the one gift which all are free to offer very few are willing to accept. We mean the offer of advice. Sir Walter was no exception to this mournful condition of humanity, and, instead of gratefully receiving and adopting the proposed amendments to his story, he fell into a prodigious rage and wrote a letter to Ballantyne, through whom the communication had been made, flaming with the most sulphurous expletives, which, in these costermonger days, now that "damns have had their day," according to Bob Acres, we shall not venture to reproduce. He desired the bookseller to tell his critic that he (Sir Walter) belonged to the Black Hussars of literature and neither took nor gave quarter, and so warned him to stand out of his way. Now, were we in the place of the excellent Mr. Rossiter Johnson and his worthy publishers, we should fear lest the Black Hussar should come down upon our dreams, death's-head and cross-bones on helmet and spectral sabre in hand, to give us a notion of his sense of our scheme of improving his novels and bringing them down to the level of the laziest.

We are quite ready to give Messrs. Holt & Co. and Mr. Johnson full credit for the best of good intentions towards the reading public in this plan of theirs for lightening its labors; but we must be permitted to doubt whether any pressing necessity exists for its being carried out. It is undoubtedly, if unhappily, true that there are few readers of novels—and

fewer, we fear, of more serious books—"who do actually read every paragraph" of the same. But then, if we may judge of others by ourselves, we think that there is no prerogative of which readers are more jealous than that of doing their own skipping. That is a process to which all of us feel ourselves equal. It is a trouble from which few of us will feel much gratitude to any one for saving us. The worthy Mr. Bowdler took the pains of going through Shakspeare and marking out all the paw-paw passages, and so preparing an edition suitable for family reading, which was called indeed 'The Family Shakspeare.' We are unable to say what success this adventure had in a commercial point of view, but we have not had the fortune of meeting with many copies within the circle of our personal acquaintance. Indeed we have found the common run of readers inclined to accept a formula we had framed for our own use—viz.: "Every man his own Bowdler!" We trust that this well-intentioned editor did not have the ill-luck of a distinguished gentleman we know of who had conceived the idea of expurgating Byron's poems, and had strongly marked in the margin all the naughty stanzas. A lady borrowing the book to read, without being advised of this fact, was infinitely shocked, supposing that the marks of her respected friend were marks of admiration! Happily there is no line of Scott which the most queasy of tastes could wish to be relegated to the Index Expurgatorius. We cannot but think that he was a better judge of the dress in which his thoughts should appear in public than any possible editor, and that they had better be left in the garb in which he sent them forth to seek their fortunes.

If it be true, as Mr. Johnson says in his preface, that he "has found people, neither few in number nor contemptible in culture," who were prevented from reading Scott's novels "by the tedious process required to reach the heart of the story," we can only say that they are much to be pitied, and that we fear their case is beyond even the administration of them in the most homœopathic doses. They either have the taste to enjoy works of the order of the best of Scott's novels—for we allow there is a difference among them—or they have not. If they have it, they will never be content with any dilution or diminution of their bulk as they came fresh and free from the enchanter's brain. There is a charm in the very careless profusion with which Scott pours forth his words which no lover of his immortal stories would willingly forego. Our own experience, however, does not confirm the results of Mr. Johnson's. We are glad to affirm that within the range of our acquaintance the magic of Scott's genius still holds good its spells for young and old. The number of readers has so enormously increased since Scott's time that the proportion of his votaries may be less than when he alone swayed the imagination of his generation. But we do not doubt that the absolute number of his readers is as great as ever. His books are still the staff of intellectual life on which intelligent parents nourish the minds of their children, and we believe there are very few of those who seek to escape from the toils and troubles of life into the fields of imagination that do not oftenest take him for their guide and interpreter.

A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Being a continuation of the 'Dictionary of the Bible.' Edited by William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D., and Samuel Cheetham, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology in King's College, London. In two volumes. Vol. I. Illustrated by engravings on wood. (Hartford: The J. B. Burr Publishing Co. 1876.)—Dr. William Smith's various publications—unabridged and abridged—are growing to the dimensions of a small library; yet each succeeding 'dictionary' forms a welcome addition to the shelves of the theological student, and it is pleasant to notice the effort of an American publishing house to render Dr. Smith's latest publication, the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' accessible to a wider public. Continuing the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' it embraces the period from the time of the apostles to the age of Charlemagne, and treats of "the organization of the church, its officers, legislation, discipline, and revenues; the social life of Christians; their worship and ceremonial, with the accompanying music, vestments, instruments, vessels, and insignia; their sacred places; their architecture, and other forms of art; their symbolism; their sacred days and seasons; the graves or Catacombs in which they were laid to rest." It was to be expected that the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' would sustain the general merits of its predecessors, the name of Dr. William Smith being a guaranty for system and order, and strict revision, no less than for a sufficient degree of orthodoxy. For this reason it is not our purpose to examine in detail the contents of the 900 double-column, closely-printed pages of the first volume; the less so as its numerous contributors, many of whom are of eminent standing in church and literature, must necessarily have enjoyed a considerable degree of independence in the treatment of their subjects. We may mention among them Dr. Henry Bailey, Prof. William Bright, Prof. Cheetham, Dr. Ginsburg, Prof. Lightfoot,

Prof. Lipsius, Prof. Plumptre, Prof. Stubbs. The articles range in length from essays aspiring almost to the dimensions of independent treatises, such as "Bishop" (by the late Rev. A. W. Haddan), "Catacombs" (by the Rev. Edmund Venables), "Church" (by the Rev. Richard St. John Tyrwhitt), and "Inscriptions" (by Prof. Babington), to the two or three-line notices of martyrs of all churches, represented with a completeness whose value will be variously estimated. Thus, we find 24 Johns (pp. 889 and 890); Cyriaca, Cyriacus, Cyricus, Cyril, Cyrilla, Cyrinus, etc., etc. (p. 523); and under the syllable *eu*, which is particularly blessed with sanctity, Euphrasia, Euphrasius, Euphrosius, Euphrosyne, Euprepia, Euprepus, Euprobos (p. 631). Some articles, such as "Canonical Books," are merely supplementary to those of the Biblical Dictionary, where the subjects are treated more fully; others are, so to say, introductory to the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, and Doctrines,' which is shortly to follow the work before us. Of this character is the article "Celibacy," whose interest centres in an age subsequent to that of Charlemagne. The fulness with which the comprehensive plan of the work has been carried out is evinced by such articles as "Fresco," "Glass," "Gloves," and "Grotesque." We notice a few rather strange and vague headings, such as "Calumnies against the Christians" and "Children." The accuracy of the spelling of foreign words deserves all praise in a work which gives renderings of the word "Church" in eighteen languages.

The 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' is less copiously illustrated than some of the former publications of its editor. The American edition, an authorized one, is offered at a very much lower price than the English, but is printed from the original plates, and the purchaser suffers only from a somewhat poorer quality of paper. The publishers design securing a copyright for the second volume by inserting articles written by American scholars.

Jeux d'esprit, Written and Spoken by French and English Wits and Humorists. Collected and edited by Henry S. Leigh. (London: Chatto & Windus. 1877. Small 8vo, pp. vii. 295.)—Of even a good book of jokes we may say, as the Scotch farmer said of the dictionary, "They are gude stories, but they are unco' many." And yet many clever people have found the jest-book useful. *Beatrice* tells us that she had her wit from the 'Hundred Merry Tales,' and Talleyrand's constant companion was 'L'improvisateur Français,' a jest-book of which the best joke is perhaps in the title. It is with the idea of avoiding the tedious monotony seemingly inseparable from all compilations of comicalities that Mr. Henry S. Leigh, the author of 'Carols of Cockayne,' and therefore already favorably known as a writer of sparkling verse, has prepared the book before us on a somewhat novel plan. The collection of jests, witty anecdotes, repartees, smart sayings, and quaint expressions has been diversified and relieved by the frequent introduction of epigrams, short humorous poems, and *vers-d-société* by Barham, Porson, W. S. Gilbert, J. R. Planché, Locker, Calverley, and others, and even a few extracts from the letters and prose articles of Hood and Sidney Smith. This device seems to us to be entirely successful in its object, and Mr. Leigh's 'Jeux d'esprit' is the most readable of jest-books because it is the least like a jest-book. Prose and verse, repartee and epigram, are mixed in inextricable disorder. An epigram by Landor sets off, for example, a bit of acerbity by Jerrold; and Sidney Smith's far-famed recipe for a salad is flanked by sharp sayings of Rivarol or Chamfort. Mr. Leigh crosses the Channel in search of the flowers of French wit, but the passage of the Atlantic seems to dismay him, and the only American quoted, if we mistake not, is Dr. Holmes, whose prose and verse have been generously borrowed. And here, it may be noted, that every witticism in the volume is credited to its real author, so far as a consultation of the best authorities has been effective in revealing him. Every joke spoken or written is, at any rate, ticketed with the name of the wit who appears to have the best claim to its paternity. Anonymous jests are excluded, and no joke is admitted unless vouched for by a name known to the world. Mr. Leigh has selected his jokes with the taste of a cultivated gentleman, and there are very few paragraphs in the volume as to the admission of which we should disagree with him. In general a high standard is applied to all jests. Two or three of the best are worth extracting. When John Wilson Croker wrote his bitter review of Macaulay's 'History of England' for the *Quarterly*, Rogers said, "He meant murder, but committed suicide" (p. 266). Another: Somebody said in Talleyrand's presence that Chateaubriand was beginning to complain of growing deaf. "He thinks himself deaf," remarked the cynic, "because he no longer hears himself talked about" (p. 237). Again: One evening, during his residence in Hamburg, Rivarol was particularly brilliant; suddenly he discovered that some of the company were consulting and whispering with each other, at a loss

to grasp a certain witticism, and, turning to a Frenchman beside him, he said: "Look at these Germans clubbing together to understand a joke."

Practical Treatise on the Construction of Iron Highway Bridges, for the Use of Town Committees. By Alfred P. Boller, A.M., Civil Engineer. (New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1876. Pp. 144.)—This is not a scientific treatise upon bridge-building, but is intended to call the attention of those unprofessional men who are entrusted with the letting of bridge contracts to the general principles which determine the excellence of an iron bridge. It is divided into two parts; the first, which occupies about two-thirds of the volume, being general and descriptive, and the second being devoted to the calculation of strains. In the former part the first few pages are devoted to a brief showing of what constitutes safety in a bridge, and to the loads which a highway bridge may be called upon to bear; some attention is then given to the qualities of materials; the varieties of bridges in common use are next considered; the different methods of construction are taken up with some attention to the more important details; a short space is devoted to the maintenance of the work; some appropriate remarks are made on the architecture of bridge-building; and remarks on the proper method of letting bridge-contracts close the first part of the book. The subjects covered are sufficiently full, and the general ideas would be of great assistance to that large body of well-meaning but uneducated men who are generally entrusted with the erection of all public structures in the rural districts. In one point we should take issue with the author, and that is his general condemnation of riveted work, which, though theoretically imperfect and poorly adapted to structures of considerable dimensions, from its complete absence of screws and loose parts, becomes the best form of construction for bridges of moderate size whose maintenance is likely to be more or less neglected.

The second part of the volume is intended to give a simple method of calculating bridge-strains for the use of those engineers and others who have had a scanty mathematical education. In this we have found the author much less successful. He forgets that abstruse ideas puzzle the half-educated man much more than complex calculations do; and the entire method is based upon the moments of the lever, which may be practically understood as a tool by every mechanic, but whose laws it is hard for any but a mathematician to follow when the lever is no longer an iron bar but an imaginary line at right angles to something else. Much simpler methods of calculation are in use by nearly all bridge-builders, and it seems unfortunate that the author should have overlooked them.

Representative Names in the History of English Literature. By H. H. Morgan. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. 8vo, pp. 47.)—Mr. Morgan is one of that group of devoted students and men of culture who have done so much to elevate the character of society and the tone of thought in St. Louis. This book is, as would be expected, the result of conscientious industry and appreciative analysis; but it labors under the defect—which might also be expected—of being too metaphysical and subtle in its distinctions for general use. For persons of the same cast of mind with its author or familiar with his philosophy it will be very serviceable; for the class to which it is dedicated—"those who feel the necessity for a wider diffusion of the results attained by students"—we fear it will often be confusing rather than helpful.

It is divided into four parts, two English and two American—in each nation the first table giving the leading names, the second "minor names," which are defined as "those whose services have an historical value." Now here we question the wisdom, in so limited a list of names (only 231 in all), of giving the reader the trouble of consulting four lists instead of two, one for each nation. Neither is it easy to see the principle upon which the names are divided. Alexander Hamilton stands in the first list, John Adams in the second; again, such names as Beaumont and Fletcher, Thomas Browne, Edmund Burke, Samuel Richardson, and Sir Philip Sidney are classed as "minor writers."

Wagner's Art Life and Theories.

Translated by Edward L. Burlingame. With Drawings of the Bayreuth Opera House. 12mo, \$2.

"Mr. Burlingame has performed a most useful task with great tact and taste. Not only interesting to all lovers of music, but entertaining at least in some of its chapters, to the general reader."—*N. Y. Tribune*.

HENRY HOLT & CO., Publishers, N. Y.

TURKISH RULE AND TURKISH WARFARE.

Students of the Eastern Question will find abundant light on Turkish government and Turkish character in the 'History of the Cretan Insurrection of 1866-7-8,' by W. J. Stillman, late U. S. Consul at Canéa, Crete. Price \$1.50.

NEW YORK: HENRY HOLT & CO.

The names in the first list (of each country) are classified according to the class of mind, as critic, satirist, humorist, sentimentalist, rhetorician, metaphysician, and physicist—an excellent classification, except that the terms "sentimentalist" (based upon the feelings, e.g., Johnson, Scott) and "physicist" (based upon experiment—Chaucer, for instance, is a physicist, besides being a sentimentalist and a humorist; Shakspeare is put in all seven classes) are terms likely to be misunderstood. The other classification, of Form, is equally instructive. The distinctions of prose and poetry are indicated only by the use of italics; for the rest we have nine forms—three written, three spoken, three written or spoken. These are, by a cross division: letter, tale, and oration, whose aim is to impress; essay, narration, and address, whose aim is to stimulate; treatise, history, and lecture, whose aim is to convince. When it comes to applying these terms, however, we confess that we are sometimes completely bewildered. Under Milton, for example (classed as Rhetorician and Sentimentalist), the 'Hymn on the Nativity' is called a Tale, 'Lycidas' a Narration, and 'Paradise Lost' a History. Under the head of History we have also Browning's 'Blot on the Scutcheon,' Byron's 'Manfred,' and Goldsmith's 'She Stoops to Conquer'! To each name there are appended some well-selected criticisms, and generally some remarks of Mr. Morgan himself, which are always good.

The Californians. By Walter M. Fisher. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876. 12mo, pp. 226.)—We confess to a feeling of disappointment in Mr. Fisher's book. It begins attractively; you can hardly open at any page without finding something good; its temper is excellent, and its judgment generally sound; but when read continuously it is not altogether satisfactory. We think the chief defect is the fondness for allusions, which amounts at times to real pedantry. Thus, on page 130, we are told of the Comte de Gobineau, Lord Lytton, the Pleiades, Hamlet, Jenkins, Xenophon, the Gadarenes, the Ragna-röker, and Balder the Beautiful. The criticisms upon California, where the author was for some time engaged in editing the *Overland Monthly*, are severe enough, and at the same time often very friendly and appreciative. Here, for instance, is a remark of real value: "We insist upon the exceptional necessity in this case of separating the people from their government. It is not as in Europe, where institutions have grown with and become part of a given nation, under mutual unconscious modifications and adaptations, going on for centuries. In California the system of government is an upstart muddle of new theories and makeshifts. . . . The people as a people have neither made their government nor grown up with it" (p. 154). A very interesting passage in the chapter entitled "Their Writers" is that which describes (p. 183) the library of Mr. Hubert Bancroft (to whom the volume is dedicated), and his mode of composing his history, with a staff of assistants, of whom Mr. Fisher was one. A few pages before this (p. 174) is a graphic account of the *News Letter* and its publisher, Mr. Frederick Marriott. From this balanced judgment, which wavers between praise and blame, on the whole pronouncing the *News Letter* "a useful dispensation of Providence," one is hardly prepared (and yet is not at all surprised) to read in the current newspapers that Mr. Marriott has just been convicted in court of levying blackmail.

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Blakeslee (S. V.), <i>Archæology: the Science of Government</i>	(A. Roman & Co.) \$1 25
Dodge (Lieut.-Col. R. L.), <i>Plains of the Great West</i>	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 4 00
Fawcett (W. L.), <i>Gold and Debt</i>	(S. C. Griggs & Co.) 1 75
Gatschet (A. S.), <i>Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas</i> , swd., (E. Steiger)	
Lamb (Mrs. M.), <i>History of the City of New York, Parts 5-10</i> , swd., (A. S. Barnes & Co.)	50
Lange (Rev. J. P.), <i>Commentary on the Books of the Chronicles</i> (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)	5 00
<i>L'Art</i> , Vol. IV., swd.....	(J. W. Bouton)
Rimmer (A.), <i>Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England</i>	(Macmillan & Co.) 7 50
Smith (G. W.), <i>Notes on Life Insurance</i> , 3d ed.....	(D. Van Nostrand) 2 00
Tennyson (A.), <i>Harold: a Drama</i>	(J. E. Osgood & Co.) 1 00
Trumbull (J. H.), <i>The True Blue Laws</i>	(American Pub. Co.)
Yonge (Charlotte M.), <i>The Three Brides. A Novel</i>	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Zachos (Prof. J. C.), <i>Life and Opinions of Peter Cooper</i> , swd.....	(J. P. Jewett) 25
Zerega (Katharine B.), <i>The Children's Paradise</i>	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1877.

The Week.

THE bill reported by the Joint Committee on the Electoral Count provides that the two Houses shall meet in the House of Representatives; that in the case of single returns no State shall be thrown out without the concurrent action of both Senate and House; that in the case of double returns, all the papers and evidence relating to any disputed State shall go to a commission of fifteen, composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court—four designated in the bill, and the fifth to be chosen by the other four; that this commission shall consider and decide, under the Constitution and the law, what is the vote of the State in dispute, and their decision shall be final, unless both Houses concurrently overrule it; and that nothing in the act shall affect the right of resort to the courts. The bill also provides for a change in the time of beginning the count, from February 14 to February 1. The report is signed by every member of the committee except Mr. Morton. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Edmunds, and in the House by Mr. Payne, and has been well received by the country.

The debate on the Electoral Bill began on Monday in the Senate, and was conducted with admirable temper and tact by Mr. Edmunds in support of his report. The bill was attacked by Mr. Morton in a set speech, in which he explicitly declared that Hayes was elected and ought to be counted in, and more indirectly by Mr. Sherman, on the plea that the Committee was endeavoring to force a "novel" measure through with undue haste. To this Mr. Edmunds replied that so far from the measure being "novel," a similar bill had been proposed as long ago as 1800, and that within the past year the whole matter had been discussed in the Senate, and the principle of the bill had been fully endorsed by Messrs. Sherman and Morton. Mr. Cameron put in a plea for fairness and "purity" which was received with some amusement, and announced that as at present advised he should vote against the bill. On Monday Mr. Conkling, in a long and elaborate speech, sustained Mr. Edmunds's views as to the powers of the President of the Senate and the constitutionality of the proposed measure. The debate, parts of which were more like a debate than anything that has occurred in Washington in connection with the electoral contest, went against the opponents of the bill, who have now been made to show their hands, and are clearly attempting to stave off the measure till it shall be too late to do anything with it. In the House Prof. Seelye opened the discussion on Monday, and advocated the bill earnestly and effectively.

The fact that the compromise report has the support of such good lawyers as Thurman and Edmunds ought to remove all doubts of its constitutionality; but as every possible objection is likely to be made to it, and, whether it passes or not, it is important that its constitutionality should be beyond doubt, it may be worth while to point out that the bill does not, as is asserted, deprive Congress of its prerogative, but merely establishes rules for the exercise of its prerogative in a particular case. Assuming that the counting is in the hands of the two Houses and that they have equal jurisdiction, it is obvious that, as long as they confine themselves to a fair enumeration on fixed principles, they may agree to any method of getting at those principles that they may see fit, and thus not only may but must agree upon some method of deciding their differences, if any arise, for the simple reason that with two bodies of co-ordinate and equal jurisdiction there can be no counting at all unless some such method is agreed upon. There are

probably no cases exactly in point, but there are many analogous cases. Both Houses of Parliament, for instance, in England have unlimited power to decide upon the returns and qualifications of their own members; but notwithstanding this they have passed a bill referring all contested election cases in the House of Commons to the courts for adjudication, merely reserving the right to abide by or reject the decision of the judiciary. This is practically a much greater derogation from prerogative and delegation of power than that now proposed in Congress. So, under our system, the President is vested with the constitutional power of appointment, but at the time of the discussion of the Jenckes Civil-Service bill it was settled that it would be no infringement of this power to have a permanent commission authorized to examine candidates for office, to report a certain number of them as fitted under certain fixed rules for the office, leaving the President only the right to select from them. The objection that the bill brings the judges of the Supreme Court "into politics" has no meaning in reality; what is meant by bringing a judge "into politics" is putting him in some position in which he is exposed to the permanent action of party motives and where it becomes a party necessity to "control" him. To bring in a few or all the judges of the Supreme Court to decide a particular election is no more objectionable than it is to have *quo warranto* cases in court; and it is in fact one of the great advantages of the proposed plan that by bringing in a majority of the judges it is to all intents and purposes a summary *quo warranto* tried before instead of after the count, and therefore removing all probability of a contest in the courts afterwards.

Expressions of public opinion with regard to the settlement of the Presidential controversy have hitherto been prevented or diminished by the fact that there was no process of settlement to which people could give in their adhesion. This difficulty is now removed, but at the same time these expressions are more necessary than ever; for we venture to predict that what will happen at Washington as the discussion goes on will be this: Morton and the extreme partisans mean to and will defeat the plan of the Committee if they can, and with this view will on the 14th of February spring a trap of this kind: "Granted that the two Houses of Congress have the right to count the votes, if they please. The exercise of it, however, requires joint action expressed by some prior resolution or rule or statute. If they adopt no such joint method, they cannot count. If they cannot, the President of the Senate, from the necessity of the case, must do so, and, as presiding officer of the joint convention, he is under the control of neither, and, having no joint instructions, must count as he thinks fit." A majority of both parties in Congress is secretly opposed to the plan of settlement, but each side wishes to throw on the other the odium of rejecting it, and will at last unite to defeat it unless deterred by public opinion. The Republican extremists would prefer war (*i.e.*, "a new rebellion") to the chance of losing their power by the forms of law, while the Democratic extremists would sooner try to get Tilden elected by the House, and then have him overthrown by Republican violence, than run the chance of losing him wholly, and also the benefit of the popular indignation against the other side, by the plan of settlement. If Morton can defeat the pending plan, he will allow no other to be made; and if it is defeated the extremists will have it all their own way, because they will be able to say that compromise had been tried and failed, and there was nothing for it but to fight it out; while the moderate men, who are neither now nor at any time very bold, will be thoroughly disheartened and quit the field. Those who wish to save the Government, therefore, from being made the football of a parcel of reckless adventurers cannot during the coming fortnight speak out their minds too strongly.

In the Senate Mr. Sherman, from the Committee on Finance, has reported back the House bill authorizing the coinage of the silver dollar and the restoration of its legal-tender character, and, at the same time, given notice of a substitute providing for the coinage of a silver dollar of 412½ grains, to be legal tender and to be issued in redemption of greenbacks, the notes to be cancelled and to be held as "part of the sinking fund provided for by existing law," and authorizing the President to appoint a commission of three to take part in the deliberations of any International Conference on the relation between silver and gold, and directing payment out of the Treasury of the expenses of the commission and compensation of the commissioners. The Senate has directed the Judiciary Committee to report whether the construction of the laws as to the franchise promulgated by the Attorney-General last September is correct, and has indulged itself in a scene over the Louisiana dispute, in which Mr. Sherman, replying to Mr. Bogy in defence of Packard, described him as a man of character and standing, and enquired what he had done that was wrong—whether he had murdered or robbed; to which Mr. Bogy replied that he had "robbed, robbed, and done nothing else," and that he was an "infamous robber."

As regards the Bland bill, even as modified by Senator Sherman, until silver regains the steadiness in value which formerly gave it the essential quality of being a measure of other values it is evident that its adoption as a measure by us is most unwise. We should simply be exchanging a paper currency which fluctuates for a coin currency equally and, in the past twelve months, more changeable; and with this difference against the change—our paper currency fluctuates from a cause within our control, namely, that we do not keep its promises to pay and have had no care to keep them for many years. When we do redeem Government notes they will become gold notes and be as unchangeable as is gold itself. Silver changes in price from causes wholly beyond the control of our Government or any influence which this country possesses. That the 412½-grain dollar is now worth more than the promise of the United States to pay one dollar is no reason why the change should be made, so far as it is expected to cure the evils of a fluctuating currency. Without doubt the credit of the Government would not now be so much injured by adopting a 412½ silver dollar worth 97½ cents, as it would have been if the 412½ silver dollar had been adopted when it had a gold value of 78½ cents—last July. There is no assurance, however, that the silver dollar will have a value of 97½ cents for any given time; six months from now it may be worth, as when it was demonetized, more than the gold dollar, or it may be worth no more than 80 cents.

In the House the telegraph question has been settled by the promise of the Western Union Company to produce all despatches; the bill authorizing the appointment of commissioners to an international gold and silver convention has been laid on the table; J. Madison Wells and Thomas C. Anderson, of the Louisiana Returning Board, have been brought up for contempt in refusing to produce the original election returns before the Louisiana Committee, and the matter has been referred to the Judiciary Committee.

The President has sent a message to the House explaining and defending his use of troops at the South during and since the late election, in answer to a resolution of enquiry passed in that body early in December. He sends with it a good many communications from Republican officials at the South, and from private persons who are unwilling to give their names, showing the presence of intimidation and terror and the need of troops. This evidence satisfied him that he ought to send a military force to the points most threatened, and he accordingly complied, but used it sparingly. As to the legality of his course, he cites the well-known art. iv., sec. 4 of the Constitution, containing the guarantee of a republican form of government and of protection against domestic violence, and the act of Congress authorizing him to use the land and sea forces to protect any portion of the people of any State

whose rights were endangered by violence; and when using troops under this statute he did not consider a preliminary proclamation necessary. In Florida and South Carolina and Louisiana the soldiers were used after the election to prevent its results from being destroyed. As precedents he cites the Whiskey Rebellion, the Anthony Burns fugitive-slave case in Boston in 1854, and the John Brown case in Virginia in 1859. The answer would be sufficient in the eyes of all right-minded men, and probably would never have been called for but for one thing, which it seems difficult to get into the comprehension of the Administration and its friends—namely, that the use of troops in and about elections never will be submitted to by the people of this country at the hands of a President and Cabinet who are themselves avowed partisans and are taking an active and reckless part in the canvass. It is useless to ask people to believe in the good intentions with which troops are used when the very men who direct their use, or order it, are on the stump or at the head of electioneering committees. If soldiers are to keep order at the polls, the President and his advisers must keep out of the campaign. Common sense, common decency, and common justice require this.

The friends of good government are to be sincerely congratulated on the election of Mr. G. F. Hoar to the Senate by the Massachusetts Legislature on Friday last, and hardly in a less degree on the defeat of Mr. Boutwell. The rise of the latter gentleman into prominence in official life was due to a series of unfortunate accidents and intrigues, and his appearance at the head of the Treasury was one of General Grant's deplorable selections. Whatever the value of his zeal during the war and immediately after it, the quality of his mind and training entirely unfitted him for participation in the work of restoration either in the Department of Finance or any other, and he soon became a prominent member of that "Bourbon element" which the Republican party, like the Democratic, has of late been rapidly producing—that is, a set of persons without sensitiveness or perception for the incessant change which goes on in politics as in other fields of human activity. The Democratic Bourbon cannot believe that the war ever broke out, the Republican that peace was ever made. Mr. Boutwell is, moreover, a good specimen of the corrupt austerity or austere corruption which the Republican party, like all parties based on a moral idea, was sure sooner or later to produce—that is, political dishonesty and unscrupulousness covered by personal integrity and hatred of distant wickedness. Mr. Hoar is as sound as he on all the issues growing out of the war, but his soundness is that of a rational and educated man, who, if his zeal sometimes outruns his discretion, never loses his sense of proportion for any great length of time or on any serious occasion. His victory is the more important as he has won it over Butler, who was one of Boutwell's most prominent and natural supporters.

A very warm contest for the Senatorship in Tennessee has ended in the withdrawal of Mr. Key, the present incumbent, and the election of James E. Bailey for the short term. Mr. Bailey is said to lack the ability and breadth which distinguish Mr. Key, and of which we cannot have too much in Congress from the South; but he is a lawyer of good character and reputation, and is opposed to the repudiation which his State contemplates. He was an "old-line Whig," and served in the Confederate army. From New Jersey we are to have, apparently, a Democratic successor to Mr. Frelinghuysen, and if so, John R. McPherson, the party nominee, will be that person. For a time in Illinois it seemed as if Gen. John M. Palmer might win the day against Gen. Logan, but as we go to press Palmer has been supplanted by Gen. Anderson, and Logan has withdrawn. Mr. Blaine is reported to have telegraphed the Republicans that Logan was "needed" at Washington—just what Secretary Morrill is reported to have telegraphed to Boston concerning Boutwell. But the "needs" of the Administration and the Senatorial Group are no longer so dear to the country as they once were.

Our readers will be amused to learn that since our last issue Mr. George Bliss has commenced the long-threatened suit against Mr. Tilden for withheld income-tax. The writ was served on Mr. Tilden on Monday last. We wish we could believe that it will be pushed on vigorously, but have little expectation of anything of the kind. It appears that Raum, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, instructed Bliss to bring it on the 26th of September last, doubtless expecting to "support Hayes" with it during the month of October. But Bliss was too 'cute for him, so "he thought it better," as he says himself, "to wait until the Presidential election was over," and then waited still further because of "the anomalous condition of public matters," Raum, doubtless, not expecting to hear anything more about it. But Bliss, being now about to go out of office, and wishing to clear off "all matters that have not been attended to," has at last begun the suit, but shrewdly enough hands the conduct of it over to his successor—General Woodford—who will probably smile over it. Bliss says "it would be cowardly for him to shirk the responsibility of bringing the suit," but says nothing about the bravery of bringing it just in time for his successor to prosecute, and goes out of office with the reputation of one of the canniest of practitioners even in this "anomalous condition of public matters."

Mr. Charles Collins, Chief Engineer of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway, died last week in Cleveland by his own hand. A sadder termination of a faithful life we have never known. Mr. Collins belonged to a class of men of which there are too few examples. He entered into his work with his whole energy, and regarded the track of his great railroad with the same love and pride that an artist gives to the work of his genius; this feeling had extended to his subordinates, and the peerless track of the Lake Shore was the result of active personal interest more than of mere labor and money expended. Mr. Collins was as guiltless of the Ashtabula disaster as it was possible for a man in his position to be; he was not an expert in iron bridge-building; he generally avoided the use of iron, and built, at increased expense, arches of solid masonry. The Ashtabula bridge was erected under the supervision of the President of the road, who was himself a bridge-builder; it was an expensive structure, containing a large excess of material, but its design was peculiar and one which no one familiar with iron bridge-work would be willing to adopt. The particular cause of its failure is not known, but there is no other bridge like it, and there was nothing about its failure which should impair the general confidence in iron structures. Mr. Collins had tested the bridge in the usual manner, and it was regularly inspected from time to time; the defects were such as only an expert could discover. The terrible disaster fell upon him with a force which a less devoted and conscientious man could never have felt; sensitive by nature to an unusual degree, he felt that public confidence in him was withdrawn; he overrated everything that was said against him, and could not be persuaded that he was not held responsible for the whole. The thought preyed on him day and night, destroyed his appetite, deprived him of sleep, till finally it drove him crazy, and added his own name to the list of the Ashtabula victims.

The notable events of the week which affected the financial markets were the breaking up of the Conference at Constantinople and the report of the Joint Committee of the two branches of Congress as to the best method for settling the Presidential contest. Contrary to expectation, the news from the Conference was followed not by a depression but by an advance in securities, British consols having risen from 95¼ to 95½. The Congressional compromise has so generally received the support of the substantial classes of the country that a feeling of relief has been apparent on all sides. The price of gold has fallen half a point; United States bonds have been in more active demand than for many months; business men have taken a more hopeful view of the spring trade, and Wall Street speculators have started an upward movement in shares. The money market, entirely independently of the reasons given, has be-

come easier for borrowers, and the rates for loans have fallen to 4 to 5 per cent. The surplus reserve of the New York banks has risen to \$24,268,000, which is nearly \$10,000,000 higher than a year ago, and about \$6,000,000 higher than in January, 1875. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between \$0.9367 and \$0.9413. Silver in London has advanced to 58¼d., per oz. English standard. At the close of the week the gold value of the trade-dollar was \$0.9922; the proposed 412-grain silver dollar would have been worth in gold \$0.9745.

On Friday last the final proposals of the Conference, which do not seem to have been modified as much as the press despatches represented, were submitted by Midhat Pasha to the Divan, or Grand Council of the Empire, and expounded by him in a long address, and after two or three hours' discussion unanimously rejected, the telegraph adds, melodramatically, "amid shouts of Death before dishonor!" The Council is composed of leading functionaries, civil and military, and includes the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is probably the only really independent man in it. The others owe all they have and all they are to the Vizier and the Sultan. It is said that sixty Christians sat in it, but they would probably be the creditors or contractors of the Government, Greeks or Armenians, who profit by the disasters of the Empire, and at all events played the part of geese at a council of foxes. The Greek Patriarch is said to have also been present and to have been warlike, which is natural, as he enjoys powers and immunities under the Turks which no Christian Power would concede to him, and was, until they recently threw off the yoke, one of the worst oppressors the Bulgarians had. The importance attached to the decision of the Council as an expression of national feeling is ridiculous. Its adhesion to Midhat's policy simply proves that the Constantinople functionaries either mean to fight or think it well to pretend through the winter that they are going to fight.

The firmness of the Turks, coupled with the procrastination and concessions of the European delegates, have produced an impression that the Turks have had the best of it diplomatically; but it may, and we have little doubt will, prove that it is Russia which has won the game by an extraordinary show of moderation and an assumed unwillingness and unreadiness to play the leading part, or even fight. She has in this way either disarmed suspicion in the West, or, at all events, has avoided deepening it, and has gained time for military preparation, and left the Turks more plainly in the wrong than they were in the beginning in the eyes of those who think them in the wrong at all. The cause of Turkish obstinacy has undoubtedly been the secret expectation that something would turn up in the shape of dissension between the coercing powers or reaction in English sentiment. But Lord Salisbury clearly does not come home with the laurels which his admirers expected to see him wear when he started.

There have been some signs of a sympathetic movement among the Indian Mussulmans, notably a meeting at Calcutta, which was well attended and at which the speaking was good and moderate; and as the Indian Mussulmans number 40,000,000, many of the English Turcophiles have thought perhaps an agitation in this quarter might affect English policy. It might if there were a plan of taking part against the Turks; but on a policy of neutrality it cannot have any effect. It would be hard for the Indian Mussulmans, who are neither an amiable nor useful body of men, to produce any good reason why their 200,000,000 fellow subjects of other creeds should fight for the head of the Mussulman faith. According to all the best accounts, the great *darbar*, or pageant, got up by the Beaconsfield government for the proclamation of the Empress, has proved, in spite of its barbaric splendor, a moral and political failure. The best English observers seem to think that the appearance of the Governor-General and his officers in the guise of semi-civilized potentates did not impose on the natives, and degraded rather than exalted the English name and civilization.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

THE difficulties of the situation with which the Joint Committee have had to deal have been so great that no fair judgment can be passed on the result of their labors without stating them. The first and greatest, of course, lies in the fact that the vote is so close that even if all the States had been, when casting it, in a normal political condition, dispute would have been almost inevitable; that is to say, when one vote is sufficient to turn the scale for or against either candidate, it is all but certain that even if the electoral machinery in all the States had been in as good order as that of Massachusetts or Michigan, immense efforts would have been made on both sides to change the result in some manner at the count. Flaws would have been sought in the qualifications of electors, double sets of certificates would have been sent in, and, in fact, all the resources of chicane would have been resorted to in order, as the politicians say, "to see that the man fairly elected got the place." The Presidency is now so great a prize that probably no determining agency the wit of man could devise would work perfectly under the strain to which a very close vote will always put it. To this we must, in the present state of human nature, make up our minds.

On the present occasion, however, the close vote caught us as badly prepared for it as we could possibly be. The electoral machinery could not have been worse fitted to fulfil the end of all electoral machinery—the satisfaction of the minority that justice has been done—than it was last November. This is what all counting and canvassing are for, and counting and canvassing which wholly or in great part fail to do this are worse than none, and, in fact, far inferior to the tossing up of a coin. In the three States in which each candidate was compelled to seek his majority not only were the Returning Boards armed with quasi-judicial powers, but the Boards were in two of them composed exclusively of the members of one party, and in the other the majority was of one party; worse than this, the Republican members were in all active and notorious partisans; worse still, in South Carolina, three of the five were themselves candidates for office; in Louisiana, one of the four was a Federal office-holder, another a candidate at the election; all four were discredited already as unscrupulous, and they had already disobeyed the law in failing to fill a vacancy with a member of the opposite party. These Boards, too, were acting in States torn by civil dissensions, and accustomed for fifteen years to violent modes of seizing and using power. That is, in the very places in which the counting bodies needed to be above suspicion, they were, reasonably, most suspected.

Coming to Washington, where the final count is to take place, we find the state of things hardly more satisfactory. The language of the Constitution as to the person or persons charged with the duty of counting the votes of the Electoral College, and deciding between double sets of votes, is at least ambiguous. The duty of opening the certificates is imposed on the President of the Senate; whether he has the right also to count them is doubtful. It is quite certain, however, that he has never asserted any such right as against Congress. He has never maintained, and nobody until now has ever maintained for him, that he has in this most serious matter acted independently of Congress. In 1865 the Republican party, being in full possession of all branches of the Government, assumed without question that the whole matter was within the jurisdiction of the two Houses, and acted on that assumption by making the Twenty-second Joint Rule, and under that rule Congress at the count threw out the votes of States at its pleasure at two elections, without consulting or in any manner regarding the President of the Senate. When the lower House passed into the control of the Democrats, nine years later, the Senate abrogated the rule, and as soon as it was discovered that the Presidential election of this year might turn on the manner in which double sets of returns would be dealt with in the final count, large numbers of Republican politicians and newspapers all over the country began to declare solemnly that the President of the Senate was the supreme and final counter, and

that any interference with him or control of him on the part of Congress would be revolutionary, and that the Twenty-second Joint Rule was, now that the Republican party had no further use for it, unwise and unconstitutional. Of course this talk has not helped to allay the distrust created by the composition and conduct of the Returning Boards. We say nothing of its audacity, or of the contempt it displays for the memory and conscience of the community; it is enough for our present purpose to remark that, coupled as it has been with threats that the army and navy would be used by the President to carry out any scheme which the majority of one branch of the legislature should pronounce lawful, it has had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing the excitement and alarm of the Democrats, who, whatever their character or antecedents may be in the eyes of moralists, have for the purposes of constitutional government to be deemed honest and well-meaning citizens in good and regular standing before the law. This excitement and alarm, too, have been greatly and justly aggravated by the unmeasured partisanship of the Executive, and by the conversion of a majority of the Cabinet into a sort of electioneering committee, using the administrative machinery, without regard even to appearances, in aid of one political party, thus leaving the country, in case of a difference between the two branches of the legislature on a vital point, without any trusted arbitrator or protector of public order.

Lastly, there appears an irreconcilable difference between the two Houses as to the law of the count, and accommodation is rendered extraordinarily difficult by the fact that all discussion between the two parties over the law is not an ordinary discussion over a Constitutional question, but a contention for a great prize—the filling of seventy or eighty thousand offices and the spending of an enormous revenue—for, as has been often remarked, when you decide who shall count you probably settle who shall be President. To expect that under these circumstances the question can be debated as such questions ought to be debated, with an eye to remote results and on high grounds of public utility, is expecting too much. There is hardly a man in public life who can readily protect his reasoning in this matter from the influence of his fears and hopes about the consequence, so that we are deprived of the benefit of a great deal of the learning and good sense and foresight by which in ordinary times we prepare for Constitutional changes. And this trouble of the political mind has led to the spread of the dangerous and revolutionary opinion that one branch of Congress can, if it gets the Executive on its side and the command of the public force, consider itself the Government of the United States, and even give a title to the Presidency. We consequently have every day plans for having the Senate count through its own officer what votes it pleases, and then seat by force the candidate of its choice, and for having the House decide when it ought to elect the President, and then, setting the other branch at defiance, proceed to elect him. But it cannot be too carefully remembered that all such talk is both wild and wicked. There can never be a President of the United States whose title is not recognized by both Houses of Congress. The House might set up a man calling himself President, and the Senate might set up another, and either might have the support of the troops, but he would be as much a charlatan and usurper as any Mexican adventurer at the head of a ragamuffin army, and the mode of dealing with him would be simply a question of expediency.

THE PLAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

In view of all these complications, we have no doubt the plan of the Joint Committee will meet with the hearty approval and support of nine-tenths of the sober-minded and intelligent portion of the community. From the reckless and hot-headed partisans on both sides it is already receiving great opposition, but this was inevitable. Each side calls the plan a "surrender," but what either of them surrenders it would be hard to say, except a claim which it cannot enforce unless by a resort to physical force. When the two Houses of Congress come to a square difference of opinion upon

a point affecting the very structure of the Government, there are only two ways of settlement—revolution or arbitration. Many Republicans seem to have got it into their heads that if force was used on their side by the President as General of the Army, acting under the orders of the Senate, it would be in some mysterious manner constitutional. But this is a great delusion. The Senate has no more right to use force against the House, or the House against the Senate, or the President against either, than the Legislature of the State of New York or Mr. Tilden. Chandler has just the same authority to use troops to enforce his views of constitutional law as Hewitt to use “Bowery boys” for the same purpose. The crisis is undoubtedly extra-constitutional. The Constitution has not provided for the failure or refusal of co-ordinate bodies to work together. When they reach a deadlock, the rational course is to arbitrate, and though it is easy to conceive of a better body for the purposes of arbitration than that proposed by the committee, we do not know where it could be found. Not among men certainly. Picked members of Congress are the best persons to settle differences between the two Houses of Congress, and there certainly can be no better persons to preside over the deliberations and enquiries of ten such persons, to assuage their passions, and supply them with correct legal methods, and give the decision of the majority, whatever it may be, the stamp of impartiality, than five judges of the Supreme Court. We were and are unalterably opposed to making the Supreme Court a permanent Returning Board, but we do believe that the country is to be congratulated on the fact that on the occurrence of a sudden and unforeseen crisis like the present one, which has never occurred before and with proper precautions need never occur again, there should be a body of men to call on for counsel who are as free from prepossession and political ambition as these judges are. Of course, as we have said, they have the ordinary defects of men, but everybody who objects to the proposed tribunal on the ground of partiality or prejudice, is bound to say how a better one could be made up. If he knows of any secluded nook containing a company of persons on whom earthly passions have no hold, and who see with the eyes of supreme justice and wisdom, he is bound to reveal it.

So, also, anybody who says that Tilden or Hayes has been elected, and that it is the duty of that branch of Congress which thinks so to do all in its power to put him in office, forgets the nature of the Presidential office. It is easy enough to fill it. The duties of it could be and have been discharged by men of ordinary and even mean capacity. Its leading peculiarity, and that which besides the short term distinguishes it from the corresponding office in monarchies, is that its incumbent has to be a man not whom the great body of the people have voted for, for nearly half of them or more than half may vote against him, but who has got the place by what the bulk of the people consider fair and just means, in so far as fairness and justice are ascertainable. People do not expect that an election shall be characterized by perfect purity and justice, but that all reasonable precautions shall be taken against impurity and injustice, so that the result, if not perfect, shall be as nearly perfect as the condition of human nature and the condition of the country will permit. Therefore a President put into the chair by one party in defiance of the other party, and without any better title than the certainty of his own supporters that he was elected, would not be a President at all. He would be a boss or dictator, or anything we please to call him, but not the Chief Magistrate provided for by the American Constitution. The committee has evidently had this in mind. It has tried, therefore, to provide the means not of extracting the eternal and exact truth from the late election returns, but of providing the reasonable portion of the American community with the means of escape from the consequences of an acknowledged defect of a portion of the Constitution, brought about in part by the disorders of the civil war. It has recognized the fact, too, that this is not the time to provide a permanent remedy for the defect thus revealed. The excitement is too great and the interest of the two parties in the result too keen. The tribunal proposed is therefore an extraordi-

nary one, called into existence for a special purpose, and vanishing when the purpose is accomplished, leaving no precedent behind and binding Congress to nothing, and, in fact, doing nothing except helping Congress to seat in the Presidential chair an officer whom the country will accept.

Of course the strong partisans on both sides are satisfied that they are right, and that the Constitution has plainly prescribed the course which will in this case elect the candidate of their choice. “Let us,” they say piously, “take the Constitution for our guide and all will be well.” But then the Constitution, like the statute law, needs interpretation to be a guide, and if everybody could interpret it for himself we should need no courts. There have been a great many different constructions of various points of the Constitution. Luckily the Supreme Court is able to settle most of them in deciding private rights in law-suits. The really troublesome points, for which no means of interpretation are provided, are those which affect the relations of the different departments of the Government. For the definitions of many of these no judicial machinery has been provided, but the absence of such machinery does not relegate us to a state of nature or of revolution, or abrogate the rules of common sense or common morality. A man is not entitled to be judge in his own case simply because there is no court ready to decide it. He is bound to create one if he can. Parties are bound by the same rules.

As regards the ultimate effect of the proposed plan of settlement, of course the politicians on each side pretend that if they yield on this occasion and accept any plan of settlement, it will encourage their adversaries to such an extent in their wickedness that justice will never again be done. This will, of course, depend on the good sense and good feeling of the American people. If the people do not care whether this imbroglia occurs again or not, it probably will occur again. There will be cheating and cozening at every Presidential election, until at last the process becomes an odious farce and is dropped altogether in disgust, unless means are taken to provide for such difficulties as have now arisen. But we believe means will be taken. We believe that before another Presidential election we shall have distinctly arranged by Constitutional amendment the mode of counting the Presidential vote, and deciding between double returns. We believe this because we believe the American people still retains its capacity for managing its political affairs, and we therefore are unwilling to give it all up now, and declare that unless the Senate is allowed to count Hayes in, or the House is allowed to count Tilden in, there is an end of republican government on this continent. The Joint Committee evidently believes nothing of the kind. It believes we are plunged in a temporary difficulty, out of which we have to get through the exercise of a little patience and ingenuity. It has provided machinery for the purpose which is the best attainable, which will probably accomplish the object in view, which has all the marks of reasonableness and of good intentions, and which will meet with the approval and support of all sober-minded and patriotic men.

WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE?

IT will soon be ten years since the nation took the venturesome step of conferring on the negro the right of suffrage, without any restriction as to his intelligence or to his personal interest in a wise administration of the Government. Among the supporters of the measure were many who acted more from the pressure of a real or supposed political necessity than from the conviction that the newly-enfranchised race was really well fitted to make a good use of the right conferred upon it. If we took out all who had serious doubts on the latter point, we should find those who really believed the measure to be a good one in itself as a part of the permanent policy of the Government to be in a decided minority. An analysis of the debates on the subject, in which every affirmative speaker was anxious to support his views in every way, would show a very small proportion of efforts to prove that ignorant voters would be able to select wise legislators and administrators.

The great question which every thinking man in the country is now asking himself is: Is this measure now a success, or is it destined to be a success eventually? Ten years ago men's minds were in a state extremely unfavorable to the calm consideration of this question, and, had it been otherwise, no amount of consideration would have enabled them to see clearly what the ultimate results might be. But the time is now approaching when a decision cannot be longer delayed. When we speak of a decision, we do not mean that the question of nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment is likely to be submitted to the States, or that any legal expression of the opinion which the public may reach will be uttered. All modern experience shows that in this age no law can be made so sacred and binding that it will be permanently enforced against the will of a decisive majority of the intelligent community. If the conclusion is once reached by the thought and the conscience of the public that a great mistake was committed in conferring the suffrage on the negro, and that the attainment of the proper ends of government has been impeded by that act, then no kind of legislation will keep political power in his hands. The laws may still stand on our statute-books and be recognized in our Constitution, but they will only have the efficiency and vitality of a very perfect and muscular corpse. Indeed, situated as the negro is, it would not be at all surprising if he himself should be among the first to reach an adverse conclusion by seeing for himself that he had not exercised his political rights in such a way as to conduce to his own advantage.

How is a conclusion on this question to be reached? The answer is plain: every political measure must and will, in the long run, be judged by its fruits—not the results which would have been if all men had been good, but by those which actually have been reached. If a good result has been defeated by the machinations of bad or passionate men, that very fact tells against the statesmanship which initiated the measure. Men of prejudice and passion are numerous in every community, and in our Southern States these traits are combined with intellectual force in a degree to which there are few parallels. True statesmanship requires us to make allowances for all the bad qualities of human nature, and to frame our legislation so that they shall be as nearly innocuous as possible. The motives on the part of bad men to defeat our measures must be removed and weakened in every possible way, and if they still oppose us, we must devise restraining forces which it will be practicable to keep in operation. To fail in this, and then complain of the malevolence of our enemies, is as puerile as to complain of the storm which has destroyed an ill-built ship, and to praise the builder for constructing one which would be all right in fair weather. The first test of good government is the protection which it affords to life and property; the most effective friends of negro suffrage are therefore those who can so manage that this object shall be attained by the vote of the negro. It is alike the right and the duty of every community to have its highest administrative duties entrusted to the hands of those men who by ability, integrity, and breadth of view are best fitted to perform them. There is no more reason in having every order of men present in the halls of legislation than in having physicians of every degree of intelligence, or bankers of every degree of honesty.

What, then, should have been the course of the real friends of negro suffrage during the past eight years? Evidently they should have done everything in their power to induce the negro to vote for the best men in their respective communities, and to restrain him from voting for bad ones. They should have reasoned: these wards of the nation are now peculiarly liable to be led astray by demagogues, and to become the dupes of unprincipled men; we must therefore do all in our power to guard them against evil influences. We must send among them political missionaries who shall teach them the elements of governmental science, and warn them of the dangers to which they are exposed. The first lessons to teach them are, that the work of legislation cannot be entrusted to any hands other than those of educated men, that it is better to vote for a good man opposed to them in politics than for a bad one

on their side, and that they must vote according to their individual judgment of who are the best men, and must look with extreme suspicion on men who assume to dictate nominations to them. They must be taught that all the dignity of the suffrage consists in the independence of action and judgment which it is designed to afford them, and that if they are disciplined and marched up to the polls like a company of soldiers they are not a whit better off than without any vote at all. The fate of the Fifteenth Amendment depends on the negro learning these lessons, and he is the friend of the amendment who most effectually teaches them.

On the other hand, the worst and most effective political enemies which the negro has to encounter are those who encourage him to vote for men of doubtful character or bad reputation. The very fact that he does not readily see the injury they are doing him, because the injury is of a kind which is felt only with extreme slowness, makes it more surely fatal in the long run. Even now it is a serious question whether the colored vote has not entirely ceased to be a political power in the whole South. In one State after another intelligence and force, or perhaps we might say the laws of Anglo-Saxon dominion, have triumphed over numbers, and it does not seem possible that a similar result can be long delayed in the two or three States which are still doubtful. Only two ways of regaining this lost power present themselves. One—which we shall not stop to discuss—is to station a sufficient military force at every polling-place in the South to see that every colored voter comes up and votes the Republican ticket. The other is to teach the colored voter the lessons we have suggested, and rid him forever of the lead of the men whose names have become by-words of reproach. The day when the voters of one race are to be found voting in a body for one party, and those of the opposing race for another, has passed away for ever, and all the friends of the negro can now do is to hasten the day when there shall be no more "distinction of race or color" between political parties than in legal rights.

THE ELECTORAL CRISIS.

WASHINGTON, January 20.

FOR the past week people have been going to the Capitol and patiently waiting in the galleries of the Senate and House for something sensational to happen. What was generally expected was a row of some kind over the electoral dispute, and it is a curious illustration of how utterly wrong public anticipations are likely to be in an excited political atmosphere like that of Washington, that not only nothing of the sort has taken place, but the exact reverse has occurred; that instead of a row we have perfect peace, that instead of the sensational we have had the solemn, and that the interest which at the crisis of the electoral dispute has developed itself should prove not to be the hot, nervous excitability of an approaching political death-grapple, but the grave and serious yet hopeful feeling which sobers the passions of angry litigants when they have finally submitted their quarrel to the decision of a trusted judge, clothed with all the power and all the terrors of the law. This may sound extravagant, but it is not so in reality. Down to the last moment there had been a general expectation of a disagreement, and even so late as the 17th, although the newspapers had given reports which would certainly have seemed to furnish grounds for hope, the matter was not by any means considered decided by the committee itself, and I was given to understand on Wednesday by one of its members that an agreement or general confusion was a question of twenty-four hours. The plan was published in the papers of Friday morning, and its details were therefore generally known before the report came up in the House. But such was the impatience of everybody to hear the report officially read that Mr. Proctor Knott's speech (with which he insisted on attempting to forestall, or to appear to forestall, the Joint Committee's report) on the powers and privileges of the House was received with great dissatisfaction by all on the floor, the general feeling among both parties being that it was merely throwing away time to listen to it, while among the newspaper correspondents the feeling developed itself that Mr. Proctor Knott was an obstacle to "news," and, as one of them observed, that the time had come for self-respecting news-gatherers to throw aside all reserve and "go for Proctor Knott." When Mr. Knott sat down, and Mr. Payne of Ohio, one of the best men in Congress and Chairman of the House branch of the Committee, rose to make the report, a dead silence

set in, in such complete contrast to the ordinary noise and clatter and din of the House of Representatives as to be of itself very impressive. The document was sent to the desk and, as it was slowly and clearly read by the reading-clerk, was listened to with close attention, without a movement or sign of approval or discontent. The scene was such as could not occur in such a body as the House except at rare and extraordinary intervals, and as the clean-cut and unimpassioned phrases of the report and bill were delivered in the Southern or Southwestern accent of the reading-clerk, it was impossible for the mind not to wander back through the various scenes of the great drama of which this was perhaps the last act, and, recalling the sixteen years of sedition, war, tumult, disorder, and misrule which had marked the termination of the first hundred years of our national existence, not to feel that there was a dramatic no less than a moral beauty in what seemed, at least for the moment, to be the final triumph of reason, moderation, and the spirit of law and justice, for which we have suffered and to which we have sacrificed so much, so often apparently in vain. It was the old battle-ground, but how changed! On one side were still sitting the representatives of the party which had given slavery its death-blow and saved the Union, and their seats they still held for that cause. On the other side there was still the South—the same South that had preserved barbarism and mediævalism in the full blaze of modern civilization till it was destroyed in the general ruin of a civil war—the same South that boasted of its invincibility, insulted its equals, bullied its inferiors—represented here, by the men who had fought hardest to make their boast good; here was certainly on the face of the matter reason enough for expecting scenes like those which disgraced Congress before the war, and here, as a matter of fact, were these bitter foes, again pitted against each other for the control of the Government, after a campaign of unexampled fury, and after loud threats of disturbance outside, listening with patient acquiescence to a plan of compromise which must inevitably lead to a settlement of their dispute fatal to every important claim now put forward by one or the other party.

On Saturday Senator Edmunds opened the debate on the bill in the Senate in a speech delivered to a full Senate and crowded galleries, which was again listened to with profound attention, although the speech was in substance little more than an elaborate presentation of the scheme of the bill. Mr. Edmunds's grave and impressive manner, however, and his studied determination to introduce nothing into what he said which could in any way indicate the remotest shade of opinion on the merits of the dispute between the two parties (he was so careful that in one instance, finding that he had accidentally mentioned Mr. Tilden's name, he formally withdrew it and substituted an abstract term—though the change was in no way needed to make the sentence in which it occurred non-partisan), did in reality form part of the substance of the speech, which was not interesting from a rhetorical point of view, and under ordinary circumstances should not have made the galleries fill up nor have brought in attentive listeners from the House.

Whatever may be the impression on the country at large, the opinion here is that the real crisis in the electoral dispute has now come, and that if the present bill does not pass, nothing will, and the matter will have to be decided by that party which possesses the most force. Only ten days are left to adopt the measure; and should it be defeated, only fourteen days would be left to perfect another, which would be also certain, after the defeat of this one, to be defeated itself, and then the counting would necessarily begin with the two Houses diametrically opposed to each other as to the method. On the other hand, if the bill passes, it is generally felt here that all talk of any further disputes or of attempts to upset the action of the board of arbitration is idle. Both parties will acquiesce in the result whatever it may be. With regard to the chances of its passage, the prevailing opinion in both parties is that it will be passed, though there are extremists on both sides who will oppose it. But the opposition of the Democratic extremists may be expected to die out very soon, for obvious reasons. On an estimate of chances a Democrat has every reason to believe that under the bill the probabilities of the result being in favor of Tilden are ten to one against its being in favor of Hayes. Hayes has got to secure three Southern States, Tilden has only to secure one; and in at least two of these States there are a number of legal points any one of which will give its vote to Tilden, while it will need the greater number, if not all of them, to give it to Hayes. The objection among the Democrats to the bill comes from their conviction that Tilden has actually been elected, but as his election is of no value unless they can make sure of a legal declaration of it, supported by the law and public opinion and the army and navy, and the chances of all this in the absence of the passage of the present bill are extremely remote, while the chances of his being de-

clared legally elected under the bill are very good, the Democrats, as reasonable men, are already beginning to see that they will be better off with a good chance at the substance of political power than with the consciousness, no matter how profound, of constitutional right without any power at all. With the extreme Republicans in the Senate it is impossible to say what will be their action, as Mr. Morton declines to announce what he is going to do, refusing even to say whether he will support or oppose the bill of the committee. He has been publishing a quantity of telegrams endorsing him for not signing the bill; and as the impression may have got abroad that he has some plan of his own which he wishes to substitute for that proposed in the report, it may be worth while to mention the fact that up to the present moment he has produced nothing at all. The history of the proceedings of the committee is the history of an honest committee of thirteen intelligent and patriotic senators and members doing their utmost to arrive at a non-partisan result, and bringing forward various plans and suggestions to that end, finding themselves, however, hampered and obstructed at every point by the determination of the fourteenth member of the committee to prevent any measure from passing. Mr. Morton brought forward no plan himself, but during all the consultations of the committee devoted himself to the suggestion of defects in all the schemes proposed. It may be interesting to the Republicans outside Congress who for the past ten years have been so disgusted with all criticism of the proceedings of the dominant party, on the ground that it was not "constructive" but "destructive," to know that their great leader has at this supreme moment, when put on an eminently constructive committee, devoted himself tooth and nail to destruction. It must be confessed that Mr. Morton's reputation in Washington as a statesman is not good. The prevailing impression here is that the report of the committee was actually strengthened by his refusal to sign it. If he had signed it, people say, we should know there was something wrong with it.

The members of the committee express some surprise at the accuracy of the reports in the New York papers of their proceedings in committee, and nothing could show better that Washington is not so good a place to estimate the general drift of public opinion than the fact that the press with you had already assured the country of the improving turn things were taking when everybody here was still despondent, and people were talking of civil war and the probability of the President of the Senate's deciding the election by "counting Hayes in." The bill just reported from the committee has given a quietus to all that sort of talk, and, coming at the same time with the defeat of Boutwell in Massachusetts and the precarious condition of Logan in Illinois, it has created a feeling—there being nothing but extremes in the Washington political meteorology—that the cyclone is almost upon us, and that the ground will soon be strewn with the corpses of the bad. At the same time the calmer men in the committee and in both Houses know that everything now depends upon the action of the country—that if a strong non-partisan expression comes here in the shape of petitions and memorials the extremists will be forced to yield, but that if no interest is manifested in it outside, it may even now be defeated by filibustering.

Perhaps I cannot, in conclusion, give you a better idea of the difference between the partisan talk that both parties have thought it till within a few days advisable to resort to, and the kind of action that the same men, now that the time for action has arrived, advise, than by repeating the substance of a conversation I had the other day on the floor of the House with an eminent Massachusetts Republican Representative, interested, though not personally active, in the Hoar movement. This gentleman discussed the electoral dispute at great length, and, after beginning by saying that it was a great mistake to suppose that the Republicans were extreme in their views, went on to give his ideas of the Louisiana election outrages and intimidation, from which it appeared that he still regarded the negro as the important figure in American politics, though declining to give, or at any rate not giving, any explanation of the nature of the measures now proposed for his protection; finally getting upon Massachusetts politics, he explained that the reason the State was not as well represented as it should be in public life was that the cultivated classes did not "understand or sympathize with the aspirations of the masses," and turning naturally from this to the other side, he declared that after all there was a great deal of exaggeration in this matter. "Why, there," he continued, "is Mr. Boutwell. People talk of him in a very unfair way. If you took the ordinary impression of Mr. Boutwell, you would say that he was a mean, narrow-minded, contemptible, ignorant, prejudiced political hack. Now that is not so. Mr. Boutwell is a high-minded, broad, wise, and patriotic man. He takes large views. He has, to be sure, the defect that in the matter of appointments he does think that with politics as they are it is just as well for

the Government to appoint a rogue as to appoint an honest man ; but with that exception he is an excellent man." This was all said so seriously that those who heard it could hardly help laughing. The gentleman who said it is a member of the committee on the count, and has just joined in reporting the compromise bill.

ENGLAND.—RESTRICTING THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC.

LONDON, January 1, 1877.

WHILE the Eastern question and the foreign policy of our Government absorb the thoughts of nine men out of ten at the present time in England, and while the question "Shall we fight for Constantinople?" is discussed at every dinner-table, there is a small knot of politicians—and some of them are not obscure—who are giving as much of their thoughts as they can spare from theories of Russian policy to a less ambitious but in its way a not unimportant problem, and that is, the best means of checking intemperance. At the last general election the voting power of the publicans was the engine of destruction upon which the Tories mainly relied as against the followers of Mr. Gladstone. It was like the mitrailleuse of the Second Empire, only it did its work effectually. The Established Church, with a pot of beer in one hand and religious education in the other, carried nearly all the English counties and many of the boroughs, and it is only now that these constituencies begin to show that they repent their choice. The electioneering strength of the publicans, combined with an apparent increase in drunkenness and in crimes directly or indirectly traceable to drink, have turned men's attention to the subject of the liquor laws. Many worthy men are dismayed to see how deeply the credit of the country is sunk in beer and spirits ; and the question how we are to deal with the sale of drink is fast coming to the front and already promises to be a test question at the next election—a test that will be rigorously, but in many cases not over-wisely, applied.

Licenses under the present law are granted by justices of the peace to certain premises in a district, and the granting of any particular license may be opposed by any inhabitant of the district. The license is in force for one year, subject to stringent conditions as to hours and orderliness, and liable to forfeiture on the publican being three times convicted of any infringement of the statute—the publican being disqualified for five years, and the license to the premises being suspended for two years. The price of the license is small, but the money value to the premises may be considerable.

To the ordinary mind these regulations appear to be not inadequate. It may be objected to them that their tendency is to constitute a monopoly in a traffic to which the principles of free trade ought to be applied, and that as regulations they err on the side of stringency. But our reformers do not take this view. The justices, they say, not being elected, do not represent the people, and do not represent the rate-payers, who are chiefly affected by the public-houses. The justices, they urge, grant licenses unscrupulously ; many of them have interests in the public-houses ; they job them to their friends and relatives, or to the friends of their friends and relatives ; they rarely suspend or refuse a license, however badly the publican conducts his business ; once granted, the license becomes practically perpetuated, and the licensed houses accumulate in districts until they become nuisances to the locality and so many alluring temptations to the working-classes, sapping the energy and independence of all who are thrown in their way. And finally matters have come to such a pass that the strong arm of the legislature must be introduced to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks and eradicate the strongest and most universal incentive to crime.

Till quite lately the well-intentioned men who hope to make their countrymen sober by act of Parliament have been confined to one school, and their proposals to one measure, the Permissive Bill. The leading idea of that measure is familiar in this country, and, as it was borrowed by a philanthropic Quaker some three-and-twenty years ago from the State of Maine, I may take it for granted that it is not unfamiliar with you. The late Lord Neaves, one of the judges of the Court of Sessions in Scotland, who died a few days ago, the last of the familiar faces who used to meet around the festive tables in the best days of Edinburgh society, hit off the principle of the bill and the folly of it at the same time, in his little song which he dedicated to Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the recognized founder of the measure, and which the good old man used to carol to his friends in Edinburgh drawing-rooms even within the last twelve months. I need not give you the whole of it, but the refrain is as follows :

"A little simple bill
That wishes to pass incog.
To perm t me to prevent you
From having your glass of grog."

That is very neat so far as it goes. It is very difficult to put it better. In prose the principle comes to this : in any district the act would be adopted by the votes of two-thirds of the rate-payers, and, being once adopted, all traffic in intoxicating liquor is prohibited within the district ; the public houses are closed and the publicans are turned out into the street without a chance or a thought of compensation. The injustice and tyranny of such a proposal are apparent on the face of it, and the House of Commons has not failed to recognize them. Persistently as the bill has been pressed upon the country for the last twelve years it has made no progress in Parliament. In 1869, backed by the young enthusiasm of the first session of Mr. Gladstone's radical Parliament, it had only 94 supporters. In 1871 Sir Wilfrid Lawson told 124 votes on the side of the bill. In 1873 they dwindled down to 81 ; in 1874, under the new Parliament, he counted only 75 in a house numbering 376. In 1875 he was beaten by 295, and last year he was where he was in 1873, followed into the division lobby by 81 supporters in a full House. At this rate of progress, or rather of retrogression, it will be the end of the century before the bill comes to be regarded even as one dealing with practical politics, and we shall be half through the twentieth century before it has a chance of passing into law. It is hardly worth while discussing any merits it may have, or exposing its intrinsic viciousness in a country like England, until its success is more assured.

Within the last few months two other proposals have been before the public. The first took the form of a bill to transfer the privilege of granting licenses from the justices to licensing-boards elected by the rate-payers every three years. This bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Cowen, the member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne last year, and thrown out by a majority of 165 votes, the chief grounds of the opposition being that there were already too many local elections, and a new one to be fought out every three years over the beer-tankard would be nothing more nor less than a new and extensive field for treating, and bribery, and all forms of corruption. The second proposal is still in embryo. At present it is little more than a suggestion, but a suggestion of a dangerous character, to introduce into the large and populous towns of England an adaptation of what is known as the Gothenburg system. Mr. Chamberlain, the youthful member for Birmingham, is the father of this proposal. He intends to ask Parliament to empower municipal authorities to buy up public-houses within their municipalities at a rate to be fixed by Parliament ; to transfer the power of granting licenses to the said municipal authorities, and to permit them to carry on by themselves or their nominees the trade of publican for the benefit of the inhabitants within the municipality. The advantages of this proposal are not very apparent ; the objections to it are obvious. In one respect it is more reasonable than the schemes of Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Cowen, inasmuch as it gives compensation to the publicans for the deprivation of their source of living ; and it has an air of liberality and openhandedness about it which the other schemes lack. But, on the other hand, if we judge it by its very limited success in Gothenburg, it would not be so effectual in prohibiting the sale of drink as Sir Wilfrid Lawson's scheme would be, and it raises a more dangerous precedent than Mr. Cowen's—the precedent, namely, of asking Parliament to authorize the suppression of a lawful trade, the confiscation of valuable property without good reason and with doubtful results, and the institution of a huge monopoly with the opportunity of inexhaustible jobbery.

The scheme, however, would break down on the question of expense. The municipality of Birmingham contains too many long-headed men in it to take such a leap in the dark at the bidding of its well-meaning but impulsive representative. It is very unlikely that it will—to use Mr. Chamberlain's own words—"enter on a vast speculation the end of which no man can see." But even if Birmingham should consent to take so rash a step, the proposal has to run the gauntlet of the press and of the periodicals ; it has then to take the form of a bill and be subjected to the criticism of the House of Commons ; and if by any chance it should pass these ordeals, the House of Lords remains behind, and Mr. Chamberlain may be well assured that very heavy pressure would be required before that august body of legislators would accept a principle which they would not unjustly regard as a direct invasion of the sacred rights of property under Parliamentary sanction.

Turning from the dreams and schemes of these good men, who will learn, as they grow older, that they cannot drill their fellow-citizens in morality as infant-school-mistresses drill children to do their exercises, let us turn for a moment to a document on the subject of intemperance which, considering the quarter from which it emanates, may be regarded as a model of good sense and toleration. The Presbytery of the Established Church of Scotland have been going into the subject in Edinburgh—not the most sober capital in the world—and they have published a report. It is a curious document. After setting forth the statistics of intemperance, it narrates

the result of what, in the austere language of the Covenant, it calls a "house-to-house visitation," and that result is to the effect that among the upper classes indulgence in strong drink is much less prevalent than formerly. This the Presbytery regard as unquestionable. They found no evidence of tippling during the day, either among men or women. Drunkenness was looked upon as a disgrace. Coming to a lower stratum of society, they ascertained beyond all doubt that sobriety was much more common among skilled workmen than it was fifteen years ago. Intemperance was the exception. The tone, however, is not so good as you descend the scale. "The lower orders of workmen were certainly much more addicted to intemperance; . . . in the opinion of the Committee, the alarming increase was mainly among this and the criminal class." This is certainly encouraging, and, considering it to be the opinion of a committee mainly composed of clergymen, it is especially encouraging. Clergymen, as a rule, do not extenuate in matters of morality, and it is something to learn that we are not so bad as we have been painted. For what does it show? It shows that sobriety is struggling downward slowly, surely, and successfully. And it is doing so naturally and without extraneous pressure. All that is wanted is that our reformers should have a little patience—the quality, among others, that that important body of men do not possess. Erect better houses for the lower class of workmen; give them better education; train their wives, and those who are destined to be the wives of future workmen, in the arts of cooking and domestic economy and neatness, so that they will make their husbands' houses snugger and more attractive than the public-house; give them opportunities for recreation; institute workmen's clubs and coffee-houses, with newspapers, books, and amusements, to distract a man's thoughts from the toil and trouble of the day—these, and not coercive measures, will help on the progress of sobriety. Employers of labor may assist by refusing to employ a drunkard, just as in domestic life a householder will dismiss a drunken servant. Trades-unions, again, may do much in the same direction by making intemperance a reason for forfeiture of the privileges of membership, just as a committee of a club will deprive a man of all club privileges if he misconducts himself. Coercion to that extent is dictated by ordinary prudence and decency. But the coercion proposed by the votaries of the Permissive Bill, or the Gothenburg system, however well intentioned the votaries may be, is regarded by those who have no belief in over-legislation as more dangerous to the independence of the national character than even a couple more generations of gradually diminishing intemperance.

Correspondence.

EDUCATIONAL ECCENTRICITIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your paper deserves a public vote of thanks for reviewing the catalogue of Neophogen College. That wonderful document is of such transcendent literary merit as to be worthy of association with the works of Shakspeare, Milton, and the immortal Tupper. Every college professor should be able to pass an examination upon its inspiring contents.

But although in the matter of a catalogue Neophogen is pre-eminent, "chief among ten thousand and altogether lovely," I hardly think that the institution itself is much more remarkable than some in higher latitudes. As a citizen of Ohio I must stand up for my own State, which will not yield the distinction of educational supremacy even to Tennessee. Ohio firmly believes in education—lots of it, everywhere, and in all times and places. Plant a Latin dictionary or a "Fourteen Weeks" textbook of science anywhere in her fertile soil, and within a year a flourishing "university" will spring up on the spot, blossom, bear fruit, and run to seed. "Every man his own college president" would be a good title for a book to circulate well out here. The demand would be something unparalleled. Let me give your readers a few Ohio items, that they may see whether Neophogen has not some dangerous rivals.

In the eastern part of the State there is an institution known as the "One-Study University." It is situated in Scio, but whether this fact has anything to do with sciolism I am unable to say. In this university a student, according to the catalogue, "passes through the course by taking up and thoroughly completing *one study* at a time." This is eminently satisfactory. It is indeed cheering to know that here in Ohio such thoroughness is possible. What student ever "thoroughly completed" any study in any Eastern college? And yet, in face of facts like these, Ohio colleges (I beg pardon, *universities*) are often accused of slipshod work and smattering. There is, however, connected with the One-Study University a fact which

might be improperly used by a malicious person. One of its Bachelors of Arts is at present in the preparatory department of another Ohio university, trying to get exalted into the freshman class, and the professors who now have this person in charge cannot ascertain with any degree of certainty in just what "one study" he graduated. But is the One-Study University to blame for this unfortunate state of affairs? Certainly not; for it evidently filled this student fuller of learning than he could hold, so that somehow or other he sprang a mental leak.

Another college, in the central part of Ohio, shall be nameless. It is controlled by a stock company with a paid-up cash capital of two thousand dollars. It has a president, salary \$500, and one professor. When a student wishes to graduate, the local clergymen act as examiners. On one occasion, however, quite recently, a young man who had completed his course of study could find nobody capable of examining him in certain branches. He accordingly went to the professors of another college for examination, in order that he might fairly claim a diploma from his own *alma mater*. Such perseverance is certainly praiseworthy.

Mount Union College is also worthy of liberal notice. Whoever will read its catalogue will find therein rich material for thought. Here there are actually hundreds of students, a large faculty, and a cabinet of specimens in natural history "worth a quarter of a million of dollars." We have all heard of the Greek who, wishing to sell his house, carried around with him a specimen brick. Mt. Union College has a stuffed gorilla which travels about to public gatherings and agricultural fairs, and which was sent to the Centennial as a representative of the institution. But whether the gorilla represented the faculty, or the students, or the ideal graduates, or the stage of development at which in the process of evolution the college has arrived, nobody seems able to say.

Some of our Ohio colleges are notable because of the learning of their professors. One in particular has a president who is "Professor of Hebrew, Natural, Mental, and Moral Science." This professorship, minus the Hebrew, is also found in several other colleges, and illustrates well the capacity of the human intellect. In this section of country the mind is naturally expansive, harmonizing with the broad plains, the overarching skies, and the grand developments of nature generally. Men here cannot cramp themselves into such narrow mental limits as content the feeble educators of the East. Give us elbow-room and breathing space, and let us spread ourselves. Professorships of omniscience are the correct things nowadays.

In addition to our colleges we have also wonderful preparatory schools. One example will suffice to show what depth of knowledge is demanded of their teachers. A high-school in this State not long since needed a principal. Among other applicants was one whose experience came to the writer's ears. He appeared before the examiners in mathematics and was at once asked "How many figures are there in the multiplication-table?" He was naturally puzzled, and said so. "Well, then," replied the examiner, "if you cannot answer that easy question, please tell me how much longer the circumference of a circle is than the inscribed triangle?" On confessing his inability to solve off-hand this problem, the applicant was informed "that he would not do to teach high-school in that town." Surely a school which requires so much must do wonders for its pupils.

These jottings may perhaps convince you that Neophogen has rivals. We are no longer dependent upon the East for culture. "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way."—Respectfully,

F. W. C.
CINCINNATI, January 8, 1877.

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS have nearly ready 'The Scripture Club of Valley Rest,' by Mr. John Habberton, author of 'Helen's Babies.'—The pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, urges that a monument be erected in that city to "Elizabeth Foster, known in the literature of the nursery as 'Mother Goose,' the first edition of whose 'Melodies' was published in 1719 by her grandson, Thomas Fleet. Mr. Manning professes to quote the exact title of this *editio princeps*. Is it true, then, that this book actually exists, or does the above statement rest on the recollection of a gentleman long since deceased, that he had once seen the title-page in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester? (see the *Nation*, vol. xvii., p. 130, and, for the whole story, vol. ii., p. 179).—The *Athenæum* makes an announcement having a cis-atlantic interest, viz., that Prof. Fawcett is writing a book on protection and free-trade, in which he will consider the arguments advanced by the advocates of protection in America and in the Colonies, and will also discuss the causes which have prevented

that general adoption of free-trade which was confidently predicted at the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws.—According to the London *Publishers' Circular*, Mr. Motley is engaged upon a new novel, his third, after a long interval.—‘Captain Fred. Barnaby’s Ride to Khiva,’ and ‘Selections from the Writings of Lord Macaulay,’ edited by Otto Trevelyan, will be republished here by Harper & Bros.—A. S. Barnes & Co. have in press ‘A Critical History of the Late War in the United States,’ by the Rev. Asa Mahan.

—In the ‘First Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston’ (City Document No. 92, 1876) we have the fruits of a year and a half’s labor on the part of the eminent experts, Messrs. W. H. Whitmore and W. S. Appleton, who were wisely selected “to complete, as far as practicable, the records of births, deaths, and marriages in the town and city of Boston, prior to A.D. 1849.” We owe this report principally to the fortunate discovery of unsuspected documents—parts of tax-lists of 1674 and 1676 and later—among the archives of the Board of Overseers of the Poor; and the commissioners have joined with these the tax-lists for 1687 and 1688 preserved at the State-House, as well as a list of inhabitants in 1695 preserved in the City Clerk’s office—a total of about 1,900 different names and a much larger number of individual citizens. The earliest Boston directory, it should be noted here, dates back only to 1789, and contains 1,474 names. It is evident, therefore, that a very rich mine for the genealogist has now been opened, and its value is greatly enhanced for the principal lists (1674, 1676, 1687, 1688) by publishing not only the names but the tax-rate and the schedule of taxable property in each case. A mass of curious information is thus preserved for the descendants of the taxpayers of two centuries ago. The thoroughness with which the Commissioners have accomplished their task is manifest; their accuracy, under great difficulties, may be trusted almost implicitly. They have had to contend with the unscholarly and obscure chirography of the period, when phonetic forms were popular, and Jeffries, for instance, was “placed under G in alphabetical lists, Eustis under U, and Uran under Y.” The trouble which this occasioned Mr. Whitmore, whose lot it was to compile the index, may be imagined. This index covers twelve pages of fine print in double columns, and is one of those performances which excite the vulgar imagination scarcely more than the alphabetical succession of words in a dictionary, but which scholars know how to appreciate to the full. A slight use of it enables us to point out a typographical error on the last page of the appendix (170), where Edward Wanson is printed for Edward Wanton, a large real-estate owner (1687–1695), perhaps allied with the prominent Rhode Island family of that name. The Commissioners, who serve without pay, will doubtless be continued in office, and in time may hope for some public recognition of their unselfish zeal and industry.

—However varied may be the theories of different persons with regard to the proper functions of government, nearly all will admit that one of its principal functions, as society is now constituted, is the establishment of judicial tribunals which can be readily and cheaply appealed to alike by rich and poor. Some facts furnished recently by Judge Foster, of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, go far to prove that some of our State governments, at least, are not fulfilling this important function in an ideal manner. A day and a half were expended a short time ago in the trial of a case which involved the sum of \$20 (the expense of the trial to the county being \$150, in addition to the expenses of the contestants), and in his charge to the jury Judge Foster stated that all jury-trials in New Hampshire cost about \$100 per day, and that, on an average, fifteen days in the year are spent in each county of the State, or one hundred and fifty days in all, at a cost of \$15,000, in the trial of cases involving sums less than \$100. A poor man having such a case cannot, according to Judge Foster, afford to “go to law,” as it would cost him \$2 to get \$1, even if he had a good case, and a wealthy corporation or a wealthy man might safely refuse to pay a poor man, who, “with a destitute family, could not spend \$200 to get \$100.” Taking into consideration the extreme frugality with which all public affairs are administered in New Hampshire, an interesting comparison might be made of these figures with analogous estimates concerning the administration of justice in other States. The best practical remedy, Judge Foster believes, would be an extension of the system of “reference” to all cases involving sums of \$100 or less, and a prohibition of jury-trials except in cases involving larger amounts. A trial by “reference” costs, in New Hampshire, but \$10 per day, or one-tenth the cost of a trial by jury. It is worth noticing here that the Commissioners appointed by the last Legislature of Massachusetts to enquire into the expediency of revising the judiciary system of that State also speak in emphatic terms of the unsatisfactory results of the present system of trial by jury, and conclude

that “it is important that the courts be so constituted that litigants may obtain, in the largest number of cases practicable, satisfactory decisions without resorting to the jury.” They state, moreover, that the chief cost of the two highest courts of the State is the fees of jurors, and recommend that there be no jury-trials hereafter in police courts or in district courts, and that none be allowed in divorce cases, or in cases involving sums less than \$300. It is evident, in our opinion, that trial by jury could be done away with, in a vast number of cases, with great gain to the cause of justice as well as with great relief to the pockets of tax-payers. The considerations which once made a defence of the right of trial by jury so necessary are rapidly passing away, and the arguments by which it is now sustained are chiefly sentimental. Most honest men would to-day prefer, in nearly all cases in which they are interested the decision of a competent judge to the verdict of a jury.

—The powerful influence of prophets among the Indians is an historical fact proved by numerous instances, and one of the most conspicuous of them is Smúhhale, a sexagenarian of the Wallawalla tribe, on middle Columbia River, who has been disturbing the untutored Indian mind for several years past. In the pursuit of his calling, which was that of a medicine man of his own Oregonian tribe, he met a thorough Biblical scholar, and improved so much by his teachings that he soon became aware of his own mission as a regenerator of his race. Being possessed of natural oratorical talents, of a studious disposition and thoughtful mind, but at the same time of very old-fashioned and conservative tendencies, he set himself up as an Indian prophet and went about disseminating his doctrine by speeches, discussions, and demonstrations. The gist of his doctrine was the love of our fellow-men and the complete return of the “old happy state” of the Indians before the advent of the white race. He soon had followers who constituted themselves a propagandist society about the year 1862, and the tribes on the Columbia began to consider him a reformer, a public benefactor, and a presumptive redeemer from the foreign yoke. The élite of his disciples soon perceived that material benefit could be derived from this popular movement, and their tricky devices have gained them the reputation among the white settlers of being smart impostors, though Smúhhale himself does not deserve this epithet. Like Mohammed of old, he promises multiple conjugal felicity to his followers, and sets a good example by living with five women simultaneously. His sectaries pledge themselves to maintain and spread the doctrine even after his death, and they distinguish themselves from other Indians by daubing themselves with two black dashes on each cheek, with one white dash or streak intervening. The belief in Smúhhale will, in their opinion, eventually bring the country into their own undisputed possession. “Men must be good and do good to others” is their vague moral principle, which is occasionally used by the sect to defend their new religion against aggressors or disbelievers. They unite three times every day for worship. This movement is rapidly spreading, and many tribes of the Columbia Basin, from the Klamath Lakes to the Upper Columbia, have joined the sect wholly or partially. Smúhhale does not leave his own camp, which is in Rapids du Pré, on the Columbia River, but preaches there his doctrine with the emphasis, imagery, and volubility so well known in Indian discourses. The recent dissatisfaction observed among the Nez-Perce Indians—a tribe of about 2,800 individuals residing on the Oregon and Idaho reservations—is mainly attributed to this “reformatory” movement, which will probably never become dangerous to the white settlers, but which deserves notice as exhibiting an important characteristic of the Indian mind of the Northwest.

—A subscriber in Palafurgell, Spain, writes us :

“To the explanation of your subscriber (p. 341, No. 597) as to the origin of using names of fruits in announcing a warning or slight bodily correction, I may add that in Spanish the names of only three fruits are used in this way; we say, ‘Te pegaré una nispola, una castaña, una piña.’ To the last, the strongest term, the origin, as indicated by your subscriber, fits exactly, while the milder forms are said to derive their application from the very old custom prevailing formerly at wedding parties in this country, of throwing small fruits from the table at the retiring bride and groom, and their habit of returning the fire.”

—The long death-roll of each departed year published by the journals of various countries naturally strikes one with the preponderance of merely local celebrities, comparatively few names being common to all the lists. Carelessness and lack of knowledge of course play sad havoc with well-established reputations; still, a comparison between the necrologies of even well-informed journals shows how small is the number of prominent persons whose fame may be called international. In instituting such a comparison between the New York *Tribune* and the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, it is curious to find but three Americans—Speaker Kerr, Marshall “Laf-

farts," and Miss Charlotte Cushman—in the list of the *Neue Freie Presse* to the three Germans—Ferdinand Freiligrath, Julius Heinrich Petermann, and Theodor von Heuglin—of the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* finds room for "Count Louis Marchand, valet-de-chambre to Napoleon I.," but not for Count Anton Auersperg (Anastasius Grün); while the *Neue Freie Presse* gives Alexander T. Stewart no place among famous merchants. Of course there can be no charge of omission where there is no pretension to system and completeness, and the *Tribune* may, therefore, claim immunity where the *Neue Freie Presse* is open to criticism. Santa Anna ought not to have been overlooked under its heading "military men," nor John Frederick Lewis under painters; while Michelet erroneously appears among the dead of 1876. In all, the necrology of the past year fortunately includes but few names of world-wide celebrity, those of Francis Deák, George Sand, and Cardinel Antonelli being perhaps the most conspicuous. We recall, however, among other European celebrities the Sultan Abdul Aziz, the Duchess of Aosta (ex-queen of Spain); the public-spirited Duke of Galliera; the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance Baron Holzgethan, the French Minister and Senator Ricard, the Turkish Minister Rashid Pasha, the French statesman Casimir Périer, and the Austrian diplomatist and writer Count Prokesh-Osten. Sir Anthony Rothschild, the Vienna Cræsus Baron Sina, and the Stuttgart publisher Baron Georg Adolph Cotta, require mention among commercial men. Ehrenberg, the great investigator of infusoria, the news of whose death met with such strange indifference in this country, was probably the most distinguished scientist, unless pre-eminence should be awarded to the Russian zoölogist and botanist, Von Baer; others were the chemist Balard (the discoverer of bromine), the geologist James David Forbes, the engineer and ship-builder Robert Napier, the historian and leader of the Czechs Palacky, the philologist Ritschl, the French economist Wolowski, the explorer of Assyria George Smith, and the traveller Heuglin. The best-known authors, besides George Sand, Count Anton Auersperg, and Ferdinand Freiligrath, were Harriet Martineau, John Forster, the poet and scholar Karl Simrock, and the Russian revolutionist and writer Mikhail Bakunin. The arts lost the sculptor Ernst von Bandel, creator of the colossal monument of Arminius, the historical painter Führich, the painter in water-colors and oils John Frederick Lewis, the composer Félicien David, and the actor Frédéric Lemaître.

—"Since I was last in London," writes a correspondent, "the new rooms of the National Gallery have been thrown open to the public; this took place in the month of August last. The noble collection at Trafalgar Square is at last arranged and distributed in a manner worthy of itself and of the nation. The new halls are some half-dozen in number; all of them are spacious and some are of great extent. Their general aspect and style of decoration recall the new galleries of the Louvre, though they are perhaps a trifle less lofty and less splendid than the Louvre. They are, however, airy, well-ordered apartments, and the pictures appear to as great an advantage as the London daylight allows. They are less crowded than at the Louvre, and few of them are hung inconveniently as regards the level of the eye. Even the Salon Carré is not more impressive than the spacious chambers allotted to the half a dozen Italian works, among which Michael Angelo's 'Entombment' stands supreme. Of course there have been a complete rearrangement and reclassification of the pictures; and all the works of the English school, which (comprised chiefly within the collection bequeathed to the nation by Mr. Vernon) had for so long found shelter at the South Kensington Museum, have now been accommodated at Trafalgar Square in the old rooms. We will not say that they gain by this close neighborhood to their Italian and Flemish brethren; but, judged by themselves, they make a various and creditable show. I refreshed my memory, in particular, of a certain 'Portrait of Two Gentlemen,' by Sir Joshua Reynolds; before this beautiful work the depressed Anglo-Saxon, wandering from the presence of the Moronis, hard by, may hold up his head. The Turners have been rehung, many of them in the long room in which Paul Veronese's superb 'Alexander' used to form the most brilliant feature; and I observe that the extraordinary 'Storm, Steam, and Speed' (if that is just the title), which was formerly much *en évidence*, is now suspended quite above the line."

—Some two years ago M. Capmas, a law professor at Dijon, made an important discovery of a MS. containing Mme. de Sévigné's correspondence with her daughter, and evidently copied from the originals. He has just now published these letters in two volumes. Twenty-four have never seen the light before; nineteen are for the most part new; the rest reveal in Mme. de Sévigné's editors the greatest carelessness in transcription, along with most extraordinary liberties in regard to the text. They have assumed to judge when her style or her subject was unworthy of herself, or too

trivial for her literary reputation, and have omitted, expunged, and substituted to a degree which is almost incredible. The effect of M. Capmas's restorations is not only to increase our human interest in Mme. de Sévigné by showing us her domestic and purely womanly side, but also to enhance the value of her correspondence in consequence of the new side-lights on the manners and personages of her time. This historical utility of course never entered the heads of the earlier editors, and hence their exclusive attention to the literary form of the letters, in which, with all their "improvements," they often left wholly unintelligible passages.

—Two French bibliographical publications of the past year are worthy of mention. The 'Iconographie Moliéresque' of M. Paul Lacroix is the third volume of the series published by M. Fontaine, of which the two earlier volumes, M. Lacroix's 'Bibliographie Moliéresque' and M. Picot's 'Bibliographie Corneillienne,' we have already reviewed; the fourth volume, a 'Bibliographie Racinienne,' by M. Picot, is yet to come. The 'Iconographie' is on the same exhaustive scale as its predecessors; it is intended to contain a list of all the portraits of Molière, of his wife, of his friends, and of his enemies; all the views of his house and furniture, his theatre, his costumes, of the places he visited or was in any way connected with, of his tomb and of his monument; all engravings of scenes in his plays or his life, and all pictorial representations of scenes from his plays, of which there were forty-six in the *Salons* from 1802 to 1874, including, of course, the two by Gérôme, "Une Collaboration" and "Molière chez Louis XIV.," both of which are owned by Americans. In an appendix are given lists of the engravers and artists, and of the writers who, as critics or biographers or eulogists, have been in any way connected with Molière. The weak point of this comprehensive work, as of its predecessor, the 'Bibliographie Moliéresque,' is in the foreign pictures and engravings. Of these M. Lacroix seems wholly ignorant—yet many scenes of Molière's plays have been painted by English artists, and in 'Bell's Theatre' and kindred series there are many prints of actors in Fielding's 'Miser' and Bickerstaff's 'Hypocrite' and other of the English versions of Molière's comedies. The book is embellished with an autographic fac-simile and an etching by M. Hillemaier of a contemporary "vray portrait de Mr. de Molière, en habit de Sganarelle." It was a Shakspeare bibliography which suggested to M. Lacroix the 'Bibliographie Moliéresque.' It will be well if the 'Iconographie Moliéresque' prove the exciting cause of a Shaksperian iconography. The catalogue of the Barton Library, now printing by the Public Library of Boston, will furnish much material for such a work, and by severe compression it could be restrained within the 400 pp. which M. Lacroix allows himself.

—The second (which, like the first, is imported by J. W. Bouton) is a 'Bibliographie de l'œuvre de P.-J. Béranger' by M. Jules Brivois. It contains descriptions of every known edition authorized by the poet, with indications of the fraudulent reprints which abounded as a matter of course, especially of such poems as were interdicted by the censure. There are also lists of the music to his verse, and of the books, lectures, and articles about him. An iconographic chapter gives the list of the engraved portraits of the poet himself, and of all those mentioned in the poems or in the two trials, as well as of all the sets of engravings, vignettes, etc., designed to illustrate his works. No attempt is made to catalogue the foreign versions of the poems, which are numberless.

—Dr. Friedrich Kapp has lately reported to the Reichstag, of which he is a member, on the condition of its library. Under the excellent management of Dr. Potthast in the past two years it has grown rapidly in numbers and importance, and is already admirably equipped for the special object for which it was founded. It contains from 30,000 to 35,000 volumes, and is strongest in works on jurisprudence, political economy, history, and politics; while in works relating to English and American parliamentary transactions, politics, and constitutional law it is one of the richest collections in Germany. Among its treasures in this line are Hansard, the Annual Register since 1758, Public Records and State Papers 1783-1860, Force's American Archives, the *Congressional Globe* complete, the *Annales de l'Assemblée Nationale* from 1870, the *Bullarium Romanum*, etc., etc. In the two years ending November 1, 1876, 2,976 works were taken away from the Parliament house for consultation by members. The Reichstag, which in the five years 1867-71 had allowed only 5,000 marks altogether for the maintenance of the library, has in the last five years allowed 117,824 marks; and it is hoped that an annual appropriation of 30,000 will be made hereafter.

—The keeper of the city archives of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Herr Laurent, published about ten years ago a collection of accounts of the receipts and expenses of the city in several years of the fourteenth century

—very fragmentary and incomplete; they were accompanied by an introduction, bringing out the various points elucidated by the documents. As the title, 'Stadtrechnungen,' seemed to describe a collection of bare statistics, the publication appears not to have attracted the attention it deserves; and now, its author having meanwhile died, the publishers have reissued it unaltered with the title 'Aachener Zustände im XIV. Jahrhundert,' thus making the introduction the principal work. This introduction occupies 74 pages out of 454, the rest of the volume containing the accounts and other documents, an index, and a valuable glossary. The discussions are mainly statistical, throwing a good deal of light upon the economical relations of this period, but not much upon its social life. The most interesting single point is the account of the siege of the robber-castle Reiferscheid, in 1385, by the cities of Aachen and Cologne in alliance with the Archbishop of Cologne, the Duke of Guelderland, and other princes. The princes, it would appear, were rather slack in an enterprise against one of their own order, and the affair was ended with a sort of compromise. In this siege artillery was used, and one item of expense is 5 gulden (about 21 thalers) for "an iron pipe for shooting thunder" (ad sagittandum tonitrum). The editor agrees with Prof. Rogers, in his 'History of Agriculture,' as to the relatively high wages at this period. The lowest day's wages were one-half mark (rather less than half a thaler); and one day's wages would buy a pair of shoes (wooden, no doubt), five days' wages a sheep; a winter coat cost 7½ marks, 5½ pounds of rye bread one shilling (½ mark), and a quart of wine one shilling and one-fifth.

—A fire broke out in Tokio at 11.30 P.M. on the 29th November. By 7.30 A.M. on the 30th it was entirely extinguished; but in the eight hours during which it raged it destroyed nearly ten thousand houses, rendered one hundred thousand people homeless, and annihilated property to the value of several million dollars. The area it laid waste was from five to six square miles in extent; yet on the 11th of December new houses (like most Japanese houses they are only wood and paper ones) had been built throughout the length and breadth of the devastated region, and by this date not a trace of the calamity is visible. For security against these sweeping conflagrations, which during the winter months are so alarmingly prevalent in Japan, the more perishable and valuable articles are kept in fire-proof storehouses of a peculiar description. These storehouses are known as "mud-godowns." As the name implies, they are built of mud, or rather clay—the blue, tenacious clay of Japan. Some of these structures take as many as three years in building. A double framework of bamboo, or the very slightest boarding, is run up, and into the intervening space, about eighteen inches or two feet wide, mud is gradually packed and allowed to dry by the action of the atmosphere. Owing to the flimsy nature of the surrounding houses, fires, when they occur, spread and pass with such rapidity that they have no time to produce any effect upon these storehouses, which would probably stand a test ten times as severe as any they are subjected to. Not one of the "mud-godowns," and there were some hundreds of them, was injured throughout the entire area of the recent great fire in Tokio.

CHARLES KINGSLEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.*

MRS. KINGSLEY has given proof, in this voluminous compilation, of no little zeal and industry. It is hardly more than a year and a half since Charles Kingsley died, but she has found time to collect a very large number of letters and other papers, to obtain testimonials of various kinds to the merits of the late Canon of Westminster, to make copious extracts from his sermons, tracts, and other writings, and to connect these things together by a considerable amount of agreeably-written narrative. We may say at the outset that the work seems to us much too long. When the plan is followed of giving not only the letters written by the subject of a memoir, but the letters that he received, and of transferring page upon page of his published works, the writing of biography threatens to assume proportions which may well alarm a very busy age. Mrs. Kingsley has reprinted too many of her husband's sermons—a course which has not enlivened her pages. We may add that they would have gained also by the suppression of a certain number of the letters, consolatory and descriptive, which she received—apparently by invitation—during the progress of her work, and which she has published *in extenso*. A man of Charles Kingsley's value should take his stand with posterity upon his own illustrious achievements; it should not be sought to bolster up his reputation by copious proof that this, that, and the other obscure admirer thought very highly of him. This extreme redundancy, however, is the only fault of these volumes, which have evidently been most carefully and laboriously

prepared, and which, in spite of their highly appreciative tone, offer no instances of bad taste.

This record of the life of the founder of "Muscular Christianity" will strongly confirm the impression that he produced personally and through his writings, and will be found to contain matter of much pertinence, both for that numerous class of readers who regarded him as something of a prophet and for those others upon whom his effect was less gratefully irritating. It is not in any high degree the record of a literary life; we may almost say that it is hardly the record of an intellectual life. People who have wondered how it was that the author of 'Hypatia' and 'Westward Ho' should not have had in him the writing of more books as good, will, on reading these pages, rather be moved to wonder that even those admirable novels were produced. They were the exceptions; other things, and very different things, were the rule. Charles Kingsley was all his days a hard-working country parson, much devoted to the moral and the practical features of his office: to keeping down gin-shops, establishing "penny-readings," improving sanitary conditions, organizing and regulating charities, and preaching matter-of-fact sermons. In addition to this he was much addicted to harmless sports and to physical science. He was a passionate angler, an ardent botanist, geologist, and marine zoölogist. As regards his own personal "muscularity," we must add, however, Mrs. Kingsley rather tones down the picture. He never went out with a gun, and he could not be called a "fox-hunting parson." His means did not allow him to be brilliantly mounted, and as he preferred not to ride poor horses, he rode rarely. But the inclination was not wanting. He had a great deal of imagination, but he appears in early life to have worked off its fermenting forces, and he had no intellectual needs that did not find comfortable satisfaction within the pale of the English Church. He appears to us as a man of an extremely vigorous temperament and a decidedly simple intellect, with an appreciation of natural things and a power of expressing the pleasures of natural science that amount almost to genius, together with an adoration of all things English and Anglican which almost assimilates him to the typical John Bull of foreign caricature, and a hatred of "Popery" which strongly confirms this resemblance. His strongest quality was his great personal energy, which evidently had an influence of an agreeable and improving sort upon those with whom he came into contact. It seems to the reader, throughout, a striking anomaly that fortune should have forced him into the position of a philosopher or an intellectual teacher. Even literature, with him, was amateurish. His novels, his chief title to reputation, are here disposed of in a few lines, while his parish work receives the tribute of chapters. It is plain that learning and research were more amateurish still. When towards the close of such a career the sympathetic reader finds Mr. Kingsley installed as Professor of History at Cambridge, or engaged in theological controversy with Dr. Newman, he feels as if in offering him these remarkable opportunities for making an unfavorable appearance, fate were playing him a trick which he had not done enough to deserve.

That Mrs. Kingsley is a thorough biographer may be inferred from the fact that she gives us sermons and poems written at the age of four years and of four years and eight months, respectively. For this period of life these compositions are even more remarkable than those which followed them in the author's maturity. Much of his childhood was passed upon that beautiful Devonshire coast which he has commemorated in 'Westward Ho' and 'Two Years Ago,' where his father, who had entered the church late in life, after a somewhat worldly career, was clergyman. He was educated at first at King's College, London, whence he went up to Cambridge. Immediately after graduating he entered the church, and became curate at Eversley, in Hampshire, where, two years later, the living falling vacant, he was promoted to the rectorship, and where the greater part of his life was passed and his greatest activity displayed. His letters during his college years are of a strongly religious cast, though they allude to a period of doubt and temptation from which he had escaped only by hard fighting. This was the time of the famous "Tractarian" movement at Oxford; but Kingsley appears to have stood well out of the current. Mrs. Kingsley prints many letters written to her by her husband during these years, which are those of their engagement. As a correspondence carried on under these circumstances it is very remarkable, and being almost wholly theological and argumentative, does great honor to the elevation of tone of both parties. Though Kingsley was non-Tractarian he could do the Oxford party justice. "So you still like their *tone*! And so do I. There is a solemn and gentleman-like and gentle earnestness which is most beautiful, and which I wish I may ever attain." That aspiration to a "gentleman-like" attitude in spiritual things is a noticeable symptom of the Kingsley who was to become celebrated. He can do justice, too, to quite another style of error. "Do not reject Ward-

* 'Charles Kingsley. His Letters, and Memories of his Life. Edited by his Wife.' London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

law because he was a Presbyterian. The poor man was born so, you know. It is very different from a man's dissenting personally." In these letters there is a strong expression of that enthusiastic sense of man's physical life and that of the world at large which forms Kingsley's real originality. It is in touching upon these matters and describing them that he always seems to us at his best. There is then something of the magical in his tone. He *saw* admirably, though he thought confusedly.

"To-day it is hotter than yesterday, if possible; so I wandered out into the fields and have been passing the morning in a lonely woodland bath—a little stream that trickles off the moor, with the hum of bees and the sleepy song of birds around me, and the feeling of the density of life in myriads of insects and flowers strong upon me, drinking in all the forms of beauty which lie in the leaves and pebbles and mossy nooks of damp tree-roots, and all the lovely intricacies of nature which no one stoops to see. . . . And over all, as the cool water trickled on, hovered the delicious sense of childhood and simplicity and purity and peace." . . . Elsewhere he says: ". . . The body is the temple of the living God. There has always seemed to me something impious in the neglect of personal health, strength, and beauty. . . . I could wish I were an Apollo for His sake. Strange idea, yet it seems so harmonious to me." This feeling is expressed again in one of his later letters: "Dear man, did you ever ride a lame horse and wish that the earth would open and swallow you, though there was not a soul within miles? Or did you ever sit and look at a handsome or well-made man, and thank God from your heart for having allowed you such a privilege and lesson? Oh! there was a butcher's nephew playing cricket in Bramshill last week whom I would have walked ten miles to see, in spite of the hideous English dress. One looked forward with delight to what he would be in the resurrection."

Of those opinions and sympathies which produced 'Alton Locke,' and which were further expressed in many contributions to three or four of the small socialist periodicals generated by the Chartist agitation of 1848 and the years immediately following, and in various tracts and pamphlets, Mrs. Kingsley gives a full and candid account. This period was the high-water mark of Kingsley's liberalism, and there is something very fine in the completeness of his self-surrender to a cause which, though popular in the literal sense of the word, was fatally unpopular in another, and would have seemed quite of a nature to blight, by contact, the future prospects of a clergyman of the Church of England. Kingsley burnt his ships; he threw himself into the Chartist movement in order to check it and regulate it—in order to get near to the working-classes and make himself heard by them. The impulse was generous and disinterested, but from our present standpoint the whole affair wears the look of a small playing at revolution. The Chartists were not real revolutionists, and Charles Kingsley and his friends were not real radicals. There is something patronizing and dilettantish in Mr. Kingsley's relations with his obscure protégés; it is always the tone of the country parson who lives in an ivied rectory with a pretty lawn. Those who have a sense of the dark, subterranean forces of English misery will hardly repress a smile at those letters upon "Giovanni Bellini," "The British Museum," "Beauty and Sympathy," and other refined themes, which, under the signature of "Parson Lot," the author of "Alton Locke" addressed to the working-classes. He relates in one of these letters that once, looking at some beautiful stuffed humming-birds in the window of a curiosity shop, and being overcome with their exquisite grace, he turned and made a remark upon the subject to a coal-heaver standing beside him; and he puts forward this anecdote—the story is told, it must be remembered, to a public of possible coal-heavers—as a proof of the democratic passion. Mr. Kingsley went far, for him, no doubt, and his readers, if they were duly edified, went a good way to meet him. It must be remembered that they were not Parisian Communists, and that the good-will exhibited on either side was of the reasonable British sort, which, if it does not give overmuch, does not ask overmuch either. Mr. Kingsley's momentary radicalism was both kindly and sincere. "I will not be a liar," he writes at this moment to his wife in allusion to certain temporizing counsels. "I will speak in season and out of season. I will not shun to declare the whole counsel of God. I will not take counsel with flesh and blood, and flatter myself into the dream that while every man on earth, from Maurice back to Abel, who ever tried to testify against the world, has been laughed at, misunderstood, slandered, and that, bitterest of all, by the very people he loved best and understood best, I alone am to escape." The amiable and sentimental side of "Christian socialism" is to be spoken of with esteem; but the intellectual side was weak and vague. On the 12th of April, 1848, an address to the workmen of England, written by Charles Kingsley, was posted up in the London streets. It ended with these words, which justify our judgment as to the vagueness: "Workers of England, be wise, and then you *must* be free, for you will be *fit* to be free." The Chartist agitation subsided; but the exact effect of this rather optimistic logic in quelling it history has doubtless not measured.

Mrs. Kingsley says that her husband was for a long time under a cloud, in society and in the church, in consequence of the part he played in these years; and it would perhaps be interesting to trace the process by which he emerged from the shade into the comfortable glow of some of his later preferments—his Professorship at Cambridge (to which he was appointed by selection of the Prince Consort), his Instructorship to the Prince of Wales, his Chaplaincy to the Queen. On the part both of Mr. Kingsley and his biographer a profound admiration for the Prince of Wales is observable—an admiration, as far as Mr. Kingsley is concerned, certainly natural in a thinker who holds, as a passage quoted seems to indicate, that the Prince holds his august position by divine right. Mrs. Kingsley's second volume contains an account of her husband's tour, made shortly before his death, in America, where all his personal impressions appear to have been of the most cordial and genial description. Her work contains, we repeat, much interesting matter, and it explains and characterizes Charles Kingsley even more effectually perhaps than the author intended. He was a man of a great personal—we had almost written of a great physical—force, whose life was mainly practical and extremely useful, and whose activity before the world had several impulsive phases or fits: a fit of Radicalism, a fit of brilliant romance-writing, a fit of ill-starred controversy with Doctor Newman, a fit—the last and longest—of "loyalty" to the throne and the aristocracy.

RECENT NOVELS.*

THOSE who remember the novels they read, and who now have a distasteful impression of some of Mr. Payn's recent writings, will be able to do that author more justice and to think of him more kindly if they will look at his last story, 'Fallen Fortunes.' Here, as elsewhere in his work, the main interest of the reader is the whereabouts of a fortune, which is always a fascinating subject in fiction as in real life. Mr. Dalton loses all his money, and his family at once finds how much pretence there is in all the assurances of affection they had hitherto received. It would be unfair to tell the plot of the story, which is so ingeniously constructed and well managed that even the reader who knows how generous Mr. Payn is with his millions in the last chapter is kept in an unpleasing state of doubt as to whether, after all, the supply may not have given out, so that all the virtuous characters will be left sweeping crossings when the book ends. While the plot is good the drawing of the characters is much better. It is not too much to say that there is hardly an unlife-like person in the story—unlife-like, that is to say, so far (and it is not far) as the people are described at all. Mr. Dalton, for instance, is not only said to be amusing, he is amusing; he makes good jokes and tells good stories and tells them well. His daughter Jenny also shows herself as high-spirited as she is announced to be, so that the reader does not lack for entertainment. Another good character is Mrs. Campden, who is evidently drawn from the life. Her coldness and selfishness, and power of giving offence, are so far beyond the invention of even the most suspicious soul that they bear the earmark of being observed and not imagined. How it has happened that Mr. Payn, after writing so much that was no more than the empty, lifeless shell of a good novel, should have suddenly bloomed into such comparative excellence, it would be hard to say, but now that he has once learned the trick, it is to be hoped he will not forget it.

The only person whom it is easy to imagine reading 'The Adventures of Captain Mago' with any pleasure is M. Jules Verne, who will possibly take comfort from seeing that it is not so easy to imitate him as those who read him may suppose. For M. Jules Verne's combination of magic and modern science we have substituted here some mouldy erudition, and although a factitious interest is added to the story by the ingenious introduction of Homer and King David and the Queen of Sheba, these distinguished persons belie their reputation as much as if a medium had summoned them to a half-lit back parlor in a side street of any of our cities. The book contains an imaginary account of the journey of some Phœnician sailors along the shores of Western Europe to England and beyond, and around the coast of Africa; but school-boys, for whom the book was written, would find too close a resemblance in this novel to their text-books, and grown people surely can hardly derive much pleasure from such pedantic fancies. The talk of all the characters is about as easy and life-like as inscriptions on monuments; and although there may be authority in the classics for every one of the author's statements, there is no authority in any known tongue for such heavy draughts on the reader's patience as he makes.

* 'Fallen Fortunes: A Novel. By James Payn, author of 'Lost Sir Massingberd,' etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

'The Adventures of Captain Mago; or, A Phœnician Expedition, B.C. 1000. By Léon Caban. Illustrated by P. Philippoteaux, and translated from the French by Ellen E. Frewer.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

Mr. E. P. Roe has followed the prevailing fashion in turning his attention to the events of a hundred years ago, and out of his studies and meditations he has composed a novel, 'Near to Nature's Heart,' not claiming for it "the character of [a] beautiful work of art," but hoping that it may be "an incentive to the patient performance of duty in the face of all temptation," for "a man who cannot model a perfect statue may yet erect a lamp-post, and place thereon a light which shall save many a wayfarer from stumbling." As a sermon in disguise, or, more accurately, as a book with a distinctly avowed moral aim, it has its own place assured on the shelves of Sunday-school libraries; as a tract it is a success, as a novel it is anything but that. Theron Saville in the middle of an account of the Revolution is a living anachronism, for he was surely born and bred in this century, and is the offspring of the novel-writers of these latter days; and the heroine, Vera, with her intimate knowledge of Shakspeare, and her habit of talking aloud to herself when fishing, which satisfactorily explains her ill-luck, is vaguely drawn; yet the conflict between these two, who stand as representatives of infidelity and orthodoxy, is clearly described. The minor characters are the most nearly natural, and there is a good deal of humor in their conversations. General Washington, of course, makes his appearance, but there is no humor in the account of him; he always comes forward with the classic composure he wears in his representations on the ordinary three-cent postage-stamp. In 'The Spur of Monmouth,' another story dealing with the same period, that great man receives different treatment. This last-named novel purports to be made up from the traditions gathered from old soldiers of the Revolution by a pension agent on his visits to the surviving veterans, and the awkwardness of the conglomeration of detached scenes lends probability to what might well be part of an author's plan of mystification. The separate chapters are for the most part tolerably life-like, but whether the main plot of the story is true or not must be decided on some more trustworthy authority. Although the novel lacks a coherent form, it gives what it is fair to presume is an accurate impression of the time. Both this book and that by Mr. Roe are at their best when fighting has to be described, and 'The Spur of Monmouth' has no ulterior aim to serve. The battle of Monmouth is told at length by the two writers, and the secular one disputes the tradition which puts a soberly-worded remonstrance into Washington's lips, and insinuates that language of the kind popular among those who fought in Flanders was uttered by Washington on that day when General Lee so disgraced himself. Indeed, the same author goes further, and brings into his work a most extraordinary love-story in which General Washington plays an important part. Both of these novels possess an interest of a subdued sort, and both have an indirect historical value which somewhat atones for literary shortcomings. Their readers and admirers will not care for the prominent faults, and if Lafayette and others seem unreal, they are at least true to the statuesque conception we all form of our famous predecessors. It must be said, however, that Mr. Roe's wilful inattention to literary art is a lamentable thing. He is a clergyman, and has probably more than once expounded to his congregations that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well; why should he not, then, set the example himself? He would doubtless be ashamed to write slipshod sermons to read from his pulpit, and he ought to have even more regard for the larger number of people who read his books, and do his best to weed out artificiality and carelessness from his style. A very good sermon could be preached against just this form of shirking responsibility.

Miss Florence Marryat's measure has been taken long ago by the industrious reader of novels, and there is nothing in 'My Own Child' to demand long consideration or to cause the generally received opinion of her ability to be amended. The story is a tolerably unlikely one, but it is told with a fair amount of enthusiasm. The narrator is a woman who, at the age of fifteen, marries a young man of wealth who has just reached his majority. He soon dies, and her life is devoted to her daughter. An impossible lord appears about fifteen years later and falls in love with her, but, enraged at her rejection of him, turns to the daughter, marries her, and consoles himself by bullying her to death.

'The House at Greylock' is a novel written to show how children should be brought up. This is illustrated by example and by precept. There is a melancholy chapter devoted to Gabrielle's habit of eating between meals—

'Near to Nature's Heart. By Rev. E. P. Roe, author of 'Barriers Buried Away,' 'What Can She Do?' etc.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876.

'The Spur of Monmouth; or, Washington in Arms. A Historical and Centennial Romance of the Revolution, from Personal Relations and Documents never before made public. By an ex-Pension Agent.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

'My Own Child: A Novel. By Florence Marryat, author of 'No Intentions,' etc., etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

'The House at Greylock. By Mrs. E. Prentice, author of 'Stepping Heavenward,' etc., etc.' New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1876.

how it made her head ache, and that produced cullenness, active crossness, and indifference to the well-being of others; another chapter shows how the children of Mr. and Mrs. Thayer were inclined to insubordination and impudence, and how their faults were eradicated. 'Elsie's Motherhood' is another book of the same sort, but its author finds such swift punishment for the wicked little boys—the one who fires the gun wounding his father, and the other, who went against orders on the unsafe bridge, tumbling into the water when half across—that she is enabled to give considerable space to denouncing the Ku-Klux-Klan and the use of tobacco, thus firing pretty high over the heads of children under ten, who are the really important characters in this enlarged tract.

'The Laurel Bush' is very justly called an old-fashioned love-story by its author, Mrs. Craik, for the tale runs on from beginning to end uneventful and placid, somewhat sad but turning out well, and concerning itself with the familiar passion. 'As Long as She Lived,' on the other hand, is a new-fashioned, sensational story, in which the author, Mr. F. W. Robinson, does juggling tricks with the sum of twenty thousand pounds, carried to England by a young lady from Boston. The confusion produced in that country by her conduct forms the basis of the intricate plot of this story; as to the people who are incidentally introduced, they are remarkably alike and remarkably uninteresting.

Life-history of Our Planet. By William D. Gunning. Illustrated by Mary Gunning. (Chicago: W. B. Keen, Cooke & Co. 1876. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 368.)—This treatise ostensibly embodies the topics comprised in the author's scientific lectures as delivered in Chicago and elsewhere on geology, Darwinism, the mound-builders, and sketches of creation. Professing no sympathy with much of that which is called "popular science," and believing that "facts do not enlarge the mind unless they are fertilized by principles," the writer has aimed "to conduct the reader through methods to results. The leading types of life which have possessed the earth from age to age he will find described and delineated. He will find the more significant types reconstructed, part by part, with so little of the phraseology of comparative anatomy that his mind, it is hoped, will traverse the methods and make them its own." The subject is rather an extensive one to deal with in the compass of the present volume, and only a consummate master of the knowledge of the subject-matter, and of literary handicraft as well, could be expected to handle it in an entirely unobjectionable manner. Nevertheless, the writer has certainly condensed a great deal of information in logical sequence, even if not fully digested, in this treatise; so that if we still find it sketchy, not to say fragmentary, we may attribute this to the difficulties inseparable from the treatment of great themes in a small way.

We confess that we hardly understand the author's aversion to "popular" science, unless he means mere statements of fact without deductions; for certainly his own treatise is nothing if not "popular" in the fullest sense. As to the author's reliability in matters of fact and in the general drift of his conclusions, there is abundant evidence that he is "well posted"; we find some of the latest discoveries in palaeontology introduced, and most modern problems in biology fairly set forth—things which argue well for the average trustworthiness of the volume. The author also deserves credit for keeping steadily in view the subordination of mere fact to the principles which it illustrates; it is not every one, even in scientific ranks, who recognizes the littleness of a fact in comparison with the greatness of a truth. Mr. Gunning is an out-and-out Darwinian, lecturing according to the broad statement that "evolution is true and its application universal," and perhaps going to lengths of unqualified assertion to which Darwin might hesitate to commit himself; but Darwin was ever extremely cautious, and habitually set forth every objection to his own theories that he knew of.

The author's style is sufficiently clear and divested as far as possible of technicalities, yet it does not please us altogether. There is a good deal of straining for effect; and, what is worse, a perpetual throwing of the thing at us, as much as to say: "Look! isn't this wonderful now?" There is no occasion, in scientific writing, to startle a reader by affecting the marvellous, for there is nothing more wonderful in the birth of a species than of an individual. Again, when the author, after correctly tracing the descent of the horse from *Orohippus* through *Anchitherium* and *Hipparion*, tells us that in *Equus* "the middle toe is enlarged still more than in *Hipparion*, and the second and fourth, which have been going, going, going,

'Elsie's Motherhood. By Martha Farquharson.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876.

'The Laurel Bush: An Old-Fashioned Love Story. By the author of 'John Halifax, Gentleman,' etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

'As Long as She Lived: A Novel. By F. W. Robinson, author of 'Little Kate Kirby,' 'Second Cousin Sarah,' etc., etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

are gone!" (p. 245) we have a vague feeling of being imposed upon. A part of the author's treatment of solar heat as an active energy is as follows: "And whatever is, whether plant, animal, or man, it is sun-built. In the Orient an Emperor calls him the 'Son of the Sun.' We all sit on the same throne as that claimed by the Oriental. We are all Sons of the Sun. And the bird and the beast, they are Sons of the Sun. And the weed and the worm . . . all, all are Sons of the Sun"; and this "flux of energy" is further indicated as "rolling in rhythm through the geologic æons." We should not mind this much as the peroration of a lecture, but as a piece of scientific writing it is impure.

We have no doubt that many readers, especially those entirely ignorant of the revelations of geology and palæontology, will find this work entertaining as well as instructive, and that the author will secure a larger audience than greeted his lectures, though the treatise is one which no professed student of science will consider indispensable. The page is an open one, in clear type, making easy reading; and the text is illustrated with outline drawings on black ground.

The History and Conquests of the Saracens. Six Lectures delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. Second Edition. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876. 8vo, pp. 203.)—It cannot be denied that this new edition of the 'History of the Saracens' is in some sense a disappointment. That Mr. Freeman, of all people in the world, should, after the expiration of twenty years, find only "very slight changes" to make in a book of this character, is hardly credible; and the excuse that "I really knew more of Eastern history when I wrote it than I do now," will serve only for those portions which were at any rate the least satisfactory. Nobody could desire that he should know more and give more detailed accounts, for example, of "the Talerites, the Soffarides, even the more important Samanides and Dilemites." In truth, in certain of these lectures Mr. Freeman has yielded more completely to his besetting temptation of telling all he knows—of crowding his pages with valueless names and dates—than in any other of his writings. Even a careful reader finds it hard to follow the bewildering succession of Oriental dynasties; and to read off these dreary pages before an audience we must pronounce an abuse of the prerogative of the lecturer. Surely a man of such insight and literary skill as Mr. Freeman could have contrived to sift out a large part of these mere dynastic details, and supply their place with really instructive matter.

The other portions of the book were always good, and they are good now; still we cannot believe that they could not have been made even better after the lapse of twenty years. Mr. Freeman admits that he has kept up his reading "in the case of the life of the prophet himself"; why not then give his readers the benefit of this reading—if only by reprinting in this volume his excellent article upon Mahomet in the *British Quarterly Review*? In that article he expresses some question as to the soundness of the views of Mr. Deutsch upon the connection of Mahometanism and Judaism, contained in an article in the *Quarterly Review*. For all that, he should have given us in this book some of the fruits of that remarkable article. Other points that occur to us as needing greater fulness are the distinctive tenets of the different sects of Islam and the literature and science of the Saracens. We were in hopes, too, to find something upon

that fascinating episode in history—the Saracen occupation of Sicily and Lower Italy.

On the historical character and influence of Mahometanism Mr. Freeman's remarks are just and temperate, even if some of his personal judgments are, as is usual with him, rather violently expressed. The idea that runs through the whole book is that Mahometanism is in its very nature intolerant and incapable of reform; and on this head a particularly good point is made on page 57, that "the temporary and partial reform effected by Islam has proved the surest obstacle to fuller and more permanent reform. A Mahometan nation accepts a certain amount of truth, receives a certain amount of civilization, practises a certain amount of toleration. But all these are so many obstacles to the acceptance of truth, civilization, and toleration in their perfect shape. The Moslem has just enough of all on which to rest and pride himself, and no longer feels his own deficiencies. Bring a tribe of savage heathens within the Mahometan pale and their immediate gain is immeasurable. But then you shut out the hope of still greater gain." The argument is further well illustrated by pointing out (p. 200) the futility of Akbar's great reforms.

We find on page 71 a sentence quite out of keeping with Mr. Freeman's eminently lucid style: "Ali fell by the sword of an assassin, while Moawiyah escaped with his life from that of his confederate; and Hassan, his eldest son, etc." Now, whose life, whose confederate, whose son are referred to here? It would be hard to guess that the first "his" refers to *Moawiyah*, the second to *assassin*, and the third to *Ali*. On page 14 the Magi are called the priests of the Zoroastrian religion. We believe it is now admitted that Herodotus was wrong here, and that the Magi were the priests of the corrupted form of dualism which prevailed among the Medes—the source of the Manichean heresy. (See Lenormant, 'Anc. Hist. of the East,' ii., p. 44.) From the mention of Wales on page 16 it would be inferred that the British nationality had been wholly extirpated in the portions of Britain held by the Romans. We wish the author had given his authority for considering the Sikanians (p. 134) as of the Iberian stock; we have always supposed this name to have been a mere variation of Sikelian. We do not quarrel with the spelling *Mahomet*, but we should have expected that so fiery a champion of *Eadward* and *Sophoklēs* would insist upon what we suppose to be the correct form, *Mohammed*.

In what we have said of the shortcomings of this book we would not be understood to underrate its real value. The lectures which we consider least successful contain at any rate a good, compact statement of a complicated and obscure series of events which we are glad to possess even in this form. If these facts could only have been tabulated, and the volume provided with an index, and perhaps a map or two, they would have been more intelligible.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1877.

The Week.

THE Electoral bill passed the Senate on Thursday morning at seven o'clock, after an all-night session in which the weakness of the opposition was fully developed, by a vote of 47 to 17; 21 Republicans and 26 Democrats voting for, and 16 Republicans and 1 Democrat against it. Of the 16 Republicans 7 were Southerners, and of these almost every one a carpet-bagger. In the House, the bill was passed on Friday by a vote of 191 to 86, 158 Democrats and 33 Republicans voting for it, and 68 Republicans and 18 Democrats voting in the negative. It was signed by the President on Monday, and under its provisions the two Houses have selected as members of the Commission—in the Senate, Messrs. Morton, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, and Bayard; in the House, Messrs. Payne, Hutton, Abbott, Garfield, and Hoar. The counting begins to-day, and the general expectation is that every attempt will be made by the tribunal, to which some if not all of the disputed questions will be almost immediately referred, to decide the case as speedily as possible.

The nomination of the Congressional members of the Electoral Commission, being a caucus matter, was naturally attended with a good deal of heat and acrimony, but the result has been, on the whole, as satisfactory as the country had any reason to expect. Here is at least a picked body in which no one is of mean ability, while several are of very high ability, and eight, if not nine, are moderate and judicial-minded men. They appear to still greater advantage when we reflect that neither Mr. Cox nor Mr. Fernando Wood succeeded in foisting himself upon the Commission. As for Mr. Morton, if he is content to serve on a revolutionary, extra-constitutional tribunal, we do not know that it is anybody else's concern. He will have the singular distinction, should he find himself in the minority, as he probably will, of lending no weight to it, just as he really detracted nothing from the unanimity of the committee whose report he lately refused to sign. His sole function, so far as we can see, is to show, by approving the conclusions of his colleagues, that Congress can have no excuse for refusing to approve them also. While all sections are embraced in the nominations, it is noticeable that neither the West beyond Indiana, nor the South beyond Virginia, is represented. New York, again, has no representative, while Ohio has three—a fact, of course, of no sort of consequence, except that it seems to be assumed in some quarters that a man's judgment on constitutional questions must necessarily be affected by geographical considerations. The Supreme Court has adjourned in favor of more pressing business than its own, and Justices Clifford, Strong, Miller, and Field have chosen Justice Bradley for their associate.

The President's signature was very freely accorded to the Electoral Bill, and he improved the opportunity to accompany it with a brief message giving the measure his unreserved approval. This act completes the break-down of the Republican party as a church, and has cast deep gloom over the *Times* office and the Custom-house, which had hoped in an extremity like this to hold on to the minister, and the church edifice, and the name of the Simon-Pure Republican Congregation, and to be able to dismiss without letters of recommendation, and to damn with charges of infidelity. That the President should himself be found among the moderates is a very natural surprise to them. He is, in fact, conducting himself very much as if the approaching end of office were having a sobering effect upon him, and as if he meant to make the manner of his quitting it atone in some degree for his manner of holding it. For once he seems to be perfectly aware of the force of public sentiment, and to be desirous to respect it thoroughly. He expressly

declares that he will not interfere to decide the Louisiana and South Carolina disputes until the Presidential question is settled. He even allows it to be whispered that he has some doubts about Packard's election.

To the carpet-baggers, and to Chandler and other persons in charge of the canvass, on the Republican side, of course, the settlement is the most exasperating thing that could possibly have happened. In fact, Chandler is entitled to the sympathy of his worst enemies. He has been during the past half-year in charge of the best constructed and most nicely adjusted electioneering machine ever set up in this country. The Chairman of the Committee had a seat in the Cabinet and the use of troops; the President's "mind" was well "poisoned"; the Returning Boards at the South were in good order, and ready for anything; the assessment of office-holders worked beautifully under cover of a platform which vigorously condemned the practice, and all sorts of bad characters were usefully employed in the service of a candidate of spotless reputation, under an ingenious arrangement by which he profited by their activity without incurring any responsibility for their rascality. Moreover, there was at the South just as much intimidation as was needed to get rid of troublesome majorities, and the four members of the Louisiana Returning Board proved on examination to have just the average of high birth and social position needed to give credit to their returns. In fact, two months ago, Chandler seemed the happiest and most fortunate of men; now all is upset. No wonder if he thinks the country is going to the dogs.

Besides the Electoral Bill Congress has accomplished little, though that little has been good. The attempt to get through the Northern and the Texas and Pacific Railroad schemes has apparently broken down, and as so much has been said against Mr. Randall and his suspected interest in everything supported by "Tom" Scott, it is only fair to him to say that these schemes have been defeated by a very proper and independent ruling of his sustaining a point of order, on the introduction of the committee's report on the Northern Pacific bill, to the effect that the bill must, as involving an appropriation, go to the Committee of the Whole. The Texas and Pacific bill was introduced, and referred in the same way. In the case of the latter bill there is a minority report by Mr. Kasson of Iowa, one of the best Republicans in the House, and three Democrats on the committee have refused to support any subsidy whatever. The House has ordered a reference of the President's message on the subject of troops in the South to a select committee of eleven, to report whether there has been any violation of law. The members of the Louisiana Returning Board have been committed for contempt and are now in close confinement in the Capitol, while one of them (Kenner, the bar and billiard-room member) has made some damaging admissions to the investigating committee, which involve fraudulent alteration of the returns, and look as if he were beginning to lose sight of the duty of "supporting Hayes."

Though the fate of the Texas and Pacific Railroad Bill appears to be sealed for this session, we hope it is not too late or too soon to remind Mr. Lamar of the injurious consequences of his advocacy of so scandalous a job. He is by force of his abilities the representative, *par excellence*, of the South in the new order of things, and he is well aware, having survived the Presidential canvass, of the apprehensions of the Northern people in regard to the Southern disposition to engage in wholesale raids upon the Treasury. He knows, also, what disgrace they have visited upon Congressmen from their own section who have been detected in buying or selling votes to procure legislation favorable to speculative railroad enterprises, and into what disfavor the whole system of national subsidies has fallen in consequence. From this system it was not irra-

tional to hope that the best men of the South might do much to protect us permanently, and their doing so would have been one of the strongest guarantees they could have given of the healthiness of the South's return to a share in the conduct of the Government. They, pre-eminently, were able to cut loose from dead issues and purely "moral" politics, and address themselves to the economical and constitutional questions of the day. Mr. Lamar is strangely careless if he overlooks the fact that suspicion of bribery will just as naturally rest on the supporters of a Texas and Pacific as of a Union Pacific job, and that this suspicion, if confirmed in his case, will extend to the entire delegation from the reconstructed South, than which there could hardly be a greater misfortune. The unmercenary traditions of Southern statemen will not save him or them; on the contrary, the poverty of the South caused by the war will make it *à priori* probable that Southern Congressmen are corruptible. We hope, therefore, that he will do nothing to confirm the unfavorable impression already produced by his fathering the Texas and Pacific Bill, but will do all in his power to efface it.

The Committee on Election Frauds in New York has made a report in regard to the alleged tampering with Mr. Hewitt's mail completely exonerating Mr. James and his subordinates from all blame, and finding that there was no tampering with the letters. Another report of public interest is that made by the House Judiciary Committee on the Robeson charges. The committee report unanimously, "That articles of impeachment ought not to be preferred against George M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy, for violations of the law which have occurred in his department, because there is no criminal intent or corrupt motive on his part which would constitute such violations 'high crimes or misdemeanors,' under the meaning of the Constitution." This must be taken as conclusive proof that Mr. Robeson has committed no impeachable offence, and it will be a source of gratification to everybody to know that he has not. The testimony taken by the original investigating committee was so voluminous that it was almost impossible for the public at large to form a correct impression as to its drift. It evidently showed great mismanagement and the prevalence of loose practices, but the question which did not seem easy to dispose of was just that of "criminal intent or corrupt motive" on Mr. Robeson's part. As the Judiciary Committee is above suspicion of a desire to screen Mr. Robeson, their finding must be taken as final, and we may be thankful that we are spared the scandal of a second Belknap exposure. The Colorado case is also settled, the Judiciary Committee's report, made January 3, having been at length called up and Mr. Belford admitted to his seat.

This week, like last week, has been illustrated by a triumph for the friends of good government by the defeat of Logan in Illinois and the election of Judge Davis of the Supreme Court to the Senate in his place. The regular Republican cohorts made a gallant stand for Logan, but the Independents could not be brought over, and he finally withdrew his name, though it is said with the expectation of being brought up again after a few days of disorder, the Republicans substituting for him an excellent man, Judge Lawrence, whom the Grangers drove from the bench. He did not get hearty support from the Loganites, however, who still pined for the great financier, and one of the "breaks" finally brought in Judge Davis. It is to be hoped that this is the last we shall see of Logan in public life, though if Mr. Hayes is elected and follows the regular programme, both he and Boutwell will be provided for somehow. Logan would probably prefer a foreign mission at some court where he could pursue his studies peacefully. If the broom could now only be made to reach Morton, we should have got rid, so far as the North is concerned, of the ignorant, brutal, scheming and fanatical element injected into the Senate by the war, and which has proved the source of so much corruption and disgrace, and has been so barbarizing in its effects on legislation. Logan's proper position is really that of a sergeant in the regular army; Morton ought to have a large criminal practice at the bar.

Judge Davis will be in every way a gain to the Senate without reference to the ridiculous person whom he succeeds. He is, of course, a lawyer of high standing and character, and he has—what in these times is of importance—a large fortune. But then it must be said that something is also gained by having him leave the Supreme Court. Ever since he went on the bench he has had one eye turned towards politics, and at every Presidential election he has been talked of or urged as a candidate by some party or sect—a process which could not have gone on without his knowledge or sanction. The mischief of any judge's occupying such a position has, of course, always been very plain; but the reference of the present Presidential dispute to members of the Supreme Court emphasizes it in a remarkable degree. In fact, when any attempt is made to provide regular machinery for the decision of these disputes by Constitutional Amendment, we trust a serious effort will be made to insert a provision making every man who takes a place on the Supreme Bench ineligible ever after for any political office, or, at all events, for four years after his resignation. Allowing the judges to canvass or intrigue for the Presidency, and for Senatorship and other elective offices, goes far to neutralize the provisions made for their independence in the life tenure and the prohibition of any reduction in their salaries during their continuance on the bench.

Mr. Hill was elected Senator from Georgia on Friday, after an exciting contest, which in some respects was curiously like a repetition of the struggle that preceded the State's secession from the Union. At that time Mr. Hill was an active Union man, and tried to prevent the State from seceding. He was opposed then by the extreme Democrats, and failed. The State seceded, he became a strong rebel, and so remained till the end of the war. Since the peace he has returned to his former conservative views, and has found himself in Georgia politics pitted against the same politicians who, sixteen years ago, as Breckinridge Democrats, beat him on the secession question. His success now is undoubtedly a triumph of the spirit of moderation, and he will go to the Senate as the representative of the best influences at work in the New South. The great blot on his reputation was his advocacy of barbarous retaliatory measures during the war; fortunately, in the career he has now before him, there will be no opportunity for the display of such passions as civil war often breeds even in men originally humane and moderate. Mr. Blaine, who last year denounced Mr. Hill as an aider and abettor of murder, was one of the first to congratulate him on his election to the Senate, thus giving the finishing touch of burlesque to the great "bloody shirt" campaign of the Centennial year.

The week has been eventful in Wall Street. The Secretary of the Treasury, at the request of the Syndicate, issued a notice that the interest on \$10,000,000 more 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds, known as old 65's, will cease April 24, when the bonds will be redeemed. This notice implies that the Syndicate have sold, or have a market for, \$10,000,000 more of the new 4½ per cent. bonds; they had before marketed \$60,000,000 of these bonds. Partly as the result of this notice of redemption, but more because of utterances of the President to the effect that the remaining \$240,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds can and will be sold as rapidly as they can be handled, and that specie payments can be resumed, in his opinion, twenty-eight days hence (on the first of March), the price of gold, expressed in paper currency, fell to 105½. The President, if correctly reported by the daily press, has been "loaded" on the subject of specie payments in a way which has left him very much confused, and it is feared that he has been made the victim of a practical joke. After the decline in gold, the depression in the securities of the most heavily embarrassed coal railroads was the chief incident. New Jersey Central stock fell 9 per cent., and there was a decline in the bonds of 3 to 10 per cent. Philadelphia and Reading Railroad securities also declined, the shares falling less than the bonds. This depression grew out of the low

prices obtained during the week at the auction sales of coal, which fell below those current immediately after the breaking up of the coal combination last August; but in the case of the two companies named the depression was intensified by the belief that they are essentially unsound, and would have to be turned over to their creditors even if the outlook for the coal trade were not as gloomy as it is. The New York banks continue to gain in reserve, and their surplus is now \$24,780,000, or between \$9,000,000 and \$10,000,000 more than last year or the year before. The banks have now between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000 more legal-tender notes than they have specie. At the close of the week, in which the price of silver changed but little, the gold value of the trade-dollar was \$0.9765; the gold value of a 412½-grain dollar would have been \$0.9590. The gold value of a United States legal-tender note for one dollar ranged during the week between \$0.940 and \$0.9478.

The diplomatists have all gone home from Constantinople, leaving Turkey and Russia face to face, and there are plenty of signs that neither is quite ready nor the situation agreeable. Russia, however, has every reason to be satisfied with the result of the Conference. She has got the rest of Europe to concur with her in pronouncing certain reforms in Turkey so necessary as to warrant foreign pressure on the Porte to bring them about, and she has supplied the world with positive proof that Turkey will not give any pledge of future good behavior sufficient to efface the memory of her past falseness to her engagements. Russia has, moreover, got through three months of preparation, and is three months nearer the season of possible operations without loss of credit, and the probabilities are that all through the negotiations she had a most serviceable confidence that Turkey would yield nothing. The Conference has broken up a little too soon for her purpose, as it leaves Servia at the mercy of the Turks, who could now without difficulty march into Belgrade. But of this embarrassment, nevertheless, she is likely to be delivered by the moderation of Midhat Pasha, who seems ready to concede on paper anything which is not the general result of foreign interference. He has made overtures of a very conciliatory character for a separate peace to Servia and Montenegro, which Servia, at least, will probably accept, as it will save her from present devastation, and will not prevent her being forced into war again in the spring by Russia. The elections for the new Turkish Parliament are also going on, and the announcement is made that when it meets, the bondholders will get their full interest, which must console them for the non-receipt of the promised half-interest during the past year. In fact, it is safe to say that Turkey will present, during the next two or three months, a scene of "reform within the party" such as has never before been witnessed in ancient or modern times.

No incident of the Turco-Russian difficulty is more curious than the change in the relation of Greece to Russia. From the time of the Greek insurrection down to the Crimean war Greece was the pet protégé of the Czar, and looked to Russia as the source of all good things, the bond at that time being a religious one. Within the last ten years, however, the growth of the Pan-Slavic movement, and the substitution of race for religion as the tie between Russia and the Turkish Christians, has thrown the Greeks off completely. They now rather sympathize with the Turks as against the Russians, and if they fight at all want to fight in alliance with England. They want, in short, to play some part in the pending trouble, and though their army, which is a very poor one, only numbers 12,000 men, the Parliament has been passing some very warlike acts—one providing for a levy of 200,000 men; another for an increase of taxes of about \$600,000, and the raising of a loan of \$10,000,000, "based," as the inflationists say, on this fund, and another of \$2,000,000 based on the custom duties of Zante, all for military purposes, but mainly for fire-ships and torpedoes. There is, however, no probability that these formidable preparations will ever be really made. Greece,

like greater Powers, will have to wait and see what will happen when the Turks and Russians have had a campaign or two.

The French Protestant Church, which has been for some years struggling in the disorders of dissensions between the Liberal and Orthodox wings (the former failing thus far to secure any recognition from the state, which supplies the needed funds), is about to try a scheme of reconciliation at the Synod to be held next month. The elections to the presbyterial councils and consistories are held every third year, and ought to have occurred at the close of 1876, but M. Dufaure, just before going out of office, issued a decree postponing them for one month, in order to give the conflicting parties more time for the discussion of plans of agreement; and the electoral register, containing the list of those qualified to vote at the elections, only closes on the 31st inst. The question of the qualifications of the voters, of course, brings up all the points in dispute between the two parties. The Orthodox requirements as to the laity were not severe—simply recognition of the authority of the existing government of the Church, and acceptance of the Old and New Testaments as Divine revelation. But the clergy were required to give in their adhesion to the Apostles' Creed and other more definite tests, and to this the Liberals would not submit. The Orthodox now propose a compromise by which the Church standards are simply to be read over to the candidate for ordination, and he is to be called on, not to accept them, but to promise not to attack them, and even this arrangement each consistory will be at liberty to apply in the way which seems likely to meet its special needs. The compromise will strike people here as having a strong caucus flavor, and to be a somewhat paltry one for religious men to enter into. If the French Church had no pecuniary connection with the state it would probably never have been thought of. But as long as the Government insists on union as a condition of subsidy, the Liberals have either to treat or die, for we presume there is not enough life in their movement to keep up a denominational existence without state aid. The plight is, however, a somewhat pitiful one for the descendants of the Huguenots.

The Swiss are so alarmed by the condition of their watch industry that it has assumed the position of the great social and political question of the day. The Government of the Canton of Berne last March offered prizes for the best essays on the questions, "What are the causes of and best remedy for the watch crisis?" and "What are the auxiliary trades which it would be most desirable to introduce, and the best means of introducing them?" Eleven essays have been sent in, and these and the lectures of M. Favre-Perret, extracts from which have been published in this country, have thrown much light on the whole subject. The labor of making a watch by hand in Switzerland is divided among 160 persons, so that anybody can learn a branch of it in a few weeks. An enormous number of persons have accordingly gone into it, and it was overdone and the quality of the watches greatly lowered before the market began to fail here and elsewhere. In 1872 the United States took 366,000 Swiss watches. In 1876, owing to the progress of the American manufacture, the American import had fallen to 75,000. Moreover, while the Swiss workman produces only forty watches a year the American produces one hundred and fifty, and the American watches have entered into competition in the European market, Great Britain having last year taken 30,000 of them. In France, too, a rival manufacture has sprung up at Besançon, which in 1875 turned out 420,000 watches. The only remedy for this state of things suggested by the best judges is the introduction of machinery and the manufacture of watches on the American plan, but the watchmakers think they can get out of the scrape by providing for longer apprenticeships, and taking other means to improve the manufacture by establishing more foreign agencies for the sale of watches, and trying to obtain a reduction of the duties imposed by foreign states on the Swiss watches. The subsidiary industries recommended by the essayists are the manufacture of clocks and box chronometers, furniture and arms.

SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS TO THE SETTLEMENT.

WE do not think we exaggerate in saying that nothing which has occurred in Washington since the foundation of the Government has exhibited so much political wisdom of the highest order and individual good sense and sober-mindedness as the report of the Joint Committee and the action on it of the two Houses of Congress. We cannot look into the history of the war for anything to match it; for every war, the best as well as the worst, owes its successful result fully as much to blind zeal as to patriotic foresight and self-abnegation, and, when it is all over, which has most contributed to the victory must remain an unsettled question. The arrangement of the present controversy has, however, been a plain triumph of reasonableness and public spirit over fierce passions, selfish interests, and low ambition, and has revealed a power of meeting emergencies in a peaceful way which ought, on any sound view of the condition of public credit, to do more to strengthen that of the United States than even the fortunate close of the Rebellion. That such men as composed the Joint Committee, fresh from a most exciting struggle for the possession of the highest prize in the state, should have been able to reach in a few weeks an all but complete agreement on a plan of adjustment, will make their report perhaps, after the Constitution itself, the most remarkable document in American history. This may sound extravagant to those who have not seriously reflected on all the dangers, prospective as well as present, of the crisis through which we have just passed, but it will not seem so to those who consider how certain the recurrence of such crises was if this one had not been successfully dealt with, and how rapidly their recurrence would have either brought Presidential elections to an end or converted them into a farce.

The merits of the scheme have been so fully expounded in the speeches of Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, and Hoar (Mr. Conkling here making his first appearance as a politician of the highest class), and the legal and political objections to it so fully disposed of, and these speeches have secured so wide a reading, that there is now little left for the press to say about it. But there are one or two points on which it was not proper, and indeed would have been mischievous, to touch in debate, which are nevertheless worth the attention of the intelligent voter, if for nothing else, for purposes of instruction. It will be noticed that the opposition to the scheme comes almost exclusively from the extreme Republicans and office-holders, who have been trying to revive and perpetuate the memories of the war, and who, during the late canvass, were representing to the world that this was a Mexican Government, which could only be preserved by keeping one party in power. Long tenure of power had so convinced these men that they were a necessity to the state that they not only had no scruple in suddenly abandoning the doctrine that Congress had the counting authority, when it no longer served their purpose to maintain it, but, finding themselves engaged in a dispute with one-half the people as to the proper mode of counting, they had no hesitation in proposing to carry out, by the use of the public force, their new plan of having it done by a Republican partisan.

What is perhaps more surprising than this, however, and a still stronger illustration of their demoralization, is the profound conviction they all express that there are no men left in America capable of divesting themselves of party prejudices and deciding impartially in a controversy of this nature. No such men, it appears, can be found in Congress, none in the Supreme Court, and of course none elsewhere. Neither character, nor fortune, nor position, nor an oath affords in their eyes any guarantee whatever that an American will act justly in a judicial capacity on any matter relating to the Presidency. So that the proposed tribunal is sure to be corrupt. The Congressional part of it will do their best to get their own men into power without any regard to the law or the evidence, and the judges of the Supreme Court will be only too glad to sell themselves for a few offices for their sons, sons-in-law, and

nephews. Such are the fruits of American religion, morality, and jurisprudence in the hundredth year of the national existence. The only escape from this great national humiliation is, it appears, to let Secretary Chandler and Cameron and Morton and Blaine and Logan and a few other choice spirits arrange the whole matter to suit themselves. They would not settle it judicially perhaps, but it appears that to have anything relating to politics in the United States settled judicially we must have recourse to angels. If angels cannot be got to serve, we must give it up and relegate the matter to red-hot partisans.

Not only do these men think meanly of the American character, however, but they appear to have ceased to understand the mechanism of constitutional government. One of the arguments which has been used against permitting the President of the Senate to count the votes, and decide what votes he should count, has been the very cogent one that it would be improper to submit a question of such importance to one man. Whereupon they replied promptly that in submitting it to a commission of fifteen you virtually agree to leave it to one man—that is, the man who in case of an equal division would have the casting vote. This point has actually been put in the forefront of the controversy by the *Times* and other organs with a truly South-American unconsciousness of its real nature. The thing would doubtless wear that look at Vera Cruz or Oajaca, but here, where people are familiar with the forms and usages of constitutional government, the expedient is thoroughly understood. The objections to Mr. Ferry's counting the votes judicially are (1) that none of his predecessors has ever done so in the face of an objection from either House; (2) that he is the creature of one of the Houses, and of one of the parties to the present controversy, and therefore presumably not impartial; and (3) that as a member of one of the parties to the controversy his deciding it, even if usage was on his side, would, in the present case, be a violation of a fundamental rule of law and morals. The objection to him as "one man" is not that he is only "one man," for if both sides agreed to leave the settlement of the dispute to "one man," that man would be perfectly competent to decide it. It might be decided in any way that both sides agreed on—by the neighing of a horse, for instance, or the toss of a penny. The essential thing in the decision is the agreement of the parties to be bound by it, and not the process by which the decision is reached. The fatal objection to the President of the Senate, therefore, as a judge, is that he is not "the one man" by whose judgment both parties are or ever were willing to abide. So that nothing that those who object to him have said would estop them from referring the matter to any other "one man" in the country.

But they have not left it to one man either directly or indirectly. In referring it to the Commission, they refer it to the judgment of any eight of a designated fifteen. The number of the tribunal is odd, in order to guard against the contingency of a tie. In all Anglo-Saxon countries a tie is considered an obstacle or a danger, and in making up administrative and judicial bodies containing more than one member, means are usually taken to avoid it by making the whole number an odd one. The judgment of the body is then always the judgment of the majority, whether that majority be made by the addition of one, or ten, or one thousand, and the majority, however small, is always allowed to decide, for a reason which has been familiar to the world since the days of Aristotle; that is, not because the majority is surely wiser than the minority, but because by laying down the rule that the majority decides, contentions get settled—and settlement of some kind is, in nearly all affairs of life, of more importance than any particular kind of settlement. No rational people have ever deliberately arranged tribunals so as to have a deadlock, or have ever attached any sanctity or importance to a tie. Whichever way the Commission just organized may decide, its judgment will be the judgment of eight men of character and standing. The suggestion that the eighth man will exercise the power which Mr. Ferry acting alone would have exercised, or will occupy the same position towards the litigants, is, therefore, pardonable in persons who are only familiar with the decision of a

troversies by the knife and under the influence of *aguardiente*, because the fifteenth man, arriving fresh in a melee of this kind, might, by a well-aimed thrust, fairly appropriate the honors of the day and become the surviving member of the court. But it is hardly pardonable in this country and at this period, where the use of odd numbers to avoid deadlocks in deliberative and judicial bodies is one of the oldest of legal devices.

Another of the peculiarities of the same school of politicians revealed in the present controversy is their contempt for the commercial interests of the community when they stand in the way of their own partisan schemes, a failing which is strongly shared by Escobedo, Iglesias, and Diaz. The scornful bitterness with which they now refer to the influence which "commerce" has in bringing about the present settlement is, in reality, the product of a theory which has been gaining strength among them for many years—that the end of government is not to provide the industrious producers with order, security, and tranquillity, but to supply offices for distribution among "rotating" workers, and that the main use of citizens is to make up the majorities and minorities necessary to decide the disposition of the stakes in the political game. To the active politician, in fact, the chief end of business-men is to contribute to campaign funds, to "uprise" about the close of a canvass, and to attend meetings during its progress. The whole state is, in short, to him a vast apparatus for carrying on elections, satisfying claims, supplying estimates of votes, and keeping up the interest in the working of the machine. His contempt just now for the eagerness of honest merchants and manufacturers to have this wretched controversy ended, is expressed in terms very like those in which a party of Prussian cavalry officers would express their disgust at the protest of the Berlin burghers or professors against war.

THE ETIQUETTE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS.

THE attempts of the Democrats in the House to examine the manner in which Mr. Chandler conducted the campaign on the Republican side naturally have led to corresponding efforts on the part of the Republicans, and finally resulted in a magnanimous proposal on the part of the Democrats not to look into political telegrams, as soon as the company had agreed to produce them, on the ground that the right to call for them having been vindicated, the enquiry had no further interest. It is not unnatural, under these circumstances, for the Republicans to assume that whatever is discreditable in Chandler's despatches would have been matched by something discreditable in those of Hewitt or Pelton; but with this difference, that Tilden having assumed the personal control of his canvass, anything wrong in the mode of conducting it came home to the Democratic candidate with a point and responsibility to which the Republican candidate was in no way exposed. There were some signs of horror on the part of the Republicans over Pelton's sending \$8,000 to Oregon, even though it came back untouched; but we imagine this has declined or disappeared under the discovery that Chandler sent about \$6,000 to Louisiana which apparently did not come back untouched. In fact, we do not think it would improve the national reputation to look too narrowly into the operations of the "workers" of either party.

But the fact that Democratic naughtiness touches Tilden personally in a way that Republican naughtiness does not touch Hayes, has called forth renewed comment on what may be called the etiquette of the canvass. This etiquette requires that the candidate shall rigidly abstain from any open efforts to promote his own election, and, indeed, from all discoverable complicity in such efforts on the part of others. Rigid propriety, or, at all events, sound discretion, seems even to require that he shall preserve complete silence during the canvass on all the topics of the day, and the summit of dignity and decorum is only reached by a display of apparent ignorance that any canvass is going on, or if going on that he (the candidate) has any particular connection with it. In fact, nothing makes party newspapers and

managers chuckle so gleefully as the failure of attempts to betray their "standard-bearer" into recognition of the fact that anybody proposes to vote for him for the Presidency, or that he has any opinion whatever on the topics which his fellow-citizens are all eagerly discussing.

This code Mr. Tilden has rudely violated—not by his management of the Convention at St. Louis, for it seems to be well settled that a man may prepare or seek his nomination as openly as he pleases, provided he does not appear in person on the floor of the Convention—but by taking charge of the canvass which followed, in the establishment of an elaborate system of correspondence and journalism, the operations of which he may be said to have all but directly superintended, and by making himself felt in one way or another almost without disguise in every important movement of the attack on the Republican position. He, in fact, commanded his own forces throughout. He did not speak in public, but he conversed freely in private on election topics, and directed the tactics of the men who did speak.

Mr. Hayes, on the other hand, lived up to the strictest requirements of the code. As soon as he had accepted his nomination he retired into the innermost recesses of the conventional privacy. He cautiously avoided showing his hand in the canvass in any way. No ingenuity of interviewers was sufficient to extract from him any expressions of opinion on any topic having the remotest bearing on the Presidential contest. He recognized nothing, ignored nothing, and neither authorized nor repudiated anybody. According to the newspaper accounts he would hardly go further in political discussion than to accede to the proposition that ours was a republican form of government, and that this was the hundredth year of the national existence.

Now, Tilden's course has called down upon him severe censure, and this from persons who had no particular fault to find with the things that were done under his supervision. What they condemned was his laboring to get himself the Presidency by personal participation in the work of the canvass. In like manner Hayes's course has met with the approval not only of his own supporters but of the bulk of the more moderate Democrats. It must be confessed by all who care for the dignity of the Presidential office, and for its essential respectability, that it is desirable it should not be reached by candidates hot from the fray, breathless and weary with the boastings and defiance of the stump, covered over with the mud of recrimination, and ridiculous with "interviews," explanations, and proclamations. The popular demand for reticence and retirement on the part of the aspirant to this high prize has its foundations in utility no less than in decency. The etiquette of the canvass does, like the etiquette of private life, protect things which have an intrinsic value. But after conceding all this, it must be admitted that, in public as in private life, etiquette may be pushed too far and decorum may become too rigid. We may, in this matter of secluding our candidates, readily go so far as to sacrifice the substance to the form, the thing signified to the sign. We confess that if there were no danger that the practice would go further, and become marked as it went on by greater unscrupulousness and indecency, we should be inclined in the present state of politics to prefer Tilden's course to Hayes's. It has, for one thing, the immense advantage of fixing responsibility on somebody who will feel it, and either gain or suffer by it. If anything wrong has been done in the Democratic canvass, we know that Tilden is to blame for it. We cannot shuffle off the accountability on some one else or plead ignorance. The world knows that no important step was taken, no new issue raised, without his sanction or contrivance, and thus gets a measure of his policy and principles which is of no small value to anybody who is hesitating how to vote. In fact, the management of the canvass by the candidate in person is simply an adaptation to the Presidential conflict of the self-nomination and personal participation in the canvass of candidates for the legislature which have always prevailed in the South and in England, and the absence of which at the North many speculative reformers are disposed to look on as a serious evil. What with the selection of the candidate by a

caucus, and the candidate's own shrinking modesty and high sense of decorum, members are with us constantly imposed on constituencies who are totally ignorant of their character and capacity and opinions—indeed of almost everything but their names. If such men were compelled by custom to direct the operations of their supporters on the stump, or present themselves for examination on the questions of the day by the voters, many a pretender would be so fully exposed before he reached the polls that his election would be impossible, and many an improper nomination by the convention would be prevented by the dread of this ordeal, for which the ordinary letter of acceptance with its cloud of vague phrases is no substitute. What floods of light, for instance, might have been thrown on the problems by which the public mind was perplexed last summer, if it had been possible for an intelligent voter to interrogate Tilden and Hayes for an hour or even half an hour before an intelligent audience, or if both of them had been compelled to expound openly their views of public policy, not in the carefully weighed language of one letter, but once or twice a week, in terms searched in every corner by reasonable and patriotic curiosity.

THE DEBATE ON THE SETTLEMENT.

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1877.

THE essential difference between a debate in the Senate and a debate in the House lies in the fact that one is a debate and the other is not. The reasons generally given for this are physical: that the Senate chamber is a smaller room, that a man possessed of ordinary lungs can make himself heard by everybody in it, and that there are a much smaller number of persons in it, and consequently no continual din and clatter like that of the House, which is so great as to permit conversation of the most unrestrained kind among persons immediately behind the seats—conversation and laughter which, loud enough in itself, is lost in the general confusion of noises which drowns the members' speeches, and even the Speaker's rulings. But no one could listen to the debate on the Electoral Bill which ended day before yesterday without feeling that the advantage the Senate has over the House in debate arises to a great extent from moral causes. The speeches that were made by Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, Thurman, and Bayard were made not simply to the country and for the sake of their reputations, but to change votes; and that they did change votes was evident to anybody who watched the proceedings, and may be mathematically proved by comparing the result in the Senate with that in the House. In the former, numbers of respectable Republicans and Democrats were driven by the sheer strength of the position the advocates of the bill took into voting for it; in the House, there was a much nearer approach in the vote to party lines—two-thirds of the Republicans voting against the settlement, and all the Democrats but eighteen voting for it. The non-existence of the peculiar machinery of the "previous question" in the Senate is also no doubt one reason why there has been so much reality in the debates of this exciting week. The manager of the debate—in this case Mr. Edmunds—not having any brute voting force which he can bring into play at any moment to stop discussion and pass his measure, is compelled to rely on superiority of argument, and to go into the merits of the case; and all those who engage in the debate must, if there is any hope of reaching any conclusion at all, try to convince one another. Besides this, you have a long tenure of office, and its inevitable result of a sense of superiority to sudden gusts of public feeling, and of independence. The upshot of the whole is that, by a curious inversion, the body at Washington which keeps alive all the best Anglo-Saxon parliamentary traditions is not the popular branch of Congress, but the upper house, theoretically supposed to represent the anti-popular and conservative, and what in other countries would be called the aristocratic, tendencies of the Government.

Partly on this account the real interest of the week centred in the Senate; the part played by the House on Friday was mainly spectacular. Every one knew beforehand that the bill would be passed; knew at what hour and by whom the previous question would be moved; knew that the mover of it would have an hour to "close the debate," which, instead of being used for that purpose, would be distributed among certain well-known politicians, who would thus get their five-minute speeches into the *Record* and into the press, and so back to their constituents. In the House, with two or three exceptions, all the speeches were addressed directly to posterity and the galleries, and what with the machinery of the previous question, and the

buncombe of most of the speeches, and the extreme hollowness of the whole thing from a practical point of view, a curious spectator could hardly avoid some of those speculations as to "institutions" which are now and then forced upon one's mind in witnessing the proceedings of a "primary" or of a convention—whether, even in the glare and daylight of the nineteenth century, causes may not be at work which are slowly changing our inherited institutions, and, while leaving their external forms unaffected, are so altering their substance that we may awaken some fine day, as other less happy countries have done, to find that the institutions themselves had ceased to exist. However this may be, it is quite safe to assume that the speech of Mr. D. D. Field did not influence the mind of Mr. Proctor Knott, nor that of Mr. Knott affect the vote of Mr. Field; and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same thing may be said of every one of the distinguished representatives who spoke for or against the bill, from the Hon. Ben Hill of Georgia (who certainly made a very excellent speech) down to Mr. Martin I. Townsend of New York, who exposed the absurdity of Congress being influenced in the decision of a Presidential contest by petitions from merchants and bankers by a neat reference to the treatment the same classes got from the Founder of the Christian religion when he drove them out of the temple with a scourge of small cords. It should be said also, in comparing the vote of the Senate with that of the House, that a good many astute politicians voted without any regard to the merits of the bill, for the sake of their "records," in this way: Several Democrats, knowing the bill would pass, voted against it, calculating, first, that it would, in all human probability, bring in Tilden; second, that their devotion to the Democratic candidate was already known, so that their chances of favor from the incoming administration would not be affected by their voting against a "compromise"; and, third, that as there was a bare chance that Hayes might come in, it would be better in that case to have voted against the bill and to have gone upon the record as staunch and true men than to have supported a measure which had brought in the Republican candidate. In the same way several Republicans voted against the bill, arguing that, in all human probability, Tilden would come in under it; that, in that case, while they could expect nothing from him, they could obtain glory and power in their own party by "pointing with pride" to the vote they had cast against the unconstitutional and disastrous compromise by which Messrs. Edmunds and Conkling had betrayed their party; on the other hand, should Hayes come in, their party standing would not be affected by the fact that they had voted against a measure which was a sacrifice of an "absolutely secure position," backed up by the army and navy.

The Senate debate gave an excellent opportunity of seeing the best men and the strongest men of both parties in action, and in characteristic action. In almost every case the general traits attributed to the more noted men by the "venal and licentious press" showed themselves at times to a degree almost comical. For theatrical effect nothing could have been better than the juxtaposition of the two great "conspirators," Morton and Sherman. Their seats are next each other, and as they got little aid or support except from one another (most of their supporters being extremely silent men, who were ready to act on Lord Mansfield's advice to persons about to assume "judicial functions," and to vote against the bill, but not to tell why), the effect they produced, with their hopeless attempts at argument followed by whispered consultations and renewed assaults, breathing defiance and slaughter, was that of being conspirators of the same sort as those in *Madame l'Archiduc*, who, by a number of felonious and treasonable acts, so endear themselves to the sovereign that they are all rewarded with cabinet offices. Neither Morton nor Sherman has ever been used as material for caricature as both might be. The caricature type of one (I am speaking of externals only) is that of the intriguing, tricky conspirator, while the type of the other is that of the bold, bad man, a compound of the ogre, the wicked uncle, and the first murderer, who brushes aside scruples and goes direct to his point by brute force. Their principal antagonist, Mr. Edmunds, to whose tact and sense the heavy majority for the bill was due quite as much as it was to Mr. Conkling's "great forensic effort," has a slow, dignified manner which contrasted with the excited partisanship of Messrs. Morton and Sherman in such a way as to produce the effect of a judge giving a *quies* to two very obstreperous lawyers who had, and knew they had, no case. Two or three things occurred during the debate which were almost too good to be true, and which on the floor of the Senate were more noticeable than they are in the printed record of the proceedings. One was when Mr. Sherman, who was contending stoutly for the right of the President of the Senate to count the vote, was, by an ingenious question, surprised into admitting that the two Houses had "more or less" to do with the count, an abandonment of his whole position, which, it is only fair to say, he immediately passed by

as of no consequence, but which, nevertheless, affected other people's minds seriously. Another was when the attempt was made late Wednesday night to defeat the bill by an adjournment, on account of Mr. Morton's indisposition. The Senator from Indiana, it appeared, was so ill or exhausted that he could not do the subject justice (though, as a matter of fact, he had said already pretty much all he had to say), and, therefore, begged the Senate to adjourn as a matter of courtesy. But the Senate refused, upon which Mr. Morton made a long speech with great vigor, giving every sign of being in as good health as anybody present. Another was the pitiful plight into which Mr. Dawes got himself by attempting to object to the unlimited jurisdiction of the tribunal, and in which he was treated with great contumely by his colleagues, and so intimidated that, as a matter of extreme Republican principle, his vote for the bill certainly ought to be counted against it or thrown out altogether.

The great event of the Senate of late was, of course, Mr. Conkling's speech. There was a great flutter in the galleries when he arose, and, though he spoke for several hours altogether, he was listened to with close attention, all his hits were applauded, and altogether his speech was a great success. The substance of it was, it is unnecessary to say, a review of the law of the electoral count, and, so far as law was concerned, it was a thorough presentation of the committee's view of the matter. As to the oratory, as it will undoubtedly become, one of these days, a curious historical question whether Mr. Conkling was a great orator or no orator at all, it may not be out of place to say that there are three different opinions on the subject among those who have heard him. First, there are those who consider him one of the greatest orators the Senate has ever seen; second, those who think that he is a great orator when he is on their side, and a poor speaker when he is opposed to them; and third, those who think that he is what Carlyle would call a wind-bag. I confess that, after listening attentively to him for several hours, I cannot wholly agree with any one of these parties. Mr. Conkling belongs to a school which regards oratory as an art wholly apart from the matter to which it relates, and which carries its belief as far as a certain school in painting, which regards with moral reprobation any attempt to establish a relation between art and morality. It is fair to call it a school, for its beliefs are peculiar to this country, being made part of the education of every American boy; and when we think of the thoroughness with which the doctrines peculiar to it have been disseminated, it is not unfair to say that one of the main functions of the educational system of the country is to teach every American boy that he can "speak a piece," and speak it well, without being able at all to appreciate the sentiments or ideas which he utters. The inevitable result of this is to dissociate the whole manner of oratory from the matter. Every one learning the appropriate manner of saying things before he has anything to say is prevented, *ipso facto*, from acquiring the chief charm of great orators, naturalness, and a close dependence of the delivery, tone of voice, and gestures upon the motive force of thought or feeling which suggests them. Mr. Conkling was educated in this school, and he speaks his "pieces" very much as the school orator speaks his. His real power consists in a knack of sharp repartee of an elementary kind, addressed chiefly to the galleries, and which works very well with subjects like Mr. Dawes, but would probably produce no effect on hard-headed men like Thurman or Edmunds.

If there is any proper connection between the subject of a speech and the manner of its delivery Mr. Conkling's ought to have been calm and judicial, whereas it was in reality excited and violent, or, perhaps more accurately, frenzied. Besides this, there was the inherent defect of an excessive mastery of anti-climax and bathos, which is more marked to any one who hears him speak than to the reader of his remarks in print. The following sentences, in which he referred to the consideration of the constitutional provision as to the count by the Convention and its Committee on Style, delivered in an impassioned and exalted manner, illustrate this:

"At length the provision was referred to the Committee on Style, and, in passing, I beg leave to enquire for what purpose? To change the meaning of those who, by little accretions of concurrence, had led up, step by step, with patience and with care, the various branches of this great fabric, which was to tower so high and last so long? Was the purpose of the Committee on Style and its reference, I ask, to change the meaning and essence as it had been agreed to? Oh! no; but to define it more sharply, to project it more distinctly before the minds of those who, in a far thereafter, would appeal to this instrument as their chart and compass."

This mode of discussing the question could not but suggest the orator in Dickens who arrives at a substantive knowledge of the nature of Truth by subtle enquiry into the probable truthfulness or falsity of a number of patent and self-evident lies.

One of Mr. Conkling's greatest hits was the passage in which he referred to a possible condition of things as a "political Hell Gate, paved and honey-combed with dynamite"—a figure which staggers the imagination and reason as well. Another curious feature of Mr. Conkling's oratory is his persistent and elaborate courtesy in his most frenzied moments. It affords a curious illustration of the strength of professional habit to see a man, apparently carried away by a whirlwind of passion, suddenly pause in his mad career and compliment some interrupting Senator in the most flowery language before replying to him. For some reason or other there was usually a singular opposition between the feeling expressed in the compliment and that which seemed to dictate the reply. If, for example, a Senator is to be shown up as a man wholly devoid of sense, he is complimented at the outset (not ironically, but seriously) on the brilliancy of his intellect; if he is to be made to appear wanting in courage, he is complimented on his world-wide reputation for audacity, and so on. On the whole, the conclusion to which one is forced in listening to Mr. Conkling is that oratory must have fallen rather low when such efforts as his are commonly spoken of as great; that we have wandered away from the traditions of a manly style and fallen into a sort of decadence, in which the shadow is mistaken for the substance. Perhaps not the worst criticism made on Mr. Conkling's speech was by one of his audience, who said that as speaking he did not consider it good, but as acting he liked it. It is certainly very like some acting. His reputation is unquestionably a gallery reputation, for in the Senate itself ten words of men like Thurman or Bayard or Edmunds carry more conviction and weight than whole hours of Conkling.

THE OLD MASTERS AT BURLINGTON HOUSE.

LONDON, January 5, 1877.

AMERICAN travellers who, during the last few years, have passed through London during the mid-winter months, will remember having lost a sense of the gloom which at that period characterizes the British metropolis, during the hour or two that they may have spent in the rooms of the Royal Academy. This institution eight years ago established the practice of collecting during the dull season such privately-owned specimens of the great schools of painting as their possessors were willing for a time to part with. The result has been, year by year, an extraordinary testimony to the art-wealth of Great Britain, as well as to the liberality of those persons in whose hands it resides, to say nothing of the opportunity (just mentioned) for the fog-smitten wanderer to pass out of the January darkness of Piccadilly into the radiant presence of Titian and Rubens. As the successive exhibitions have unfolded themselves, however, it has been remarked that there is an end to everything, even to the picture-list of English castles and Mayfair mansions, and that before very long all the Titians and Rubens, all the Vandykes and Gainsboroughs, will have taken their turn. The fund upon which the Royal Academy can draw is not inexhaustible. However this may be, it is certainly not yet exhausted; the exhibition of the present year very comfortably proves it. And yet I believe it had been foretold that on this occasion the display would prove so meagre as to amount to a confession of defeat. It is doubtless not so brilliant as it has been in some former years—I remember the collection of 1870, for instance, as altogether superb—but if it really consists of the dregs of the country's wealth, it must be said that they are such dregs as no other country could furnish. The exhibition of last year was remarkable for its full representation of English portrait-painters of the last century, there being no less than thirty Reynoldses and nineteen Gainsboroughs. Another painter, little known to the world at large, the strong, deep, mellow Romney, affirmed himself in a number of works with a vividness which was almost a revelation. Gainsborough is present on this occasion in nineteen portraits, but Sir Joshua is reduced to twenty-one, and they are not all of the first excellence. Neither, indeed, are the Gainsboroughs; and between a fine Gainsborough and an indifferent one the distance is almost immeasurable. The Romneys are few in number, but they are striking and interesting, and British portraiture receives further support from an unexpected quarter. Sir Henry Raeburn, who was some thirty years the junior of the great trio I have mentioned, and who did his best work in the early part of the present century, is represented by a number of works which lead one almost to revise one's old assumption that Scotchman and artist (as regards the plastic arts) are a necessary contradiction in terms. (It is true that, besides the Raeburns, there are a couple of delightful and familiar little Wilkies—the "Rabbit on the Wall" and the "Gentle Shepherd," which remind us that their author was as genuine an artist as Van Ostade or Terburg.) In the way of

foreign portraiture there are two or three admirable Vandykes and several highly respectable specimens of the Venetian school. There are some small but charming early Tuscan pictures, and there are a couple of highly characteristic Rubenses. There is a capital show of great Dutchmen—three or four Tenierses and Van Ostades, two Hobbemas, and two specimens of the thick-shadowed Nicholas Maas, all of the first water. Landscape is not very richly represented, although there are two Turners, a very fine Constable, and three or four large Cuyps. There is also a specimen—precious for rarity if nothing else—a figure-piece by Turner.

The most delightful pictures, to my mind, in the exhibition are the two or three best Gainsboroughs. The portrait of Johann Fischer, the composer, is very well known; it hangs habitually at Hampton Court, and was lent by the Queen. He is leaning, cross-legged, against a harpsichord, on which his elbow rests, with a pen in his hand, and looking up with an expression so genial and gentle, and, at the same time, so acute that we feel it to have a direct kinship with that ecstasy of St. Cecilia which Raphael has portrayed for us. Gainsborough's model is listening, mentally, to some very charming air, and the portrait is admirably complete and human, and full of that easy reality which is the mark of the painter at his best. The portrait of a young Lord Methuen, lent by the present wearer of that title, is perhaps not so strong a performance, but it is a most delightful figure: a youth of twenty, with a handsome, delicate, regular face, presented in full, leaning on a pedestal and clad in one of those much-wrinkled, light-blue satin doublets, surmounted with a Vandyke collar, which Gainsborough was fond of touching off so handsomely. A little of the blue of the doublet has perhaps wandered off into the tone of the face, but the portrait is a model of wholesome grace and unaffected elegance. Both of these pictures, however, are thrown into the shade by a large "family group" representing a lady and gentleman, whose names apparently have not been ascertained, going for a walk in the country with their little girl: the magnificent picture and the happy, sympathetic people! The figures but partly fill the large canvas, the left-hand side of which is occupied by a brown-toned landscape of much more solidity than the streaky umbrage which Gainsborough usually offers us for backgrounds. The lady, in crumpled blue silk, passes her hand into her husband's arm, while he, as he steps forward holding his cocked-hat in his outstretched hand, and turning his face slightly and tenderly to his wife, points out the beauties of the prospect in the neatest last-century prose. The airy, diminutive little girl, held in her mother's left hand, nestles against the blue petticoat, and, looking out of the shadowy drapery with admirably childish eyes, seems alone to be conscious of the spectators. The husband is a very handsome fellow, with keen, expressive eyes and a nose a trifle Judaic; and the *speaking* look in his face—the look as if words were audibly coming from it—is rendered with extreme felicity. Charming in every respect, too, is his modest, virtuous, lady-like English wife, with her auburn hair and her ill-fitting dress. The whole picture has an amplitude, a grasp of life itself, and a rich, dark harmony of coloring, which must place it among the artist's few supreme masterpieces. The numerous other Gainsboroughs are far from having this value. They are evidently, for the most part, mere "pot-boilers," upon which the minimum of care has been bestowed. They are, in general, full-lengths—which means that a pair of very wooden legs has been added to a pair of extremely mechanical arms. The coloring is cold and waterish, and the accessories in the highest degree sketchy and scratchy. It is the work of a brilliantly successful man who can afford to be a trifle impudent. But it must be added that with Gainsborough, even when the whole picture seems at first very bad, the head and face rarely transgress a certain limit of badness. The painter's natural refinement takes refuge in the countenance, which is always evidently a good deal of a likeness and, through fine rapid touches, something of a piece of painting. The charm of Gainsborough is indefinable; there is always something amateurish about him, and one feels like calling him the first (beyond all comparison) of the amateurs. It is not the charm of vigor, but the charm of facility, and of a correctness and softness of style so perfect that they never had occasion to dream of mannerism.

The only Sir Joshua which I have space to mention is a capital portrait of Doctor Burney, the historian of music, Mme. d'Arblay's father. There is also a large portrait of two small children, sprigs of the nobility, which would be charming if the color had not turned to a disagreeable black. There are three sketches by Romney of his frequent model Lady Hamilton, very bold and expressive of the lady's enchanting beauty, and there is a large portrait by the same hand of a certain Margravine of Anspach, which is noble and gravely elegant, and which also, like its companions, has a reddish glow of coloring suggestive of our own Allston. Allston, however, was a talent of higher flights than

Romney. The Raeburns are singularly solid and estimable works—the works of a genuine and accomplished painter. Some of the heads of old men—quiet-faced, canny Caledonians—are full of individual character, and painted with masterly breadth and mellowness; some of the women, too, are extremely pleasing, with their sober grace and their mild picturesqueness. There is an admirable head of the painter himself, with his chin in his hand and the eyes of a man of genius. When Sir Henry Raeburn has to render a hand, an arm, a leg, he usually draws it far better than Gainsborough, or even than Sir Joshua; but his manly and respectable work lacks a certain charm which one always finds in theirs. The touch of fancy is absent; it is all plain, nutritive prose. There was lately gathered together in Edinburgh a complete collection of Raeburn's works, and the exhibition excited, I believe, much patriotic pride. This was highly proper; but to have passed an hour there, I should say, would have been, for a Southern visitor, a good deal like attending a session of the national Kirk. It is Presbyterian art!

I have left myself insufficient space to speak of the other noticeable works. In the way of portraits there is a masterpiece by Frank Hals—a Dutch lady in a black dress and a huge ruff. Anything more living as portraiture, or more brilliantly clean as execution, it would be hard to imagine. Then there is one of the fine Vandykes I spoke of—a certain Duke of Richmond of Charles I.'s time. He is dressed in black satin, with wrinkled stockings of pale, faded blue, and he rests his right hand upon the head of a great deerhound which is seated on his haunches beside him, and which leans his long nose against his thigh and looks up with a canine softness that is admirably indicated. The gentleman's yellow hair falls upon his satin mantle, and his face, which is not handsome, is touchingly grave. Such a give-and-take of gentlemanliness between painter and model is surely nowhere else to be seen. Several of the Italian pictures would be worth specifying. The large Rubens, lent by Lord Darnley, a "Queen Tomyris with the head of Cyrus," is, like so many Rubenses, extremely entertaining on a first glance; but it proves on a longer inspection to be rather inexpensively "got up." The picture contains a certain turbaned Turk, however, with a long beard falling over his paunch while he looks at the bleeding head in the pail, which only Rubens could have painted, though doubtless the model could still be found among the portly pashas at Constantinople who are planted with some such majesty as that across the westward path of Russia.

SWISS AFFAIRS.

GENEVA, January 8.

THE panic among the Swiss watchmakers seems settling into despair. Men act and talk as if the beautiful industry which has been for generations the wealth and glory of this country were not only suspended but hopelessly dead. The most desperate features of the case are its overwhelming suddenness and the nature of the remedies proposed. It is hard to guess where the wits of these shrewd people have been slumbering these five years, that they should wake up suddenly, on the report of the Philadelphia Exposition, to the fact that the markets of the world have been taken away from them by the Americans. The most prominent and official recommendation is that of the thorough education of a new generation of workmen—a measure which does not meet the necessity of this generation. Others propose the organization of industry on the American plan, by means of stock companies with large capital, ample machinery, and great bands of workmen, dividing and sub-dividing the labor. Subscription-books for such a company are already open in Locle and Chaux-de-Fonds, and earnest appeals are made to Geneva capitalists to lead off in a like enterprise. But the costly building in which Tiffany & Co. have just made so conspicuous a failure stands full of idle machinery as a warning not to follow in that direction. The Swiss watchmaker is commonly a republican of a deep-red complexion, with a jealous regard for his personal liberty, disliking to bind himself to regular days and hours of labor, preferring not to work alongside of a steam-engine in a factory under a superintendent, but rather to take his work home with him, and work on it at such odd hours as he can spare from strikes and target-shootings and from his Sunday and week-day duties at the cabaret. I think they will tell you at Tiffany's that the failure of their attempt to manufacture watches in Geneva on the American plan was referable mainly to moral causes.

Naturally, there is a cry for Governmental interference. And on some points it does seem as if this Government would be the better for governing a little more. It is doctrinarian to an absurd degree on the point of free-trade. In the absence of patent laws, there is no encouragement to invention, and when a clever workman hits upon a good device his first

thought is to keep it a secret. There is no effective federal legislation for the protection of trade-marks or for certifying the purity of gold. But besides the demand for such reasonable things as these, there is a clamor for bounties, and Government shops, and Government loans to young workmen, and Government subscriptions to stock, and I know not what all. But the calamitous fact remains, that the Swiss watch business is considered to be as good as dead. Henceforth the world's watches are to be made in American factories. The Swiss jewelry manufacture was gone already to Germany and the north of Italy, where wages are lower and strikes less frequent and lively. Not much remains of it except the making of watch-chains.

Among the questions anxiously discussed is this: What new forms of business can be introduced to take the place of the old? In default of some better answer than has yet been suggested, I think you must make up your minds, with the first return of good times in America, to expect a large Swiss emigration; and this, all things considered, will be one of the best gifts the Old World has ever made to the New. A Government report just published shows that from Switzerland, as from most other European countries, emigration has lately diminished. In 1875 it was less than one in the thousand, while in the years 1868-73 it averaged more than two in the thousand. Of the 1,772 emigrants in 1875, nine-tenths went to America and one-half to North America. The diminution of emigration has been, of course, chiefly in the prosperous cantons—that is to say, in the Protestant ones. From Catholic Valais the exhausting hemorrhage flows on in undiminished volume.

In view of the economical results of the two religious systems, as illustrated in the admitted contrast between the Protestant and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, is it, after all, utterly illogical, even for a government conducted on the most modern and secular principles, to take some interest in the strife between the parties? You have had my opinion, before now, of the actual policy of some of the Swiss governments in trying to create a new Catholic Church by act of Legislature—a policy condemned by its failure if by nothing else. But on the worldliest principles of political economy, it is a little hard to say that a government has no right to a preference between two sects, one of which diminishes the population, impoverishes the soil, discourages manufacture, and reduces the revenue.

I have just come back, oppressed with such thoughts, from a three-days' pilgrimage through the Chablais to the shrines of St. Francis de Sales. Now that so many pilgrims of unquestionable piety make their acts of penance with Cook's tickets and hotel coupons, I thought no harm in a "mitigated observance," and went in a buggy. My trip was in pursuance of some studies regarding that very interesting and in some respects charming man, whose life has been so voluminously misrepresented in many different languages, St. Francis de Sales. The real St. Francis, with his jovial *bonhomie*, his platonic-pious flirtations, his sly and sharp little diplomacies, and, above all, his practical decision of character when (to use his own expression) "the crack of bombs and muskets is found to be more efficient than preaching to procure conversions," is much more human and entertaining than the super-terrestrial mystic and miracle-monger by whose radiant piety and persuasive gentleness heretics in crowds were won back to the fold—as he is presented to ingenuous English and American youth in sweet little volumes, "by a priest of the English Church," from the shops of Rivingtons and Masters. This province of the Chablais was the scene of his most apostolic labors. It had been sixty years Protestant when he took his life in his hand and went to Thonon, just under the guns of the Savoyard fortress of Allinges, with letters to the authorities notifying them that they would be held responsible for his safety, and that all the military power of the country would be used to promote his mission. Two years of preaching, persuasion, and Government patronage having been used in vain, this apostolic man sent for a regiment of Spanish mercenaries, and harried the wretched country from end to end, by such persuasions rescuing from worse terrors in the world to come a considerable part of the people. But his angelic joy over these returning sinners was alloyed by the sad thought of a division of religious sentiment in the province. The means he adopted to remove this evil were sharp but effectual—he gave all obstinate heretics six months to sell out and leave the country. This, being followed up for a series of years by measures of the same sort for the discouragement of backsliders, permanently redeemed that lovely province. This, in brief, was the work of "the apostle of the Chablais." If you will take the pains to compare it with the story as told in the volume lately presented to young daughters on the Feast of the Nativity by the interesting young clergyman in the very long frock-coat, you will find a considerable difference. But certainly the work was effectual. The blight that lingers to this day upon that whole country—its squalid villages, its

stunted towns, its unfinished, grass-grown railroad—in contrast with the civilization that blooms on every hand as soon as you pass the old Geneva boundary, is the monument of St. Francis de Sales.

The New-Year's season compels into the book-shops those impecunious fathers of large families who habitually abstain from such places of temptation and of longing for the unattainable. Among the recent productions of the French and Swiss press I remark, as of special interest, 'La Floride française,' by Professor Gaffarel, of Dijon, which tells in detail, with documents hitherto inedited, a story of American colonization which is passed by with two or three tragical pages by most historians. One of the most diligent of the Geneva antiquarians, Mr. Amédée Roget, has added a word—and a very just and effective word—to the endless controversy concerning the death of Servetus. The ablest discussion yet made of the legends of Tell and Gessler ('Tell und Gessler in Sage und Geschichte') has been published at Heilbronn by Prof. Roehholz, of Aarau. A thick quarto pamphlet from the Zurich Society of Antiquaries gives, with ample illustrations, the results of the last ten years of lacustrine explorations. And since we are speaking of archaeology, let me mention that the exquisite series of volumes by Paul Lacroix on the Middle Ages—so satisfying to scholars and so charming even to those who merely "look at the pictures"—is now completed by a work on the science and literature of the period. Quite of the same sort is the history of household furniture ('Histoire du Mobilier'), sumptuously published by Hachette. But nothing that has lately appeared promises more pleasure to the thoughtful reader than the forthcoming third volume of the works of X. Doudan. The former volumes have been epistolary and fragmentary. The next (and last) will contain a complete and elaborate posthumous treatise on 'Revolutions in Literary Taste,' of which good critics speak in exalted terms.

Madame de Staël is dead. This great name has been worthily borne of late by the daughter-in-law of *Corinne*, and under her hospitalities the château of Coppet has continued to be a brilliant focus of literary society. Among its frequent guests were the late Duc de Broglie (her brother-in-law), Bunsen, Vinet, and Doudan, many of whose letters are dated Coppet. The château is bequeathed to the Comtesse d'Haussonville, sister of the present Duc and Abbé de Broglie, a lady eminent in French Protestant circles (like the late Mme. de Staël herself) for piety and charity.

Notes.

BULLETIN No. 1 (session of 1876-77) of the American Geographical Society is chiefly valuable for Commander Ammen's paper on surveys and reconnoissances for a ship-canal across the American Isthmus during 1870-75. It was called out by the extraordinary assumptions of the Paris "Commission de Géographie Commerciale," that there had been no such exploration of the Isthmus as to enable engineers to study a definite project for a canal; and that this work had been so neglected by the United States as to require an international committee to undertake it. The agent of this well-informed commission arrived here during the Exhibition and found his occupation gone. Commodore Ammen's paper is accompanied by a good map.—We have received Bulletin No. 1 of the Illinois Museum of Natural History, which is at Normal and in charge of the State Board of Education. A prefatory note states that this series of publications will be especially devoted to the natural history of Illinois, and accordingly we find the first number containing lists of the crustacea and orthoptera, and a partial catalogue of the fishes, of Illinois. A paper of general interest is that on "The Tree in Winter," a guide to the recognition of trees when stripped of their foliage—no easy matter always. The phyllotaxis of trees is copiously illustrated with plates.—The Great American Literary Bureau which flourished, until exposed, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, seems to have transferred itself to Dayton, in the same State, under the name of the National Literary Cabinet. It professes to have "secured the interests of the most prominent literary associations," and to consist of "a corps of able and experienced writers." Correspondence may be addressed to the "corps," as heretofore, "in any language," and all communications will be "strictly confidential"; but "we do not answer postal cards." Finally, "our productions" are sent "closely sealed, and in such a way as not to attract unnecessary attention" from college officers or inquisitive postmasters.—Part 16 of 'Spruner's Hand-Atlas' (Westermann) offers to the readers of Mr. Tennyson's 'Harold' a map of England to the time of the Conquest; and to students of European politics a map of Germany, 1866-71. Some of the side-maps attached to the latter have an immediate interest. One shows the territory over which, in 1870, prevailed the common law, the Prussian, French, Baden, Austrian, and Saxon

codes; another, the church relations of Germany. The Catholic preponderance hardly leaves a continuous Protestant track from the Baltic to the Alps. The recent elections show how hazardous to Prussia would be an accession of Austrian Catholics, and the map throws some light on Bismarck's disposition to profit territorially by the overthrow of Turkey and the break-up of Austria.—Henry Holt & Co. have now nearly ready the promised volume of the writings of the late Chauncey Wright, edited, with a biographical sketch, by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton. Among the titles are "Natural Theology as a Natural Science," "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," "Limits of Natural Selection," "Evolution of Self-Consciousness," "Evolution by Natural Selection," "Speculative Dynamics," etc., etc. The same house will shortly begin publishing three volumes containing each a pair of stories by Auerbach—namely, one of his 'Village Stories' written thirty years ago, and its sequel of to-day, the Black Forest neighborhood having meantime been subjected to "modern improvements" and invasions.—Harper & Bros. have in press a revised edition of the 'Complete Phonographer' of Mr. James E. Munson, a work which has admirably stood the test of ten years' use, but which the author thinks still capable of improvement. We have before us the fourteenth number of *Munson's Phonographic News*, and judge from external appearances that it too has succeeded in establishing itself on a firm footing. The mechanical difficulties in the way of its predecessors have been completely overcome.

—Mr. Spofford's annual report on the Library of Congress makes the number of bound volumes 211,097, and of pamphlets about 100,000; the works on jurisprudence aggregate 37,727 volumes. Nearly as many new works have been procured by copyright as purchase, but the auction sales of the year have made the purchases unusually valuable, especially in the line of early American imprints. For the new general catalogue upwards of 260,000 titles are ready for the printer, but lack an appropriation. Meantime, "twelve volumes have to be consulted in order to determine conclusively whether the library contains any book." The new catalogue embraces pamphlets as well as volumes, and abbreviation has been carried so far that "it is estimated that the succinct titles of the 311,000 volumes . . . may be compressed into four moderate octavo volumes, in clear type." The index to the documents, debates, and laws of Congress is well advanced and can be completed with a small appropriation. Five other volumes are to follow the first, already published, of original historical documents relating to the French discoveries in the Northwest and on the Mississippi (see the *Nation*, No. 585). Mr. Spofford again makes an appeal for a new building for the library. The proposed site for it on the ground occupied by the Botanic Garden has been abandoned as objectionable.

—Four letters from Lord Macaulay to Mr. Henry S. Randall, author of a *Life of Jefferson*, are published in *Harper's* for February. They cover a period of two years (January, 1857-59), and contain the writer's idea of Jeffersonian principles, and his prediction of the fate that must overtake this country for having adopted them. The dates of these epistles are worth remarking, for although the Democratic party had just gained a Pyrrhic victory over the party headed by Fremont, and the anti-slavery agitation was at its height, slavery is not alluded to by Macaulay as among the dangers of the Republic, or even so much as existing. He assumes our institutions to be "purely Democratic," alike at the north and to the south of Mason and Dixon's line, and admits that the laborer with us (as if there were no unpaid and perforce ignorant black laborer) "has large wages, abundant food, and the means of giving some education to his children." His sole fear is a European fear, that the ignorant majority will, when the land becomes densely peopled and subsistence grows difficult and want abounds, elect candidates who will promise to make an assault on property. "There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor." The end would be (perhaps not till the twentieth century) either a Caesar or a plundering and laying waste of the republic by the Huns and Vandals "engendered within your own country by your own institutions"; that is to say, we should lose either our liberty or our civilization.

—It is instructive to enquire what has vitiated such a logical deduction from the principle of entrusting the "supreme authority in a state to the majority of citizens told by the head; in other words, to the poorest and most ignorant part of society." For if we have not yet fulfilled the condition of density of population, we may be allowed to have anticipated the term by the admission of sparsely-settled and quasi-civilized Territories, and by the extension of the suffrage to four millions of brand-

new freedmen; and we have, besides, afforded some tremendous opportunities for spoliation such as Macaulay apprehended. Civil war would seem to be the prime pretext for the revolt of the proletariat, especially when brought face to face with the draft; and the Southern leaders did in fact count openly on the disaffection and distress of the Northern "mud-sills." But when it came to the proof, the proletariat either appeared as volunteers in the Federal armies or quietly submitted to the draft, and the disturbance and "spoliation" were confined to the foreign mob in our large cities led by a few native demagogues. The next pretext might have been the onerous burden of war-taxes clumsily applied, but no use was made of it. The foolish and wicked doctrines in regard to our paper currency have never been confined to any one class, nor has "Repudiation or Spoliation" been the menacing cry of the lowest. Moreover, during the past ten years our State constitutions have without resistance and almost silently been modified in opposition to Jeffersonian principles, and yet the suffrage has not been restricted in the least: a striking proof that an ignorant majority of voters with us does not represent the governing force of the community, and a clew to the paradox which puzzled Macaulay—that while our institutions had been "constantly becoming more Jeffersonian and less Washingtonian," Washington had been "exalted into a god, and Jefferson degraded into a demon." Finally, the irresistible revolution, now all but complete at the South, by which the whites have regained their ascendancy in spite of disabilities, want of numbers, and repression by the whole force of the dominant Administration in league with a more degraded body of voters than even Macaulay contemplated, is the latest sign of the failure of Jeffersonian principles to keep society on its apex. No one believes that, to recall the historian's own phrase, this revolution will ever go backward, and few will deny that the triumph of the arrangement for the electoral count rests on the perception of the national conscience that revolution against the misrule of ignorant majorities is not a crime against the republic.

—The truth is that we have suffered more from Jacksonian than from Jeffersonian principles, and more from spoliation of the Treasury (*i. e.*, of the whole people) than from spoliation of the rich. And, curiously enough, the only organized crusade against property—the Granger movement—has arisen in the least thickly-settled portion of the country, among the agricultural class, who enjoy "large wages, abundant food, and the means of giving some education to their children." All the evils which we trace to universal suffrage would have been either prevented or stripped of dangerous proportions had the civil service retained the traditions and the tone which it had down to Jackson's time. We should never have seen, in that case, for example, a great party bound hand and foot by a depraved local majority such as that which has given Butler his Republican standing since the close of the war. Only the ties of a system which makes politics a game for plunder could have saved this pretender from merited expulsion long ago. But, while Macaulay's letters seem to us more interesting for what they overlook than for what they discern, no one who reads them will doubt that he placed his finger on the weak spot in our form of government. Their publication is timely, and ought to be useful; for the recent exhibition of patriotism rising superior to party interests and party discipline justifies us in hoping that the new Congress may propose, along with an amendment defining the method of the electoral count, another restricting the suffrage in national elections. This would encourage the States to do likewise, and would make practicable what now seems almost impossible.

—After Auerbach's new novel, 'Young Aloys, or the Gawk from America,' the most unusual feature in *Lippincott's* for February is a paper by Gail Hamilton. Her "Railroad Reflections" consists of remarks partly on the scenery along the Union Pacific Railroad, partly on the difficulties encountered by its surveyors and builders and projectors; and at every convenient turn we are reminded, in the pointed style of this writer, that in the presence of a work at once so gigantic and so useful to the country the *Crédit Mobilier* seems anything but the scandal which Congress judged it to be. Oakes Ames was a much maligned man, first, because the Government saves large sums annually in the transportation of the mails and of war material; and secondly, because his townsmen refused to believe ill of him. We are led to infer that to have reduced the cost of carriage from Golden to Central City from eighty to four dollars a ton entitles railroad capitalists to exemption from impertinent inquiries on the part of Congressional investigating committees. We dare say this was the view taken by the Gail Hamiltons of antiquity in regard to the building of the Roman aqueducts and the Pyramids. The apologetic intent of this article would, if the writer were unknown, be remarkable only as out of date; but in the present case one can hardly help remembering Gail Hamilton's relations to the

ex-Speaker of the House. And remembering this, there seems to us some want of tact in her defending railway jobbery.

—We regret to find Gov. Robinson lending his countenance to a movement designed to abolish the State survey established last year, a bill for that purpose having been actually introduced at Albany. We are the more surprised because the advantages of the survey are not in question, while the urgency of it is placed beyond all doubt by the Report of the Commissioners transmitted to the Legislature last month. That the wealthiest and most populous State in the Union, and one of the oldest, has never been surveyed "since the pioneer surveyors ran their compass lines through the woods, without taking into consideration the ever-changing variation of the magnetic needle, and measured the distances with chains of unknown lengths," seems incredible enough; but it is not half so incredible, nor, to speak plainly, half so disgraceful, as that any State official should desire to interrupt for a single day the geodetic labors already so auspiciously begun. Mr. James T. Gardner, the director of the Survey, reports a simply deplorable condition of local surveys, county boundaries and landmarks, and vast popular ignorance of the topography of the State. Examining the boundaries of eleven counties, he found only two out of more than sixty corners marked with any authentic monuments. In the western part of New York important lines were made the centres of roads, but the shifting of fences has since then rendered the exact centre indeterminable, and has brought uncertainty and confusion into the local surveys based upon it. Trees, stakes, and other perishable landmarks having become obliterated, the only dependence of litigants is upon the recollection of the oldest inhabitants. Adjacent towns, in doubt as to their common boundary, often compel a railroad to pay double taxes on the same piece of track. As for the construction of railroads, "there is ample proof," says Mr. Gardner, "that if the people of the State had possessed a topographical map such as any European country has, the impracticability of running the Oswego Midland Railroad could and would have been clearly demonstrated before the building of the road, and \$20,000,000 saved to the people of the State." Our best maps, however, contain errors like these: Albany placed about a mile from its true position, Hamilton College two miles, Ogdensburg half a mile, Syracuse one and a half, Elmira two to three, Buffalo and Plattsburgh three. And these maps are very dear! It seems, however, a waste of time to adduce proofs of the crying need of an authoritative triangulation of the State, connected with that of the Coast Survey already executed in the valley of the Hudson. Mr. Gardner estimates that in ten years, at \$20,000 a year, the whole State can be furnished with Survey stations that will last for ever. Will anybody deny that the State could better divert \$200,000 from its unfinished Capitol than grudge the money to this indispensable work?

—We have before us the first numbers of two new weekly journals, which have lately been put forth in London, one with the date of January 2, the other with that of January 4. The first calls itself *Mayfair*; the second bears the sterner title (which is possibly intended to have, as towards its rival, an antithetic value) of *Truth*. *Truth* is conducted, we believe, by Mr. Labouchere, who during the Franco-Russian war attained some celebrity as the "Besieged Resident" of Paris. Both of these enterprises are apparently based upon the increasing demand, real or supposititious, for journals of the "social" type—in the lighter sense of that much-abused word. It may be said, we suppose, without offence, that *Mayfair* and *Truth* aspire to clip the laurels of the *World*, the weekly paper established more than a year since, which, under the conduct of Mr. Edmund Yates, has attained such success. The *World* is very "social" indeed, or, as we should venture frankly to confess in this country, very personal. In this respect its emulators seem to have no intention of being left behind. They leave the discussion of politics and the heavy business of reviewing to the *Saturday Review* and the *Spectator*, and they inform us in an easy, gentlemanly manner that Lady Holland, getting up the other night to nurse her pet dog, had a fall on her ladyship's staircase; that Lord Maidstone, who hasn't a penny to bless himself with, has just eloped with the daughter of a millionaire; that "poor Prince Leopold" has been made ill by having to expose his person at a Freemason's meeting; that long black gloves are very becoming to the complexion of Miss Kate Vaughan; that Lord Dudley has bet £5,000 against a £5 note that he will live to see the Prince Imperial of France seated upon the throne of his father. This interesting information is sold for sixpence, and in the case of *Truth* is enveloped in a pale, blue-green cover, ornamented with a pretty drawing of a young woman holding up a mirror and a lamp. We must add that we have not exhausted the contents of either journal. There are articles upon the theatres, upon Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ, sporting articles, money articles; and in *Truth*

there is a complete account of how Sir Alexander Cockburn insulted Sir Henry James the other day at a dinner-party. They do this sort of thing in London much better than in our Western papers; it is much more "gentlemanly." We doubt not that the periodicals we have mentioned will achieve the success that they deserve.

—Who was the author of "High Life below Stairs"? It is a little play which shares with Sheridan's "Critic" the credit of being the best farce in the language. It seems as much above the level of the Rev. James Townley as "The Camp," which Sheridan's latest editor credits to him, is below the level of the author of the "School for Scandal." The piece was suggested by No. 88 of the *Spectator*, and the idea is also to be found in the unfinished fragment of Steele's play, "The Gentleman." It was produced at Drury Lane in 1759, anonymously—the subject was considered ticklish, as the footmen were a power in the theatre. It was a great success, although in Edinburgh the lackeys attempted to prevent its performance, actually raising a riot in the theatre. At first the piece was generally ascribed to Garrick; his biographer, Arthur Murphy, so asserted. But in the 'Biographia Dramatica' (1812) it is assigned to the Rev. James Townley, an intimate friend of Garrick's, and the author of two forgotten plays; and Mr. Bartlett, in the latest (seventh) edition of his 'Familiar Quotations,' Dr. Doran, the editor of *Notes and Queries*, in a recent answer to a correspondent, and Mr. Dutton Cook in his 'Book of the Play' (i. p. 154), all ascribe the play to Townley. But Garrick's latest biographer, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald (at p. 329 of his first volume), claims him again as the author. Mr. Fitzgerald is not as good authority as Dr. Doran, Mr. Cook, or Isaac Reed, the editor of the 'Biographia Dramatica,' but he makes out a good case. Garrick, for one thing, was very timid, and the fear of just such a row as took place in Edinburgh may have prevented him from signing the piece, and his intimate friend Townley might have tacitly assumed the authorship to relieve Garrick—who was not averse to such little subterfuges—from suspicion. Mr. Fitzgerald cites from the 'Garrick Correspondence' to strengthen his case. But the internal evidence on which so much stress is nowadays placed is still more in his favor; a touch like "Bob, the Bishop," is far beyond anything of the Rev. Mr. Townley's which survives, while it is quite in the style of Garrick. Dibdin mentions Dr. Hoadley's name in connection with "High Life below Stairs," and it may, perhaps, have been the result of the collaboration of Garrick and Townley, or others, in which case we may be sure that here, as in the "Clandestine Marriage," Garrick's was the lion's share.

—Prof. Constantine v. Höfler of Prague is one of the most active of German laborers upon the field of later mediæval history. He has produced no large work, we believe, but every year sees one or two exhaustive monographs from his pen, generally upon points bearing in some way upon the history of Austria. His later writings have been chiefly upon the period of the Reformation; and here the fortunate acquisition of some valuable Spanish documents has resulted in a work of 266 pages, entitled 'Der Aufstand der Castilianischen Städte gegen Kaiser V., 1520-22.' We are disappointed not to find in it a sketch of the internal organization and condition of the Spanish cities, as bearing upon the insurrection. Its general political and economical causes are discussed at some length, and a very interesting and instructive introductory chapter discusses the international relations of Spain at this time. The writer is a decided but not bigoted Catholic, and pays a high tribute to the intellectual and religious condition of Spain at this epoch, as contrasted with that of France and Germany. The turning point in the history of this time is the election of Charles of Spain as Emperor, rather than Francis of France, a choice which the author regards—and we suppose we must agree with him—as altogether fortunate. At any rate, against the unscrupulous ambition of Francis neither Spain nor Germany, he thinks, had any effective protection except in union under one head. The later results, so disastrous as well to Spain as to Europe, he does not touch upon except to express a decided opinion that Charles's policy was only a continuation—and a necessary one—of that of his grandfather Ferdinand. The remaining chapters are devoted to the details of this episode, an episode of great and graphic interest and which constituted an epoch in Spanish history; for the suppression of this revolt placed the famed and ancient liberties of Castile at the mercy of the king, and from it dates in reality the absolutism of the Spanish monarchs.

—There is a brief treatise of the fifteenth century known under the title 'The Reformation of Emperor Sigismund,' which purports to have as its author a priest by the name of Frederick—from Swabia, to judge by the dialect. This has just been published by Dr. Willy Böhm of Berlin, with a glossary, a commentary, and an exhaustive discussion as to aim, authorship, etc., the whole making a pamphlet of 260 pages. The authorship he

ascribes to Friedrich Reiser, who was born near Donauwörth in 1401 or 1402, and was burned for heresy at Strassburg in 1458. The date of the composition he sets at 1438, shortly after the Hussite wars and the attempts at reformation in the Council of Basel. There is no doubt, the editor thinks, that this writing reflects in a good degree the views of the Emperor Sigismund, who, while deficient in manliness and good faith, was not without good impulses and a genuine desire for reform, at least earlier in his life. The treatise in question agrees in general with the views of the Bohemian Taborites, at least in regard to social reforms. It is strongly hostile to the nobility, and in the cities espouses the cause of the great masses of disfranchised citizens. In religious matters it proclaims distinctly the great doctrine—almost unheard of at this time—of the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power. And yet the author would have an income assigned by the state for the support of the ecclesiastical organization, and would even leave to the Pope, as head of the Church, the temporal government of the patrimony of St. Peter, for the sake of securing to him a permanent and sufficient income, in these points differing widely from the Hussites. Like all reformers of his epoch, he is bitterly hostile to the Mendicant Orders. As an illustration of the fermenting radicalism which was one of the forerunners of the Reformation this publication has great value.

TURKISTAN.*

THERE is no part of the world which combines so many points of interest of primary importance as the vast territory lying between Siberia and India and between China and the Caspian, especially that portion of it which is north and west of the elevated region called High Asia. Thither the geologist and the physical geographer both look for the explanation of many things connected with the climate and the distribution of life in geological and recent time. To the student of history, it is the vanishing point of the historical perspective of every branch of the Aryan race; the home of our ancestors, in which were impressed upon them those features of character, religion, and language that are common to the Hindu, Persian, Egyptian, and European branches. Indeed, there is scarcely a civilization of the past that does not seem to have owed something to this mysterious land. The similarity of the calendars of Mexico and Central Asia; the use of jadeite, found only in Central Asia, for implements and ornaments in Central America and Switzerland, if not wonderful coincidences, are strong proof of prehistoric communication reaching to the ends of the earth. Its historical interest to us extends back so far beyond the grey dawn of mythology that the cultus, the language, and even the existence of our ancestral Aryan race are known to us only by means of strictly the same methods of reasoning as are employed by the palæontologist in determining the extinct forms of life of former geological times. First, it was the home of the pure Vedic cultus, then of the fire-worshippers, then a stronghold of Buddhism, and again, as now, of Islam. Its position caused it to be swept by every wave of emigration and of conquering or retreating armies, and on its soil nation after nation has gone down in blood.

Geologically, Central and Western Asia are still in a state of transition; within the present epoch the ocean extended from the Arctic to the Caspian, and the countless lakes and swamps throughout this region are the remnants of this sea. It is thus possible that ancient Ariana may have enjoyed the beneficent influence upon her climate of larger bodies of water, and that much of what is now waste land was productive. At present, as Mr. Schuyler shows us, it is a series of vast deserts, fertile along a few valleys and on the declivities of the mountains, and so limited in its productive capacity that its small population treads too closely upon the supply.

An excellent knowledge of the Russian language and life, and a wide-reaching acquaintance among the official class of Russia, gave Mr. Schuyler command of facilities beyond those of most travellers; and while his consular experience may be supposed to have fitted him for studying the political and commercial aspects of the Asiatic problems, his nationality enabled him to exercise an impartiality one could hardly look for in a European. Starting with these advantages, he left St. Petersburg in March, 1873, and entered the eastern possessions of Russia through Orenburg. Thence he continued his journey (by post) across the desert to the Aral Sea and the Syr Darya (the ancient Jaxartes) and along this to the city of Turkistan, the seat of the Governor-General. From this point he went to Samarkand

and the Khanates of Khokand and Bukhara. Afterwards, turning eastward and visiting Lake Issyk-kul and the formerly Chinese province of Kuldja, he entered Siberia and returned to Europe. The narrative ends with the description of Kuldja, and the final chapters treat of the Khivan campaign and of the political aspects of the Russian progress in Central Asia. The eight months occupied by this journey were evidently used to great advantage by Mr. Schuyler in cultivating the acquaintance of Russian officials and of native scholars and native political refugees of high rank. In this manner he obtained a powerful side-light to aid him in interpreting both his own observations and the large amount of ephemeral literature in the shape of official reports, correspondence, and learned essays bearing on the financial, commercial, and political questions.

To a large class of people, especially in England, Central Asia has been interesting chiefly as the chess-board on which Russia and England have been playing a long-sustained game. It has been, and is still believed, that it has become the traditional policy of Russia to supplant the English in India, and that the campaigns in Central Asia have been undertaken in accordance with well-defined plans looking to that end. To these people the conclusion at which Mr. Schuyler arrives on this subject will be a surprise. After a careful study of the question from all points of view, he declares that Russia has no fixed Eastern policy and that India is not an objective point in her plans; and he explains the campaigns and annexation of territory as arising solely out of the nature of her border and of its adjacent populations. Her Asiatic border, from the Amur river to the Caspian—a length of more than 70° of longitude—lay through steppes and deserts inhabited by nomadic tribes. To the south of Eastern Siberia these tribes are Buddhist Mongols, a race which gives no trouble to its neighbors. Their country is, moreover, a dependency of China, a nation which, at least, appreciates the responsibilities arising out of treaties. But from Mongolia westward the boundary separated Russia from regions nominally under the sway of different distant Khanates, but really scoured by hordes of Kirghiz robbers and fierce Turcomans. The only way of controlling these border robbers was to annex the steppes and deserts and to subject the inhabitants to the influence of laws. This naturally resulted in the active hostility of the amirs and khans of the interior states, who forced the Russian commanders into campaigns which left the latter in the position of conquerors. Thus Khokand was, first partially, then wholly, annexed. The hostility of Bukhara resulted in the annexation of Samarkand and the Zarafshan valley and the execution of a very favorable treaty. Khiva, whose geographical position had enabled her to defy Russia since before the time of Peter the Great, has been conquered and reduced to vassalage. The Chinese province of Kuldja, where the Mohammedan Dungans and Taranchis had massacred almost the entire Chinese and Mantchu population, was occupied by the Russians to prevent its being annexed to Kashgar, but with the avowed intention of restoring it to China as soon as she should be able to hold it. This leaves Russia with a boundary toward Central Asia which is, in fact, remarkably well defined, following as it does the main crest of the Tianshan. But further west it passes through Bukhara in a way that is likely to invite hostilities, and indeed, sooner or later, the boundary will be formed by the Tianshan, the Bolor range, and the present northern limit of Afghanistan and Persia. It is a curious coincidence that the only European conquerors of Central Asia should be Alexander the Great and Alexander II. of Russia; but there is no evidence that the latter monarch has any desire, like his illustrious namesake, to extend his dominions beyond the Hindu-Kush. There is a more or less distinct understanding between St. Petersburg and London that Afghanistan shall not be encroached upon by Russia. The Amir of that country is subsidized by England, though Mr. Schuyler shows that this does not diminish the hatred of the Afghans towards the English. Still, whatever the motives and aims of Russia may have been, England has good reason for being seriously annoyed at the extinction of the neutrality of the broad belt that separated the Asiatic possessions of the two empires. For, in the event of a war between them, Russia, without seriously weakening her European army, could probably force England to divide hers for the defense of India.

The most important product of Central Asia, as a prospective article of export, is silk. Careful estimates place the present production at four and one-half million pounds. The climate is "in the highest degree favorable to silk culture"; mulberry-trees abound, and the production is now limited chiefly by improper methods of breeding the worm. During our war Central Asia was much talked of as a future rival of the Southern States in the production of cotton; but it seems now that although the product is considerable, and the export supplies a fifth or sixth of the consumption of Russia, the quality is bad, owing to shortness of staple and weakness of

* Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja. By Eugene Schuyler, Phil. Dr. 2 vols. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1875.

fibres. Moreover, there is a loss of from 25 to 50 per cent. weight to the Russian manufacturer owing to bad packing and impregnation with desert sand during the caravan transportation. Perhaps the most startling fact recorded by Mr. Schuyler is the extremely small area of agricultural land in Turkistan. In that portion under Russian rule, exclusive of the Kyzyl-kum desert, only 1 $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. is cultivable; the most fertile valley, the Zarafshan, having only 18 per cent. of cultivable land. Thus, the Russian authorities are sorely disappointed at having to bring the supplies for the army of occupation from Siberia, instead of finding in their newly acquired territory a local base of supplies for further operations. The reason of this lies in the fact that only a small part of the region is hill land, watered by the spring and autumn rains, while away from these highlands agriculture is dependent wholly on irrigation by canals supplied from a few mountain and glacier-fed rivers, like the Amu and Syr. This splitting up into canals increases enormously the loss by evaporation, and this, added to the actual consumption by irrigation, leaves the rivers almost exhausted in their lower reaches, in an intensely dry climate. The inhabitants of the lower courses of these streams have thus a vital interest in the proper regulation of the use of the upper waters, which are often in foreign or even hostile territory. We have here a different version of the lesson taught to China by the Hwang Ho, the necessity of having an important river throughout its length under the control of a single administration.

The most important articles imported are sugar and cotton goods from Russia, and green tea and drugs from India. Although the aggregate annual trade of Central Asia is very considerable, that of Bukhara alone amounting to nearly thirty million dollars, the Russian merchants do not seem to control it to any extent, and it is possible that English manufactures brought *via* Afghanistan may gain the ascendancy in these markets. The mineral resources appear to be very unimportant excepting coal, which occurs at several points, and at some of them, especially at Kuldja, is of excellent quality. There will undoubtedly be a strong competition for the control of the trade in this part of Asia, but it is almost certain that sooner or later the commerce will pass almost wholly into the hands of Chinese merchants operating under the protection of Russian laws, as has happened in various degrees at Vernoe and other cities of Siberia, and under English laws at Singapore. Indeed, Mr. Schuyler sees no other solution of the problem of making these new acquisitions self-supporting than by introducing Chinese colonies. He calls attention to the fact that under them Kuldja and Kashgar, which are now almost worthless, were highly flourishing countries. We cannot but think that the concluding paragraph of his book in suggesting this solution strikes the key-note of the future of all Central Asia.

The great obstacle which the Russians have to face is the difficulty and cost of transportation between Russia and the Khanates. All attempts to use the Syr and Amu for navigation have thus far failed, from an economical point of view, partly owing to insufficient depth of water, partly to lack of fuel. It has also been thought possible to turn the Amu (Oxus) through its ancient bed into the Caspian, which, if successful in all respects, would give a continuous navigation from Nishni Novgorod to Khiva and to the Khanate of Bukhara. A glance at the map will show that Moscow and the cities of Turkistan are in the same hydrographic basin. But it seems that this can only be done by sacrificing the irrigation system, which, as Mr. Schuyler states it, by destroying the productive power of the countries, would remove the only reason for which navigation is considered requisite. Projects have also been advanced for railroads, the most notable one coming from M. de Lesseps, who stated that between Calais and Calcutta, *via* Orenburg, a distance of 7,370 miles, railways had already been built to Orenburg, on one side, and to Peshawur, on the other, leaving a gap of only 2,270 miles to be constructed. Of this he suggested that Russia should build down to Samarkand, 1,470 miles, and England thence to Peshawur, 800 miles. These projects can find little encouragement from either government as long as both climate and race place such restricted limits to the commercial capacity of this vast and almost trackless region. By the present methods of transportation the cost of freight from Moscow to Bukhara is 2.75 rubles per pud—2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound—which is about the same as from Peshawur in India, not counting the heavy exactions required by the Amir of Cabul.

Not least among the valuable information given by our author are the numerous details concerning agricultural methods and products, the systems of taxation and of land tenure. When the wave of Mohammedan conquest swept through Central Asia, the lands, instead of being divided among the conquerors, were left to their original owners, subject to an impost varying from one-seventh to one-half of the

harvest. The private ownership is absolute. There are also state lands; dead lands, which become the property of whoever renders them productive by irrigation; and lands devised in trust for religious or charitable purposes. Mr. Schuyler calls attention to the fact that it is now proposed by those who are busied with drawing up "projects" for the government of the new territory to assert the right of conquest, and by an act of wholesale spoliation to destroy the private title of land, and to redistribute it among the people in limited quantities, subject to a yearly rent, the non-payment of which will work the forfeiture of the property. "It is proposed suddenly to deprive a whole population of their landed property, and reduce them to the state of tenants, putting them practically in the same position as the Christian rayahs are under the Turkish Government, with whose wrongs the Russian Government so deeply sympathizes." Under native rule the taxes were chiefly a money tax on trade and a tax in kind on products, nominally one-fifth of the harvest, while one-fiftieth is the salary of the collector. The collection of this is very difficult and uncertain. Here is an authenticated instance illustrating the ways of the *Serker*, the native collector of internal revenue:

"On the threshing-floor of a small proprietor there were three hundred and twenty pounds of corn. The *serker* arrived and took as his pay one quarter of it. His assistant took his usual pay—his sleeveful; but as he had large sleeves for the purpose, this amounted to an eighth, or forty pounds. The messenger of the Iman also took forty pounds, for the religious officials were by custom allowed their share. The scribe also took an eighth. The baker who accompanied the tax-collector then laid two or three small cakes on the threshing-floor and was allowed to take twenty pounds. The pipe-bearer handed to the tax-collector his pipe, and held out a nose-bag in which he was allowed to place also twenty pounds. A gipsy prostitute spread out before the *serker* a pair of new trousers and a cap, and received not only thirty pounds, but an invitation to tea as well. There remained, therefore, only fifty pounds. This was then carefully divided into five parts, one of which (ten pounds) went to the government, while the proprietor had left an eighth of his harvest. In all probability the agriculturist has suffered no real loss, as he had probably previously succeeded in concealing the greater part of his harvest."

A portion of Mr. Schuyler's work was substantially embodied in some of his official despatches to Mr. Fish, and these having been published, perhaps by mistake, caused a great deal of bad feeling in some official quarters in Russia. This is not surprising in view of the exposure of official extravagance, misrule, and blunders, all on a grand scale, to say nothing of fraud. The administration of Central Asia is entrusted to a Governor-General, who is responsible only to the Emperor and who has "full power to carry on diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries." He is also the commander-in-chief of the forces in Turkistan. The substitution of this government for that of the despotic Khans was at first not unwelcome to most of the natives; and had the region been the Eldorado it had always been thought to be, everything might have gone on well, but it proved to be poor both agriculturally and in mineral resources, and unable to support the army of occupation besides its own population. This made the cost of governing the country far greater than it was supposed it would be; indeed, the annexations in Khokand and Bukhara had been urged and justified on the ground that the revenues from the fertile valleys would render the government of Turkistan self-supporting. While under this false impression concerning the productive capacity of the region, the local government led the natives to expect lighter taxes; at the same time the organization was made on an extravagant scale, and when the great disparity between the expenses and revenue became apparent, instead of retrenching in the expenses of administration, the taxes were largely increased and new ones added. This and the projected act of spoliation, which planned the extinction of private titles to land, have naturally aroused intense anxiety among the natives, who preferred the former despotism, of which they knew perfectly the methods and the limits, to this new ocean of trouble with no familiar landmarks on its horizon. The truth seems to be that even with a wise and economical government the country must form a drain on the imperial treasury as long as it is necessary to maintain an army of occupation. It is not likely that this force can soon be diminished, for Central Asia is a stronghold of Mohammedanism, and it is not impossible that a war between Turkey and Russia, by arousing the fanaticism of Islam, might render it very difficult for the Christian power to maintain her foothold in Turkistan.

There are some remarks made by Mr. Schuyler in regard to discoveries concerning which many readers will surely watch with great interest for future investigations. The great number of human bones on the strand of Lake Issyk-kul, in the Tianshan, the perhaps, historically, entirely independent fact that ruined cities are distinctly visible beneath its waters, and the discovery of an inscription in letters, pronounced by an Orient-

talist of high standing to be in an unknown alphabet—these are facts of great interest to both the ethnologist and the physical geographer. We may remark, in passing, that it is near that point that a Chinese map in an old edition of the Yu Kung places the Usun, “a people with red hair and blue eyes,” who were clearly Aryans. Equally interesting are the rumors of ruins supposed to be of Greek origin at Uzent, in the Tien-shan, and of inscriptions in some European language in Karategin. And we may here repeat Mr. Schuyler’s suggestion that certain books in languages unknown to the Bukharan scholars, and preserved in the library of the Amir since ancient times, may be a remnant of the library of Brussa.

Mr. Schuyler has given us, under a modest title, one of the most important books of travel, and one that was sorely needed. In style and subject-matter it cannot fail to be of interest to readers of every class. It is well illustrated, and, what is more important, has a remarkably good index; and the maps are in themselves a valuable contribution to geography.

Religion and the State; or, the Bible and the Public Schools. By Samuel T. Spear, D.D. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876. 12mo, pp. 393).—*An Address on the Bible and the Public Schools*, delivered in Farwell Hall, Chicago, Sunday, Sept. 24, 1876, by Rev. William W. Patton, D.D. (Chicago: Lakeside Publishing and Printing Company. 1876. 8vo, pp. 24).—It is a good sign of the times to have, from an earnestly and positively evangelical point of view, two discussions of the public-school question so wise and dispassionate as these. For we must always bear in mind, in settling this vital question upon the basis of absolute religious equality, that it is one of those compromises in which all the concession is made by one party. Evangelical Christianity is now in possession of the public schools—not by usurpation, but by natural and legitimate inheritance from those times when Protestant Christianity was the established religion of almost every State in the Union. To remove the Bible from the schools, therefore, is to deprive the Protestant denomination of a privilege which they have enjoyed of old by precisely the same title as that of the Church of England in England, and that of Rome in Spain. Nevertheless this concession must be made, in recognition not merely of the principle of justice but of the spirit of the Constitution. The State constitutions could not be meddled with at the time when our national life began, and they, as a rule, contained some slight remnant, at least, of the connection of church and state. The Constitution of the United States, on the other hand, is absolutely and completely secular; and its framers were thoroughly imbued with what we are pleased to call the principles of the nineteenth century—the entire separation of church and state; a fact not always remembered by the defenders of the “Bible in the schools” and advocates of the “Christian amendment.” They knew well what they were about. They secured full religious liberty, so far as their power extended—in the nation—and left it for time to work the same result in the States, which it is surely doing.

Both Dr. Spear and Dr. Patton have discussed this question forcibly and in excellent spirit. There is between them, of course, the difference that exists between the address and the treatise. Both are good in their way. Dr. Patton’s address is full of telling points, of which we will instance but one (p. 7), where he shows that reading the Bible without note or comment was as objectionable to the Puritan founders of New England as to the Roman Catholics. “This was their standing objection,” he says, “to the systematic reading of Scripture in the Episcopal church-service.”

Dr. Spear’s book consists of thirty-two articles prepared for the *Independent*; “they now appear just what and as they were at their original publication, with the exception of a few changes made in their titles.” We cannot see that the book suffers materially for being a mere verbatim reprint. Here and there we find repetitions, especially in the introductory papers; the philosophy is not everywhere so searching (*e.g.*, in the ninth paper) as a treatise not designed for newspaper publication would probably have been; but, on the whole, it would be hard to improve either the fairness or the cogency of the argument. The papers take as their text President Grant’s recommendations and Mr. Blaine’s proposed Constitutional amendment, both of which are carefully examined—more carefully than was necessary in the case of the latter, at least, which was the sheerest buncombe. The solid portion of the argument is that which replies to the objection of “godless schools” in its two aspects (somewhat inconsistent with one another, perhaps)—first, that “secular education is godless, and therefore immoral; second, that purely secular education is impossible, because no instructor can avoid giving some tinge of his own views. On these points hinge the entire controversy, and when these have been satisfactorily met, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth papers, the rest of the work, excellent as it is,

is hardly more than an elucidation of the principles established here. The tenth paper contains the argument from history, forcibly put. The twelfth paper, entitled “The Political Value of Religion,” is directed against the opinion attributed to Dr. Seelye, that “the state has its own end,” and that it “uses religion as a means to this end.” It might be well illustrated by the famous quotation from Gibbon, that “the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the magistrate as equally useful.” The seventeenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second papers contain valuable collections of facts bearing upon the legal Constitutional argument.

The Makers of Florence: Dante, Giotto, Savonarola, and their City. By Mrs. Oliphant. With portrait of Savonarola, engraved by Jeens, and illustrations from drawings by Professor Delamotte. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876. Pp. xviii.—395; 53 woodcuts.)—Mrs. Oliphant has published in this book that combination of pleasant memories with fascinating study of an easy sort which every lover of art, literature, and old times longs to write when he or she visits Florence or remembers a former visit. There are evidences that the authoress has observed with discretion and chosen with judgment. There are evidences of a sincere love for art, even for those forms of art which are not generally popular. There is a great deal of Boccaccio upon Dante, and of Vasari upon the painters and sculptors of the early fourteenth century, with corrections of dates, and pleasant and useful comments drawn from other sources. There is such an account of Savonarola’s labors, triumph, and ruin as would suggest itself to a believer in his mission—to one who might regret the failure of his desperate attempt to make the Renaissance Christian, and to purify the Church by “reform within the” pale. The book deals with some of the most interesting subjects of enquiry—with the private life, so far as can be known to us, of Dante; with the life and thoughts of the people during a most important epoch, and in a very centre and focus of growing civilization; with the inner history of a triumphant period of architecture and the kindred arts; with the later culmination of Central Italian painting and sculpture. As has been said, the book is full of gathered knowledge and of observation—accurate enough, if not profound. And those persons who read Mrs. Oliphant’s novels, and find, as we do, that they can be bought safely, and that they are sure to be written in a “man-fashion” way, with some knowledge of the world and much simplicity and straightforwardness, will expect to find the same good qualities in this more seriously-meant work. Why, then, does it fail to be very valuable, at least as an introduction to the study of the great men concerned—Dante, Giotto, Donatello, Michelangelo, and the rest, their works and their times? Because of a certain want of clearness and of distinctness of meaning. One reads a page or two, and wonders what it is that he has read. The style is not cleared of those ambiguities and roundabout expressions which care would have done away with; and little errors, like the repetition of the same tempting quotation in different places, with little misconceptions, like the assumption that Brunelleschi was a greater artist than Ghiberti, because he was a more skilful or more bold constructor, seem to confirm the impression that the book was too easily written.

The conclusion is that one who has the books at hand can do better by taking down, one after another, his volumes of some ‘Biographie,’ his Murray’s ‘Hand-book,’ his Vasari, or translation thereof, and the various books and articles in artistic and other periodicals which deal with the men of Mrs. Oliphant’s study and their times. There is no doubt that what he will find under “Savonarola” in a good encyclopedia or biographical dictionary will be easier to grapple with than the longer essay before us; and no doubt that the “reading-up” which would follow would, in like manner, be more interesting. But this book has the merit of bringing much between two covers, and will lead no one astray. It is far from lost time to read it, although its distinctive reason for being is not very obvious.

The woodcut illustrations are not very valuable. They are rather minute than really delicate—at least this is true of the greater number.

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Buchanan (R.). <i>The Shadow of the Sword: a Tale</i> , swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 9 75
Bunyan (J.). <i>Pilgrim’s Progress</i> , in French and English.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Deweese (F. P.). <i>The Molly Maguires</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Doibear (Prof. A. E.). <i>The Art of Projecting</i>	(Lee & Shepard) 1 50
Edwards (R.). <i>Twice Defeated</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Elot (S.). <i>History of the United States</i> , new ed.	(Brewer & Tilton)
Glumer (C. von). <i>The Frau Domina</i>	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 50
Mohn (Prof. H.). <i>Grundzüge der Meteorologie</i>	(L. W. Schmidt)
Smart (H.). <i>Courtship in 1720 and in 1860</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Spurner’s <i>Historical Atlas</i> , Part 16, swd.	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Wine Bibbers’ <i>Temperance Society</i>	(Lee & Shepard) 75

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1877.

The Week.

THE count began on Thursday at one o'clock, but the Presidential dispute was almost immediately transferred to the Mixed Tribunal, on the papers in the Florida case. The argument thus far has, in form, related to the jurisdiction of the Tribunal and the admissibility of evidence; but the merits of the Florida case are so closely connected with these questions that practically the arguments on the preliminary points have covered the whole ground. Arguments have been made by Messrs. Evarts, Matthews, Stoughton, O'Coner, Merrick, and Black; the Commission has discussed them in secret session, and the public will learn of its decision to day or to-morrow.

Besides this, Congress has accomplished little. The House has passed the bill abolishing the District of Columbia police over the President's veto, and Murtagh's resignation has been accepted by the President, and the whole force reorganized; it has also voted to cut down the President's salary to \$25,000, while refusing at the same time to cut down Congressional salaries to \$4,500. On the night before the count there was a desperate struggle made by the Republicans to prevent the Democrats from getting in the Florida report, and great indignation was manifested at the Speaker's ruling, by which the report was finally brought before the House. Whether the ruling was right or wrong we do not pretend to know, but it is safe to say that indignation, as between a Speaker who makes extreme rulings to advance business, and filibusters who make dilatory motions to obstruct it, ought to be pretty evenly divided. Filibustering is in itself an outrage on decency, and as it is at present carried on saps the life of all legislative business, and it ought never to be resorted to except when it can be used to prevent the perpetration of some greater wrong. When it is used, as it now frequently is, to prevent the transaction of ordinary business, it drives the Speaker into doubtful acts, for which those who thus cause them are in a measure responsible. The Senate has sustained the President's veto of the bill abolishing the District police.

There seems to be a disposition on the part of a portion of the Republican press to make it appear that David Dudley Field is at the bottom of whatever was wrong in the proceedings of the Louisiana Returning Board. Mr. Field is in many respects an unfortunate person to direct a "moral" movement, and he is hardly more of a "reformer" than "Ben" Butler or "Zach" Chandler. It was a very unwise, not to say wicked, thing of "the slums" to send him to Congress, because when "the slums" choose a bad representative they are morally responsible for it, whereas when a good Massachusetts district or Republican legislature chooses a rascally Congressman, it is simply due to the temporary triumph of Ahri-man in the councils of Fate. So, too, it must be admitted that a considerable portion of the blame of Mr. Field comes home to Mr. Tilden; for we doubt if anything of as much importance as Field's election occurs in the Democratic party without Tilden's sanction, whereas had he been returned by a Republican constituency, Mr. Hayes would have been no more answerable for him than for the Indian famine, and, had you asked him what he thought of Field, would have enquired what kind of field you meant—whether of barley, turnips, or mangel-wurzel.

While noting these distinctions, however, we really must not be asked to concede that Field is the inventor of Maddox and Littlefield and Pickett, and that but for his appearance on the scene these

worthy men would have had nothing to say against the character of that Republican saint, J. Madison Wells. Littlefield was the clerk of the Louisiana Returning Board, and therefore a trusted servant of that eminent body of men, and Maddox, at least, has undoubtedly been employed by Wells on missions of great delicacy and entrusted with letters which need a great deal of laborious explanation, and was, until six days ago, a Government officer. That association with and use of this kind of man was not distasteful to Mr. Wells, we infer from the emphatic testimony of General Sheridan that as long ago as 1867 he (Wells) "had not one honest man among his friends." That Maddox should turn up among them now is not surprising, nor is it to be regretted. The "splitting" of confederates is one of the commonest and most potent means of finding out rogues. For our own part, however, we would, now that this Presidential controversy is before the Commission, like to see these Congressional investigations brought to an end, in spite of the exposures of villany they are making; because we believe no exposure they can make can compensate the moral injury they are inflicting on the community, by constantly tempting Republicans of good standing and character into most pitiful and barefaced attempts to whitewash or absolve Wells and his companions. The fact is that this task of "holding 185 votes for Rutherford B. Hayes" since Nov. 6 has been a very dirty one. It not only blackens the hands but blunts the consciences of men previously upright, truthful, and straightforward, and engages them in games of evasion and subterfuge which ought to be left to the wicked Democrats in their taverns and pool rooms.

J. F. Littlefield became a clerk of the Returning Board after having been, by his own account, a frequenter of stables and of bar-rooms, and before that the holder of a sinecure in the Custom-house at New Orleans, at \$83 a month. This "worker" testified that on the night of December 3, the eve of the Board's final and secret canvass, Wells came to him and ordered him to transpose the Democratic votes in precincts Nos. 2 and 9 of Vernon Parish to the Republican column, in order to secure the election of a Republican Judge, District-Attorney, and State Senator. Littlefield complied, and spent the rest of the night in making the changes. When the canvass was promulgated, however, the Morrison Committee noticed the discrepancy between the statement as offered in their presence and the statement as finally published, and called Wells's attention to it. Wells thereupon came to Littlefield in great concern and directed him to select three polls by the throwing out of which the same footing would be obtained. This, too, was assented to, another clerk named Davis being also privy to it; and when Davis asked how soon the affidavits of intimidation to justify the throwing out of the polls would be ready, Wells replied, "In a day or two," and "made a memorandum of it." The affidavits were filed December 18, and bore date November 14. Shortly afterwards Wells ordered the doctored poll-returns to be destroyed, along with the consolidated statement. The returns were, in fact, thus disposed of, but Littlefield kept the statement, and it has been produced before the House Investigating Committee. Its fraudulent character is not contested.

Governor Wells's character has also clearly appeared, no matter amid how much falsification, from documents brought before the same committee by Col. John G. Pickett and Joseph H. Maddox. Pickett is the adventurer who sold the Government the Confederate archives. He produced a letter addressed by Gov. Wells, Nov. 20, to some person whose name had been cut out, saying: "You fully understand the situation. Can't you advise with me relative thereto?" Pickett professed to have received this from Maddox, a special agent of the internal revenue service, on the third Sunday in November. At the same time Maddox showed

him a sealed letter from Gov. Wells to U. S. Senator West, of Louisiana, and told him the contents, namely, that the Democrats had "put up a million of money, and that we (meaning the Republicans) would need a million down there to settle this thing to counteract that." Maddox added that for his part he believed the Democrats had carried the State, was in sympathy with the South, and was willing to withhold the letter to West and to have money raised from the Democrats to purchase the Board. In that case Pickett was to have a commission. Pickett was tempted by the prospect, conferred with Mr. Hewitt and other Democrats, and failed altogether in his "negotiations." Maddox, it appears, went to New Orleans to turn an honest penny, and gave out that he was sent by the Government to look after the progress of affairs. Among Republicans he displayed his official title; among Democrats he passed for one of themselves, as an old former resident of the city would naturally be. He had known Wells and Anderson, of the Board, for many years, and he soon gave them plenty of his company. From Wells he extracted a letter of commendation which was to help him with the head of the civil service at Washington, and also the letter to Senator West already mentioned. Arrived at the Capital, he showed his credentials to the President and to Secretary Cameron, and represented the need of large sums of money to keep the Returning Board faithful against Democratic seduction; but he received the cold shoulder. He admitted, in reply to a question from Prof. Seelye, that he held the views attributed to him by Pickett, and was ready to help the oppressed people of Louisiana secure what they had fairly won at the polls. In his own language: "I acted on broad moral grounds; thought it was better for the people to buy their rights than lose them."

Maddox's reputation, especially in the neighborhood of Baltimore, is not such as to make his moral grounds a sufficient basis, alone, for his charges even against an intimate friend, and that friend J. Madison Wells. The public have been more convinced of his substantial truthfulness on the present occasion by the letter of Wells to West, which was opened for the first time by the Senator himself before the Committee. Its purpose was what Pickett had testified in advance, although there is no pretence that the letter had been "steamed." We append it in full as bearing on Wells's fitness to "exercise judicial powers" and on his disposition to be paid for doing his duty:

"NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOV. 21, 1876.

"MY DEAR SENATOR; I regret much not seeing you when here. I wanted to say much to you which would be at least imprudent to put upon paper. I trust, however, to meet you in Washington as soon as the canvass is over which is upon us. Our duties as returning officers have augmented the magnitude of the destiny of the two great parties—may I not say the nation? I fully comprehend the situation, as well as my duty to the greatest living General—U. S. Grant. And not with my consent shall this oppressed people be governed by his paroled prisoners, aided by their white-livered cowards of the North. Let me, my esteemed sir, warn you of the danger. Millions have been sent here, and will be used in the interest of Tilden, and unless some counter movement is made it will be impossible for me, or any other individual, to arrest its productive results. The gentleman presenting this letter is fully aware of the moves, and, if you allow, will communicate freely to our friends, and act promptly, or results will be disastrous. A hint to the wise. Strictly private and confidential.—Yours very truly,

"J. MADISON WELLS.

"To the Hon. J. R. WEST, Washington, D. C."

Wells, who has been a very unwilling and excited witness, has testified that he never knew of Pickett's existence; that the returns compiled by the supervisor of Vernon Parish were on a single sheet, accompanied with protests of intimidation, etc., but without poll or tally lists, so that none could have been destroyed as alleged by Littlefield; and generally he denies all Littlefield's story about tampering with them. As regards the letter sent to West by the hand of Maddox, he stated that what "would be at least imprudent to put upon paper" had reference solely to West's re-election. For the rest

of the letter he had no explanation. Chief Clerk Davis denies having been privy to the alteration of the Vernon returns, and adds that no change in precincts 2 and 9 could have affected the result of the election.

The President has sent a message to Congress on the subject of resumption. He says that while it may not be desirable to resume earlier than January 1, 1879, it is certainly desirable to hasten the day when paper and gold "shall have equal values." He calls attention to the fact that our exports largely exceed our imports, while at the same time our imports of specie exceed our exports. For the six months ending January 1, 1877, we accumulated more than \$6,000,000, in addition to the domestic product. It is evident, therefore, that what we want is such legislation as will keep the bullion here, and add the coin of the country to the circulating medium, and thus secure "a healthy inflation of a sound currency, to the great advantage of every legitimate business interest." Under the Resumption Act the Treasury has power to issue bonds for the purpose of accumulating gold, and all that is needed further is to reduce the volume of the legal tenders. For this purpose he recommends an act authorizing the Treasury to issue forty-year 4 per cent. bonds, exchangeable for legal tenders, the whole amount not to exceed \$150,000,000; and the bonds further to be available for deposit in the Treasury under the national banking acts. He also suggests that the banks be required to retain a percentage of the coin interest received on their bonds to secure their circulation, and that the limitation on the issue of silver change and fractional currency to \$50,000,000 be repealed.

In Wall Street the price of gold has advanced from 104 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 104 $\frac{7}{8}$ to 106 $\frac{1}{16}$. The upward turn was started by the purchases of speculators who had trusted that the President would come out with the statement that we are on the eve of resumption. Such a statement from such a source could have been used effectively in driving gold lower; in default of it there was an immediate buying of gold to cover short sales. Succeeding this demand came the news that the Porte had issued a circular which imperils the peace of Europe; and this caused a decline of $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in consols in London and strengthened the gold premium here. There is, however, no good commercial reason why gold should advance much if any. The Syndicate are selling 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds rapidly, and all United States bonds are in good demand. At the Stock Exchange the coal shares were pressed for sale early in the week, and New Jersey Central stock fell to 21; there was a considerable recovery from this (to 28 $\frac{1}{8}$), based on the belief that the company will yet get the aid it requires to keep it out of the hands of its creditors. Several California speculators of large means, who have become widely known as interested in the Big Bonanza speculation in San Francisco, have appeared in New York and taken an active interest in Stock Exchange speculations, with the result of sadly confusing Wall Street. The gold value of the United States legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between \$0.9535 and \$0.9422. The gold value of the silver "trade dollar" at the close of the week was \$0.9804; and that of a 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar, \$0.9629.

The Russian circular apropos of the Conference at Constantinople has appeared, and, as summed up by the telegraph, reminds the Powers that it was Russia which brought about the understanding between three of them which resulted in the Berlin Memorandum; that this agreement was disturbed by the British refusal to adhere to the Memorandum, but was substantially restored by the proposal of a conference on a basis suggested by England. The Conference Russia now takes, whatever its result, to be a proof of the interest felt by Europe in the Eastern question, and of its desire to preserve peace, and duty as well as interest prompts her to co-operate in any effort that may be made towards that end. Before,

therefore, taking any decided and separate action with regard to Turkey, she desires to know what course the Powers which participated in the Conference mean to pursue in consequence of the rejection by Turkey of its proposals. There is in this certainly no proof of weakness or hesitancy on the part of Russia. It is natural and proper that she should ask this question before acting herself. But will she act at all? The reason for believing that she will is that the Czar, in his famous Moscow speech, solemnly pledged himself to act alone in case the other Powers refused to act with him. He cannot apparently violate this pledge without humiliation in the sight of his own people and without great loss of prestige in the sight of Europe. It is hardly to be believed that such a thing is possible, especially after the army has actually been mobilized and to all intents and purposes massed on the Turkish frontier.

The belief that Russia will retreat from her position and find some plausible excuse for not fighting, are, first, the great change which took place in Ignatieff's demeanor after the Conference met. One of the chief objects of the Conference was supposed to be to restrain him, and prevent him from presenting the Porte with an intolerable ultimatum, backed by a threat of instant war. When the Conference met, however, and began to tone down its demands, so as to see what were the lowest terms on which Turkey would settle, he was found to be the most conciliatory and accommodating of all the diplomatists present. Second, the growing financial distress in Russia, and the accumulating proofs that war, especially if protracted, will produce a financial crisis of considerable gravity. Third, the surmise that Bismarck has let it creep out that he really wishes Russia to fight, and fight alone, so as to be well crippled and put in a condition in which, in case of a fresh complication between France and Germany, she will not be in a position to aid the former. This notion has been strengthened by the appearance at Constantinople of Dr. Busch, one of the Prince's confidants, with secret instructions for the German representative, which apparently caused the latter to exchange a very menacing for a very conciliatory attitude towards the Turks. Lastly, the growing uncertainty as to the policy of Austria, arising out of the increased and increasing friendliness of the Maygars for the Turks. Without security against an Austrian movement on her flank, an invasion of the Danubian provinces by Russia would be dangerous or impossible. Everything considered, however, the probabilities seem to us to be that Russia will, in the absence of a positive threat from Austria or Germany, strike, and strike vigorously, as soon as the roads are open on the Danube—that is to say, within about six weeks from the present date.

The Sultan has taken a very unexpected step in the dismissal and banishment of Midhat Pasha, the Vizier, who was the author of the new Turkish constitution and had been making a fine display of passion for reform, especially "within the party." It is now represented that the Sultan wished for reforms of the other sort, but was steadily opposed by Midhat, who began to take on airs as the real hero of the late crisis from which Turkey had emerged so honorably. It may never be known whether his thoughts went further than this, because in Turkey treason is one of the most convenient pretexts for getting rid of too powerful subordinates. Midhat, however, has been accused of a design to depose the Sultan, has been tried, and has only been allowed his life on condition of his leaving the country. He has actually been shipped to Italy, and Edhem Pasha installed in his place. This change is regarded by the correspondents of the London press at Constantinople as proof of the Sultan's liberality and sincerity; but those who regarded Midhat as a genuine reformer are inclined to believe that his removal is a triumph of the extremists and a death-blow to the constitution. If it is really to be interpreted as a defiance to the Powers, war of course becomes all the more probable.

The returns of the elections for the German Parliament, which have all come in except for sixty-six districts, in which there will have to be new elections, have revealed one fact, which is startling to the German politicians a good deal—viz., that the Socialist vote is increasing at an alarming rate. In 1871, 123,975 votes were cast for Socialist candidates; in 1874, 351,272; this year it is thought there have been nearly 1,000,000. It is true they only return about ten members, but this does not quiet the fears of the conservative classes as to the possible results of universal suffrage, and it is making the Liberals repent a little their recent opposition to the Government. Of the 380 members already elected, 105 only are National Liberals; 95 are Clericals or Ultramontanes; the remainder is made up of small parties of Imperialists, Poles, Progressists, Socialists, and Alsations—this last, of whom there are nine, being divided again into six Autonomists and three Protestants—that is, men who protest against the whole situation, beginning with the annexation. The Ultramontanes have shown in the elections, and will probably show in Parliament itself, a readiness to combine with the Socialists and Poles, and in fact with anybody they can pick up, so as to "get even with" the National Liberals and Bismarck. The growth of the Socialist strength has excited the more attention because the party is supposed to be in secret sympathy, if not affiliation, with the Russian Communists, and some go so far as to suppose that it has had something to do with the change of Bismarck's attitude on the Turkish question, supposing it to have changed, and that it has made him even desirous of a break with Russia and a merciless crushing of the whole Pan-Slavic movement.

The Government of British India finds itself face to face with a famine in Madras and Bombay which will probably cost the Treasury over \$30,000,000 in measures of relief, besides the falling off in taxes. The famine will cover, according to the official estimates, an area of 1,340,000 square miles, and affect a population of 24,000,000. The Government is obliged to afford relief by means of setting on foot public works, such as the construction of canals and railroads and ordinary roads, the digging of wells, etc., and it is calculated that the number of those dependent on employment on these works for escape from death will by the time the new crop comes in in April reach a million in Bombay and nearly five millions in Madras. Tremendous as these figures are, they do not tell the whole story, for the distress extends into the dominions of some of the native princes, and notably into Mysore, and these rulers have neither the inclination nor the means to afford relief. So that, under the most favorable circumstances, the loss of life must be very great. The cause is the old one, by which so many tens of millions in India have perished already—drought. The exposure of the population to these terrible calamities is steadily diminishing under increased means of irrigation and the extension of the railroad, in the absence of which it was impossible to pour supplies in sufficient quantities into a province in which the crops had failed. But neither the railroads nor the Government measures of relief touch the root of the difficulty, which is the enormous increase of the Indian population, under the influence of security, cheap food, and complete improvidence. They multiply close up to the means of subsistence, until the Southern provinces literally teem with human beings, who need little clothes and live on the cheapest grain, and who, though they can survive the loss of one harvest, must when there are two failures in succession prepare to die. In old times they did die without a murmur, but now the whole machinery of civilization, including great public loans, is put in motion to save them. The Indian exchequer is ill prepared, too, to meet this new burden. The revenue is not elastic; taxation cannot be greatly increased; the debt is already heavy; an equilibrium in the budget is only maintained by close economy, and the loss during the past year owing to the depreciation of silver has been very great. The question where to make the required new loan is now under debate—whether in London, at a low rate of interest, payable in gold, or in India, at a higher rate, payable in silver,

THE SOUTH AND THE TEXAS-AND-PACIFIC JOB.

THE introduction of the Texas-and-Pacific scheme by the aid of the Southern members, and ostensibly for the benefit of the South, on the application of old and discredited Northern speculators, is a strong indication of the quarter from which the restoration of the South to active politics is likely to threaten the Treasury. The cry got up by Mr. Blaine and his coadjutors last summer that what we had to fear from it was a sudden and overwhelming demand for an enormous sum, say \$200,000,000, in payment for—of all things in the world—the damage done by the Union armies on Confederate soil, was simply a piece of the somewhat impudent burlesque of which the Republican canvass so largely consisted. Democratic politicians, both North and South, are, of course, much too shrewd to bring forward so ridiculous a scheme, even if the money was all ready in the Treasury and could be drawn out by a joint resolution, instead of having to be voted in the regular way, and raised by taxation from the angry and alarmed people of the North for the benefit of their late enemies. In nothing did the Republican managers display so much contempt for the popular intelligence—and they displayed a great deal—than in the concoction of this bugaboo. The real danger from Southern need or greed lay in the matter of grants for public improvements, but to this some of the active Republican politicians could not, for obvious reasons, call attention; with most of them it was a delicate matter. But this is really the point on which, if any, the Democratic party will need watching. The South is poor, as everybody knows, and the restoration of its prosperity is not less necessary to its content than to Northern well-being. That it ought to be helped, if possible, seems a natural and easy deduction from the admission which nearly everybody is now willing to make, that it ought to be treated kindly and made comfortable in the old Union. In looking about for the means of helping it the selection of the payment of war damages would be an act of madness, and one sure to defeat its own object. The proposal to subsidize some industrial enterprise within Southern limits, and for the benefit of the South, is a simpler, easier, and more plausible mode of “building up her waste places,” as they say in the political platforms. It is unlikely to rekindle the passions of the war, and it is unlikely to rouse at first sight the suspicion or hostility of the average Northern man on any ground. Besides this, and better than this, however, it is a proposal which thousands of trained Northern speculators know how to carry out, and stand ready to carry out. That a band of these speculators should therefore present themselves to Congress at the earliest possible moment, prepared to heal the wounds of the South by a gigantic land-grant railroad, with guaranteed bonds and all the other machinery with which the Union-Pacific scheme made the public familiar, is not surprising. These speculators have not yet recovered from the reverses of 1873, and know perfectly well that there would be no opening at the North for any such designs. They have exhausted the patience and credulity of the public in this region, and can show themselves in no village without meeting their victims. To make a renewal of these enterprises possible some other arguments than the need of more railroads, or the duty of the Government to open great lines of communication, is necessary, and the needs of the South and the wisdom of conciliation supply it.

Now, Mr. Lamar—who has, we are sorry to say, made himself conspicuous in the advocacy of this Texas-and-Pacific scheme—and his Southern followers ought to remember that those at the North who have striven to expel the bitter memories of the war from politics, and have advocated the free and cordial readmission of Southern men to participation in the work of government, have been very largely actuated by the hope of finding in Southern politicians like Mr. Lamar himself and Senator Gordon of Georgia, powerful assistance in ridding the Government of the corrupt and jobbing practices into which the war and its sequelæ have plunged it; in the reform of the civil service and of the tariff, the more careful and economical collection and outlay of the revenue, and the absolute stoppage of all schemes for the use of the Government funds and credit in the

aid of commercial enterprises. This is what reform means, if it means anything. It is from these things that both North and South have been suffering during the last ten years, and it is of these things we have been hoping that the return of the best Southern men to public life would help to rid us. They had many faults as politicians before the war, but complicity in jobs was not one of them. They have suffered bitterly since the war from the management of their own State affairs by the very class of men who are now proposing to lift them out of the slough of despond by the Texas-and-Pacific job. It seems, therefore, almost incredible that they should be seen rising up in company with Mr. Tom Scott and his kind to help to fasten the yoke of the rings more firmly than ever on the neck of the Northern reformers, and postpone indefinitely that purification of administration and confinement of the Government to its legitimate duties which we have been all hoping and praying for recently. The futility of the scheme, as regards the South, is fully as plain as its rascality as regards the Government. Of all the things the South needs, and their name is legion, better communication with the Pacific coast is probably what it needs least. It does not need the opening up of new territory on its western side, because the territory it has already in the States lately in rebellion is not over half peopled or one-third tilled. There is no outlet for its products towards the west whatever. Its markets are at the North or in Europe, and with the North or with Europe it has already abundant means of communication—more, in fact, than it can use, for its railroads now in existence are but poor property, and its ports are certainly not crowded with shipping, so that the Texas-and-Pacific could do nothing towards stimulating Southern industry except by creating a demand for labor or by the purchase of supplies. But labor is already very scarce at the South. What there is is fully and profitably employed, and there is none to spare for railroad-making. The supplies of the new line too, except the lumber, will of course be all bought at the North—the locomotives, cars, tools, machinery, rails, oil—in fact, everything or almost everything. It is Northern manufacturers, and these only, who would profit by it as far as “orders” went. It would give the South absolutely nothing but a new line of communication with a region to which the Southern people neither wish to go nor send their products, and would open up for settlement a region for which the South has neither capital nor population to spare; and yet, though these facts are patent and on the very surface of the enterprise, the promoters have been able to persuade some Southern men that it contained some sort of boon for the South.

Its rascality as regards the Government is equally plain. The excuse which might have been made for the extension of Government aid to the Union and Central Pacific Railroads is utterly wanting here. When these lines were projected their profitability was very problematical. There was no means of estimating what the transcontinental traffic might amount to, and the enterprise of making a railroad across the plains seemed very formidable. All these doubts and difficulties have now passed away. It is perfectly easy to calculate what the California business by any given line will be worth, and what it will cost to make the road, from the experience of the lines now in operation. Moreover, capital is abundant, and is seeking employment in great masses on both sides of the Atlantic. If the Texas-and-Pacific scheme, therefore, is likely to pay there will be no difficulty in selling its bonds without a Government guarantee, and what the present projectors desire is a Government guarantee, either because they know their road will *not* pay, or to save themselves trouble, and secure a readier market for their bonds; this feature of the plan being probably the only one in which they take the least interest.

Even if we had had no experience of the debauching effects of these Government subsidies on the national politics, the practice of granting them opens up an abyss of corruption. There is no end to “public improvements,” and, in the eyes of jobbers and promoters, no bottom to the Treasury; and if we help to make another railroad, there is no reason why we should ever stop—why we should not make grants in aid of drainage, mining, manufacturing, and

steamboating for a hundred years to come. As regards the South, it could not do a worse thing than become privy to such schemes. What that region most needs is immigration and capital, and these are to be secured by the reformation of the State governments, the reduction of taxation, the restoration of the public credit, and the expulsion from public life of the unclean horde bred by the civil war, and the establishment of peace and security. Nothing could be more unfortunate at this crisis in Southern history, or more likely to prevent the material restoration of the country and to repel capital and immigration, than the formation of a Southern lobby for raids on the national Treasury, and the conversion of Southern politicians and public men into the confederates of Northern speculators and gamblers. There has been enough of this sort of abomination. Let us have peace, but with peace purity.

THE RUSSIAN FINANCES.

M. LEROY-BEAULIEU continues in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* his examination of the financial condition of the Russian Empire, which has so important a bearing on the solution of the quarrel with Turkey. The most prominent fact in the situation is that from the Crimean War until 1871 there was every year a deficit of greater or less amount. In that year an equilibrium was reached, and since then there has been a small surplus. The debt now amounts to about \$1,100,000,000, and a considerable portion of this has been borrowed partly to reduce the volume of the paper money with which Russia has been afflicted ever since 1768, or for more than one hundred years, and partly to supply the empire with railroads. In fact, all the loans made since 1866 have been for the latter purpose. The interest account on all this amounted last year to \$81,000,000, and the interest on all the debt held abroad is payable in gold. The total of the public outlay in 1876 was estimated at \$399,000,000. Of this the army and navy gets \$153,000,000, or close on one-half. Of the remainder about \$7,500,000 goes to the church. The Emperor takes for his household about \$7,000,000, which does not include the revenues of the enormous private domain of the Imperial family; but out of it he provides for the public libraries, museums, galleries, and imperial theatres. The Minister of the Interior takes \$35,000,000; Justice, about \$12,500,000; the remainder goes to the Ministry of Finance. In 1876 only \$12,500,000 were devoted to popular education, which was not much for a population of 80,000,000.

In addition to this funded debt of \$1,100,000,000, there is, however, a floating debt of \$675,000,000, including in this the legal-tender notes—or “battle-born” currency, as Logan would call it—which amount at the present moment to about \$650,000,000. With this paper money the Government has had a long and gallant struggle. It was first issued in the last century by the Empress Anna, and the volume was increased during all the wars and revolutions of the ensuing fifty years. When the Emperor Nicholas ascended the throne things had reached such a pass that gold, as we should say, stood at 300; or, in other words, it took three paper roubles to buy one of silver. The Government again and again, during this long period, made efforts by “funding greenbacks,” or taking them up with the proceeds of loans made abroad, to reduce this part of its debt to manageable proportions; but in vain. Each war or domestic trouble led to fresh issues. In 1840 gold stood at 350, and partial repudiation was then determined on. The outstanding legal tenders were called in, and for every three and a half old paper roubles a new one was issued, which was supposed to be worth par in silver, and the finances seemed to be in a sound condition, when the Crimean War again threw everything into confusion. Of the new paper roubles, 170,000,000 was all that the Government had a right to issue under the scheme for the withdrawal of the old ones; but by the close of the Crimean War, in 1855, there were 600,000,000 of these afloat; and in 1857, 735,000,000. Since then the Government has been steadily and persistently trying to reduce their volume, but by the last statement of the Imperial Bank (December 4, 1876) it appears that the amount of irredeemable paper money after all stands just where it stood twenty years ago.

All that the Treasury has to show by way of basis or guarantee for this enormous sum is an accumulation of gold and silver and foreign government securities amounting to about \$175,000,000. Two or three times during these twenty years the efforts made to bring the paper to par were almost successful. In 1863 the discount on the paper rouble was only a few cents, when suddenly the Polish insurrection broke out and up it went again. In 1866 it had been again brought down, when the Austro-Prussian war sent it up once more. In 1870 the discount was only twelve or fifteen per cent. when the French war sent it up, and now comes the Turkish difficulty to stop the process of recovery again. In July last the volume of the paper had been reduced from 735,000,000 roubles to 693,000,000. It has since then gone back to the old figure. What is still worse is that the \$175,000,000 of metallic reserve has been reduced within the same period to \$135,000,000. Such are the financial results of wars and rumors of wars, and Russia is now called on to meet fresh armaments and possibly a prolonged and bloody struggle in Europe and Asia with a total debt, consolidated and floating, of little, if any, short of \$2,000,000,000, and one-third of this depreciated paper money, constantly growing in amount.

As regards the prospects of the revenue, it cannot be said that they are, under existing circumstances, very bright. In the first place, in the event of war, the Black Sea would be closed to exportations from Russian ports, and, in fact, during the winter there has been but little despatch of freight through the Bosphorus, owing to the fear that hostilities might at any moment break out. The gravity of this loss of the Black Sea outlet is made plainer by the fact that Russian exports consist mainly of bulky products—grain, hemp, and the like—and to have to despatch them overland to the ports of the Baltic is almost tantamount to depriving them of a market, even if the railroads were not, as they have been for the last three months, greatly encumbered by the despatch of troops and munitions of war. And then it must be remembered that the ports of the Baltic are, for commercial purposes, closed in winter. On the top of these business derangements comes an augmentation of the tariff by making all duties payable in gold after the first of January, 1877. The object of this is to increase the Government supply of metallic currency needed to meet its interest payments to foreign creditors, but it amounts in practice to a rise in the duties of from twenty-five to thirty per cent., and is already causing great business derangements. It must necessarily result in considerable falling-off in the yield of the customs, which last year constituted a fifth part of the revenue, and is, under all the circumstances, a measure of very doubtful utility. There is more or less opposition to it among Russian economists, but it shows the curiously mixed condition of Russian civilization that a financial periodical, the *Birsha* (or *Exchange*), was suspended for three months for criticising it unfavorably. The effect of so great a rise in the price of foreign products to a population so largely dependent on them as the Russian for everything but the necessities of life, must, of course, be a great aggravation of the hardships of the crisis, even if there should be no increase in the internal taxes, and this is not to be hoped for.

All these things will help to show how great must be the burden of care and anxiety which is pressing on the Government at St. Petersburg, and to prove the sincerity of the Emperor's declarations that he does not seek war or territorial aggrandizement. There has probably never been a period in the national history when the job of succoring the Turkish Christians, and, still more, of pushing the Russian frontier down to the Sea of Marmora, must have seemed less attractive, and if Russia really enters on war it will prove that she is actuated by more respectable motives than those of material gain.

THE COUNT.

WASHINGTON, February 5.

IF anything were wanted to prove that no amount of calculated republican simplicity can destroy the universal passion for show and ceremonial, the evidence could have been found in abundance on Thursday in the crowds

that thronged down Pennsylvania Avenue to witness the count. The ceremony was not to begin until one o'clock, but the galleries of the House were well filled by eleven, and tickets were to be had of speculators at prices which the "higgling of the market" did more to determine than the intrinsic value of the seats they secured. At one o'clock, after much patient waiting, the Senate entered the House, according to the provisions of the Electoral bill, and filed into their seats, which occupied the greater part of one side of the hall, while Mr. Ferry, by the side of Mr. Randall, called the assembly to order. Tellers were appointed, two on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House, a small square box was brought to Mr. Ferry, and the votes, taken out of it and opened by him in alphabetical order, were handed to and read by the tellers with deliberation, but, to tell the truth, by no means impressively. The reading went on for some two or three hours, until Florida was reached, when the Houses separated, and the case went to the Tribunal.

As a ceremonial the beginning of the count was certainly not a success, and as an historical event it was not particularly exciting, because the interest had been "discounted." Every one knew beforehand exactly what would be done and how. On this account the only way in which the affair could have been made impressive would have been by devoting a great deal of time and pains to its external effect, but this was impossible for the same reasons that make all ceremonial with us so out of the question. Three or four hundred men dressed in "citizens'" clothes, chiefly of domestic manufacture, and who, as a whole, look neither more nor less remarkable than any three or four hundred men selected at random from the great body of politicians throughout the country—sitting, too, at desks like those behind which we usually see ranged lines of school-boys—would not look impressive under any circumstances, and the solemnity of the occasion brought out and emphasized the commonplace character and appearance of the two bodies—as a whole—that were to deal with it. Then, besides this, everybody knew that, notwithstanding all that was going on, the two Houses were not about to decide the Presidential contest, but that every disputed State was going to the Tribunal for adjudication. Neither Mr. Ferry nor Mr. Randall has the qualities which fit men for ceremonial purposes, and the American politician in general is not well enough dressed, and has not the requisite "set-up," to catch the eye and fire the imagination. Even the tellers were badly qualified for their posts from the ceremonial point of view. As their duties consisted mainly in reading long, formal documents, the contents of which were already known to the audience, what was needed for effect was loud, clear, and impressive voices; but, instead of being selected with a view to this, they had apparently been chosen on political grounds solely, the two from the Senate having been made tellers on account of their loyalty to the Government, and the two from the House as "ex-rebels."

The whole interest of the case is now transferred to the Commission; and to a lawyer, or any one interested in public affairs, capable of following a legal argument, it would be difficult in a lifetime to find a case more instructive to study and watch, whether for the magnitude of the questions involved, or for the ability of the lawyers pitted against each other, or the weight of the bench which is to decide it. By the time this letter appears in print the Florida case may have been decided; but at the stage which the proceedings had reached yesterday it was already possible to make out a great many things very clearly which had been hitherto quite obscure to the general public. In the first place, to be quite fair, it must be said that the Republicans are, now that the case has got into court, heavily handicapped in many ways. They probably did not reflect when they put Mr. Morton on this tribunal that it was highly probable that in his long and varied career he had in at least some cases committed himself to views of the law which it would be awkward for him now to decide to be wholly wrong, and so yesterday when one of the Democratic counsel cited as a precedent some proceedings of a Senate Committee in which Mr. Morton had expressed certain views and opinions of a somewhat more conservative character than those which he recently expressed before assuming the ermine, the citation could not but induce some thoughtfulness, both on Mr. Morton's part and on the part of those who heard what he had held, as to what he would hold now. In the second place, the Democrats are better provided with counsel. It can hardly be called an equal fight with Messrs. Stoughton, Matthews, and Shellabarger on one side, even when assisted by Mr. Evarts, and Messrs. O'Connor, Trumbull, Black, Merriek, and Field against them. The moderate Republicans have in the selection of counsel been again defeated, as they were in the composition of the Tribunal, and defeated by the extremists. One of the Republican counsel who was strongly objected to by the best men in the party, as not up to his work, was forced on by

the exertions of no less a person than Mr. Zach. Chandler. Besides this, the arguments have already shown that the advantage is not with the Republicans as regards preparation. The Democrats have really been getting up their case for three months, while the best Republicans have been indolent in the matter, on account of the doubts and differences existing in their own party. The result of this is that the Democrats show a thorough familiarity with every branch of the case, while the Republicans shift their ground in the argument, and show signs of what in the ring would be called "grogginess." Perhaps, on the whole, all this is fortunate for the Hayes side; for, if they succeed in getting the Tribunal to decide in their favor, the result will be chiefly due to the great strength of their case in law.

It is curious to see how, as the law of the case gradually disentangles itself from its politics, the whole aspect of the contest changes, and what seemed to be arguments of "great pith and moment" turn out to be wholly empty, and how the passion and almost violence with which the case was opened have subsided and been dissipated by the appearance on the scene of a little pure law. Every one has noticed the great part hitherto played in the discussion of the subject by the "governor's certificate." Shortly after the election everything was represented by the Republicans as turning on this. Here, they said, was a United States statute governing the whole matter, and of course that settled it. When the Democrats secured the certificate in Oregon, however, they began to feel more doubtful of this, and were somewhat puzzled to know what ground to take. But when the Florida case was reached they seem to have come to the conclusion that it was an argument at least worth trying, and Mr. Kasson, one of the Republican objectors on the part of the House, put it forward in a brief speech, in which he appeared to rest the case on this point. At the climax of his argument he was interrupted by Mr. Thurman, who wished to know whether he carried it so far as to hold that if a governor of a State certified to an electoral vote cast by persons constitutionally disqualified—*e.g.*, by four members of Congress, or persons disqualified under the 14th Amendment—it would be impossible to go behind the returns. Mr. Kasson is a very good speaker, one of the few good ones in the House, and his argument had had every appearance of logical continuity and coherence; but this question, asked in the usual manner of a judge on the bench putting a case to counsel, took the life out of it, and gave the death-blow to the certificate theory. During the rest of the day it made little or no appearance in the case, and Mr. Matthews yesterday formally abandoned it, and advanced the proceedings a stage further than they had got before by disclaiming any reliance upon, or interest in, the "returns" whatever, except as making a *prima facie* case. Should the Republicans finally abandon this position, or disclaim all belief in it, the first positive victory lies with the Democratic contestants; the Republicans would fall back on the Returning Board, but the Democrats would have on their side a solemn adjudication of the State Judiciary in their *quo warranto* suit, and an act of their Legislature, which they maintain ought to be of higher validity than the mere return of a canvassing board. Without going into technicalities it is evident that the Republicans are thus being driven into difficult ground, for the moment you come upon two sets of electors acting on the same day, one voting for Hayes and the other for Tilden, and one having behind it a Returning-Board decision, and the other almost every branch of the State Government—the branch supposed to be cognizant of the law, too, having decided on *quo warranto* that the Tilden electors were the legal electors of the State and the Hayes electors were not—you get very close to the merits, which there is little doubt about. Fortunately, in Florida there was no question of intimidation, so that it must be decided on general principles of law.

To-day Messrs. O'Connor and Evarts finished the argument on the question of jurisdiction and evidence, in speeches which will be long remembered by all who heard them. Mr. Evarts, owing to the great elaboration and involution of his sentences, is always more easily read than heard, and the reappearance in his argument, in a new form, of the doctrine of the finality of the governor's certificate, after its formal abandonment by Mr. Matthews on Saturday, gave an air of weakness to what he said, and made it seem as if there was no settled opinion on the Republican side as to the management of their own case. When Mr. O'Connor rose to reply there was, I think, a general feeling among the lawyers who were present that the case on the Republican side had been, all things considered, well put, and that what was now needed was not new argument so much as a careful weighing of the arguments as they actually stood to determine which side had the best of it. Mr. O'Connor not only undertook to do this, but to do it in a way which could leave no vestige of doubt in anybody's mind as to the probable decision of the case. It was a classical argument, one that would bear comparison with any that we are accustomed to refer to as models, and one that, at any rate for the moment, carried

conviction with it. The positions of the Republican lawyers were first carefully stated, and then confuted; their arguments put into the simplest and most vigorous English; and instead of time being wasted on every detail of the case, only those positions which were real strategic points were attacked. It would be difficult to imagine a better illustration of the difference between a great lawyer and a little one than the way in which he argued the question of the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, as compared with the way in which the question of the jurisdiction of the two Houses had been argued by partisans before the passage of the Electoral Bill. His whole argument was a masterpiece. Of what the decision will be it is, of course, impossible to form any opinion, but it is equally impossible to dispute the fact that on the opening argument of the last few days the Democrats have had altogether the best of it.

FRENCH AMATEURS.

PARIS, January 12.

M. CLÉMENT DE RIS is one of the "Conservateurs" of our National Museum at Versailles. He is a collector of great taste and has just published a volume entitled 'Les Amateurs d'Autrefois.' The word *amateur* has hardly an exact equivalent in the English language, though there have been and are still in England great "amateurs." Horace Walpole was one, and I could name many others in the present time. The "amateur," as his name shows, is not only a collector, he is essentially a lover, an intelligent lover of all the fine things that can be placed in a private house—statues, pictures, drawings, engravings, enamels, furniture, etc. Some of the Roman generals and administrators who lived in Gaul brought with them works of art, just as in our time the last Grand Duke of Tuscany never travelled without the small Madonna of Raphael which is now in the Pitti palace and which is familiarly known as the Madonna of the Grand Duke. The finest antique bronze I know, a small Pallas of the time of Phidias, now in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, was found in a vineyard of the province called the Narbonnaise. Every child in France knows the history of the Soissons vase, which a soldier disputed with King Clovis; this story shows that even the barbarous Franks were not quite insensible to beauty. The first kings and chieftains had great coffers, which they filled with precious stones, gold and silver ornaments. The first real museums of France, however, were the "treasures" which were formed in all the great churches and monasteries, and which contained the gifts of princes and princesses. I recently had occasion to admire in our national library a part of the treasure of our Sainte-Chapelle. Nothing can exceed the Gothic beauty of the fine manuscripts presented to the Royal Chapel by Saint Louis; they are all encased in curious bindings of solid gold or silver, covered with precious stones. Saint Denis, Saint Germain des Prés, Saint Gervais, Saint Martin at Reims, the cathedrals of Reims, of Chartres, of Laon, of Noyon, the church of Vézelay, became real museums at a very early date. We can find a trace of the wealth of the princes in the inventories which were generally made after their death; and these inventories are now classed among the most valuable documents of history. We possess inventories which go as far back as the twelfth century: those of Clémence of Hungary, the widow of Louis le Hutin; of Charles V.; of Jean, Duc de Berry; the inventory of the library of Charles VI., made by order of the Duc de Berry. In the fifteenth century we have, among others, the inventory of the jewels of the Duc de Guyenne, brother of Louis XI., and in 1493 the inventory of the famous Jacques Cœur. I have had occasion to speak of the magnificence of the court of the Dukes of Burgundy; the French expeditions in Italy contributed much to increase the love of the French princes for ancient works of art. Mme. de Bretagne was a very ardent collector; she had real museums at Blois and at Amboise. The movement which is known under the general name of the Renaissance gave an extraordinary impetus to the "amateurs." King Francis I. made a museum at Fontainebleau, and all the châteaux of the Loire rivalled each other in beauty.

The book of M. Clément de Ris relates chiefly to modern times. It begins with Jean Grolier (who lived between 1479 and 1565), and who may be called the king of bibliophiles. Grolier would be hardly remembered, though he was ambassador at Rome and a great financier under Charles IX., if it were not for the famous bindings which bear his device—"Grolie et amicorum." M. Leroux de Liney has published 'Researches on Jean Grolier, on his Life and Library,' where you may look for many interesting details. Grolier was a friend of Aldus Manutius, of Erasmus; he was a scholiast. Among the 350 books of his which have been found, and which are all worth their weight in gold, there is not one French book; you will only find the great classics of antiquity—Virgil, Aulus Gellius, Claudian,

Lucan, Velleius Paterculus, Martial, Ovid, Pliny, Livy, Juvenal, etc. The greatest number of them are in England; these books only became famous after 1700.

Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617) was not only a remarkable historian, a negotiator of the edict of Nantes, he was an "amateur," and his magnificent history, respectable as it is, is not so much sought for as the books which bear his arms, consisting of three bees. De Thou left about six thousand volumes, mostly bound in morocco. His library was increased after his death by his children, and in 1677 there appeared a catalogue of the De Thou Library, in two volumes, recording as many as thirty-three thousand volumes. This library found its way into the family of Rohan-Soubise, and was finally sold at auction in 1787. It was sold for the modest sum of 260,000 francs; but the Revolution was approaching, and many of the books were bought for England.

Cardinal Mazarin was the real type of an "amateur." I was visiting a few days ago the great gallery in which he deposited his finest statues and pictures, in the Palais Mazarin, which is now the National Library. It is well known that a few days before his death he dragged himself with great difficulty along this gallery and was heard to say, with a painful sigh: "Il faudra donc quitter tout cela." We can hardly wonder at this regret when we go through the "Inventory of the Meubles, etc., of Cardinal Mazarin," published by the English Philobiblion Society from the manuscripts belonging to the Duc d'Aumale. Mazarin had for many years, so to speak, the fortune of France at his disposal, and he constantly sent orders to his dear Italy for works of art of all sorts. He employed agents who travelled all over Europe, he often made use of the French ambassadors and ministers. During the Fronde, his property was confiscated and the Parliament ordered the sale of all his *meubles*; but before the sale could be effected, Mazarin had become again omnipotent. He sent large orders to England for the sale of the magnificent collection of Charles I. Charles I. had bought for £80,000 sterling the gallery of the Duke of Mantua; he had besides all the fine works collected for him by Rubens and Vandyke. Who would believe now that in the inventory of the sale of Charles I., made by order of the English Parliament, the great cartoons of Raphael, which now adorn the Kensington Museum, were offered for the sum of £300? Mazarin's collections were left by him to Louis XIV.; the king did not accept the legacy. The catalogue was made by Colbert; we find in it, besides all the jewels, the plate, etc., as many as 546 pictures of the Italian, Dutch, German, and French schools, and 130 statues. Everything was sold by Mazarin's family; his books became the nucleus of the Mazarin Library, which is now the Library of the Institute.

Michel de Marolles, abbé of Villeloin (1600-1681), was the founder of our *Cabinet d'Estampes*, which is annexed to the National Library. There are in this collection about 2,500,000 engravings. Marolles left memoirs, and Sainte-Beuve has spoken of them. The wealthy abbé began to collect in 1644; in 1655 he had already as many as 75,000 engravings; in 1666 this number was nearly doubled. The collection was bought by Colbert, and Louis XIV. had it bound in magnificent volumes, which still exist and bear the double L with the royal crown (there are in the Cabinet d'Estampes 234 folio volumes having this origin).

M. Clément de Ris has a long article on the Comtesse de Verrue (1670-1736). She was a lady of the Luynes family, the granddaughter of the *Connétable*; she married the Comte de Verrue, a gentleman of Savoy, and went with him to the Court of Turin. There she became the favorite of King Victor Amadeus. She was only sixteen years old when she arrived. This is what Saint-Simon says about her: "She saw at once that the king was enamored of her, and feigned not to see it. Things came to such a point that she warned her mother-in-law and her husband, and begged them to take her to the country. They would not do it; she pressed them again and often, and proposed to make a journey to the baths of Bourbon in order to get away on pretext of her health." She was really thrown by her own husband into the arms of Victor Amadeus. For ten years she was as absolute at Turin as the French favorites ever were at Versailles. The party opposed to the French influence attempted to poison her, but she happily took some counter-poison, which was long afterwards known familiarly as "the remedy of Madame de Verrue." She seems to have been a very energetic person. I saw two years ago in the archives of Turin a curious album, representing her always on horseback and hunting, surrounded with a flying squadron of young ladies, all of French origin. She became tired of Turin and succeeded in making her escape to France. Victor Amadeus recognized her two children, and pensioned them. In Paris Madame de Verrue surrounded herself with all the works of art which she had carefully collected in Italy. She had much *esprit*, and was very fond of books. Some of her pictures are now at the Louvre, and among them is the beauti-

ful picture of Charles I. by Vandyke. Her books are much in request among bibliophiles; they always bear the double arms of Luyne and of Verre.

In the XVIIIth century we find the greatest "amateurs" among the rich financiers, a class of men who were becoming more and more important. They bought the finest hôtels, they encouraged artists, and they attracted the nobility to their houses by filling them with the most beautiful works of art. The "Cabinet Crozat" is well known to all our artists. Crozat (1665-1740) was a financier of the South of France; he built a magnificent hôtel in Paris, and filled it with statues, pictures, bronzes, drawings; he was a kind of Mæcenas. He gave rooms in his house to the famous Watteau, to Rosalba Carriera. His concerts were great events. The Opéra-Comique is built on the terrace of the Hôtel Crozat, which was demolished in 1772. This quarter, which was then on the outskirts of Paris, has become the centre of the boulevard.

Among the great amateurs of the XVIIIth century I must name the Comte de Caylus (1692-1765), who was himself a remarkable engraver, as well as a writer of some merit. In the 'Memoirs of Madame d'Epinay,' which are so interesting as a picture of the XVIIth century, you will find Caylus among the members of the society which met every Sunday at Mademoiselle Quinault's—Destouches, Duclos, Collé, the Abbé Voisenon, Crébillon fils, Pont de Veyle, the friend of Voltaire, Maurepas. Caylus was also one of the *intimes* of the excellent Madame Geoffrin, at whose house he met Marmontel, Diderot, and the Encyclopædists. M. Clément de Ris gives the biography of Jean de Julienne, who was the proprietor of the Gobelins manufacture of cloth, and who left a great monument of art in the 'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau, gravé par les soins de M. de Julienne'—a great folio, which can only be seen now in our public libraries. Pierre Jean Mariette (1694-1774) was the type of the amateur; his knowledge was profound; he amassed during fifty years the most numerous collection of drawings and engravings that ever existed. I wish space would allow me to speak of him with some detail, as well as of the rich *fermiers-généraux* Blondel de Gagny (1695-1776), Randon de Boisset (1708-1776), De la Live de Tully (1725-1779). These last are real types which deserve to be studied. The readers of Madame d'Epinay must remember De la Live de Tully, and will not have a very agreeable remembrance of him. As an amateur he is more interesting than he was as a man. The *fermiers généraux*, such as Lapoëlinière and others, had all the vices of an aristocracy which was becoming more and more unworthy of its origin. Something must, however, be forgotten to those among them who became the patrons of art. Watelet was a *fermier-général* and an engraver. Engraving was the fashion. Madame de Pompadour has left her 'œuvre'; she took lessons of Boucher. The work of M. Clément de Ris, edited with much *luce*, will be a valuable addition to libraries which are chiefly devoted to the last century.

Correspondence.

COL. PELTON'S REMITTANCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

"There were some signs of horror on the part of the Republicans over Pelton's sending \$8,000 to Oregon, even though it came back untouched; but we imagine this has declined or disappeared under the discovery that Chandler sent about \$6,000 to Louisiana, which apparently did not come back untouched. In fact, we do not think it would improve the national reputation to look too narrowly into the operations of the 'workers' of either party."—*The Nation*, Feb. 1.

The readers of the *Nation* in this part of the country are inclined to doubt the accuracy of the foregoing statement. They have been informed by the newspaper reports of the testimony taken by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections that a "credit" of \$8,000 was telegraphed from New York to Ladd & Bush, Salem, Oregon, on December 6, and that on the same day another "credit" of \$7,300 was telegraphed from New York to San Francisco for the benefit of the same firm (Ladd & Bush). Have you any information that any part of this money was returned? The first check drawn by Martin & Runyon, at the suggestion of Mr. Jordan, cashier of the Third National Bank of New York, was returned, but the "credit" went to Oregon in another shape.

BALTIMORE, February 2, 1877.

[We have not; but also we have no information that the "credit" was used, or if so, how. The matter is, however, of small importance. We have no doubt the Democrats were quite capable of using either credit or money for illegitimate purposes, and have

so used it, if not in Oregon, in other places; but claims of superior morality on the part of the Republicans become, after all that has occurred, more and more nauseating.—ED. NATION.]

THE MEXICANS IN CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : There can be no doubt that the course of the American people in finding and adopting a method of settlement for the difficulties presented by the Presidential question is the most honorable page that has ever been written in their history. There are few peoples but what can fight and fight bravely, but fighting indicates no capacity for self-government. The proof which our people have recently given of calm good sense, patience, and wisdom under enormous difficulties is most admirable. These qualities have enabled them to reach a method of adjustment which satisfies both political parties. When we see a strong partisan Democrat and editor (Mr. A. K. McClure) write to his paper from Washington that the Democrats are perfectly satisfied to leave the decision of this question to a Republican tribunal (the majority of the judges being Republicans); that they have no fears of partiality, and are prepared beforehand to accept an adverse decision, should it come, without murmuring, we feel that we have testimony that as a people we are really capable of self government. The proof is before us in every day's events.

But what, then, shall we say of those men who used their positions in Congress to do their utmost to prevent the adoption of this settlement? who returned the confidence and preferment accorded by their constituents by persistent efforts to prolong and intensify our difficulties, and, as far as lay in their power, to prevent any just and fair settlement?

I suppose no one now doubts that the fixed intention of Cameron, Blaine, Morton, Sherman, and their followers was to count in their candidate and seize by force the Presidency, and to do this even at the cost of civil war. This is the true Mexican spirit; these men are Mexicans at heart, and they should be known as the "Mexicans in Congress."

A REPUBLICAN.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 1.

THE CATALOGUER'S WORK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Dr. Hagen thinks that we ought to abandon entirely the practice of making "subject and reference" catalogues, as expensive and useless, and confine ourselves to the "alphabetical" kind. There is, by the way, some confusion of language here. Subject-catalogues may be—indeed, in this country most of them are—alphabetical. But it is plain from the general course of the argument that author-catalogues are meant. What is intended by "reference"-catalogues is not so clear, but perhaps it is the catalogue of the reference portion of the library as distinguished from that of the books which are in constant circulation. The considerations adduced in support of this opinion are not without weight; but (1) the expense is over-estimated, (2) the object of a catalogue is imperfectly stated, and (3) the uselessness of a subject-catalogue is simply assumed.

First, as to the expense. Dr. Hagen says: "If a library's catalogue is made to cost twice as much as the library itself, every one will admit that something is amiss." Is it certain that it would be inexpedient to spend twice as much on the catalogue as on the library, if the library was to become three times as useful in consequence? People talk of this expense as if it were a dead loss, as they might well do of the architectural adornment lavished upon some of our libraries. A book's binding costs on the average at least a third as much as the book itself, yet we do not leave our books in sheets; a book's storage costs two thirds as much as the book, yet there never seems to be much difficulty in getting money appropriated or given for a library building. The catalogue alone gets no legacies and very grudging appropriations. So much more are men impressed by the material than by the intellectual. Dr. Hagen, however, is not indifferent to the catalogue; he only thinks that half of it—the best half in many person's opinion—is mere surplusage, and that the expenditure for the whole is extravagant. The statement just quoted does not agree well with the previous assertion that catalogues prepared in the present style "will cost Boston and Cambridge about a million of dollars," and both estimates are too large. The three great libraries in and near Boston have cost nearly a million and a half. Three millions for cataloguing in one neighborhood would indeed be a somewhat alarming amount. But there is no danger of any such a call for money, at least in the present generation. It is not easy to ascertain the cost of this kind of work, because the persons employed in it have so often many

other duties ; but an exceedingly liberal estimate of the cost of cataloguing the accessions of one of our large libraries makes it less than forty cents a volume. There are not 600,000 volumes in the three libraries ; so that the apprehended three millions, otherwise on a million, is reduced to about one-third of a million, and fully one-third of this is for the author-catalogue, of which Dr. Hagen says : "This simple aim of recording the books and rendering them accessible has been accomplished everywhere at comparatively small expense by alphabetical catalogues."

If the costliness of the catalogue is overstated, the account is balanced by understating its usefulness. "The object of the catalogue is to determine whether a given book is in the library, and where it is." That is, indeed, one object, and a very important one ; but there are several others. The object is quite as much to determine what books the library has on a given subject as whether it has a given book. Leaving the desultory readers out of the question, half the people who go to libraries have no author or book in their minds ; they have a question to look up, and the library is useless to them unless they can find out in some way who has written upon that question. Dr. Hagen is, no doubt, fully acquainted with the literature of the subjects in which he is interested ; indeed, he is the author of an admirable bibliography of entomology (Leipzig, 1862-63). When he goes to a library he knows exactly what he wants, does not need to be told who have written upon the particular point he is investigating, nor when they wrote, nor how they treat the subject ; and probably, being on the watch for additions to his work with a view to the long-desired supplement, does not need to have his attention called to the latest novelties. But most people—even of those who use a college library—are not so accomplished, and a vast majority of those who frequent a city or town library know nothing whatever of the literature of the questions on which they seek information. Even professors find it no easy task to notice all the books that appear in their own line of study, to remember them all, and to have the authors' names at their tongues' end, as he must do who consults a library provided only with an author-catalogue. Moreover, scholars often want to look up some matter outside of their habitual course of study ; with merely an author-catalogue they are entirely adrift, unless there happens to be a bibliography of the subject, and from that they can get no assistance unless some of the books mentioned in it happen to be in the library. The bibliography does not help them in the least in regard to those books which it has failed to include (and every such work is incomplete), nor for those which have been published since it appeared. It may even happen that not a single book mentioned in the bibliography is in the library, and in that case, of course, the bibliography would give no clue to those which the library does contain. The objection which Dr. Hagen urges against a printed catalogue, that "it begins to be imperfect before it is finished," applies with double force to the bibliography. The latter has no resource against the difficulty except a supplement, and, until that appears, the enquirer is left in utter ignorance of the latest publications. Now, supplements of this sort are apt to be issued at sufficiently wide intervals. The library catalogue has no such difficulty. Although this objection to printing—that a printed catalogue is of no use because it does not contain the latest books—is often made with a certain air of triumph, as if it settled the question, yet in the practical working of the library it has hardly any weight at all. As soon as the catalogue is printed—indeed, while it is in the press—every book that is too late to be inserted can be put on the card supplement, not, as in the case of the bibliography, a year, or fourteen years (Hagen's 'Bibliotheca Entomologica'), or twenty-four years (Poole's 'Index to Periodical Literature') after the original work, but in the very week, on the very day on which it is bought. Therefore, at the library the student can always find a complete list of the books it has on his subject. It is true that he has to look in two places to be sure that he has found all the works of a given author, or on a given topic, but it is better to look in two catalogues and find what one wants than to look in one bibliography and not find it. A single supplement is not a great inconvenience ; it is only when they become numerous that they become unbearable.

The argument under the second head is remarkably defective :

"Every one who has had any experience in [bibliographical] work knows that, to give it any real value, he must consult not one library alone, nor even the libraries of one country, but that his material must be collected from many libraries throughout different countries. A complete bibliographical work even on the history of the United States could not be prepared from the libraries of this country alone. If, then, a trained worker cannot make a subject-catalogue of any value in the limits of one library, it is evident that such a work now undertaken in many libraries in this country is a simple waste of money."

Was there ever a more complete *non sequitur* ! No one supposes that

the list of works on the history of the United States in Dr. Abbot's and Mr. Fiske's catalogue is a complete bibliography ; it was not designed to be a bibliography at all, but a list of the books on that topic in one library. It fulfils that purpose admirably. Is it therefore "of no value" because it does not fulfil some other purpose which its makers never had in mind, and which, indeed, they were bound carefully to avoid fulfilling as entirely beyond their province ?

The objections to giving up subject-catalogues in libraries and substituting bibliographies are, first, the non-existence of the bibliographies ; second, the incompleteness of such bibliographies as there are ; third, the fact that bibliographies "begin to be imperfect even before they are published" ; and fourth, the inconvenience of using them even if complete and brought down to date. One has to find out from them what books there are on one's subject and then to consult the author-catalogue to see whether these are in the library. In this country one would be lucky to find one in ten, so that the enquirer is caused eleven times as much trouble in getting his book as if he had merely to look in a subject-catalogue and find there a list of works every one of which does belong to the library and can be found at once by the shelf-mark there given. Dr. Hagen apparently would have this looking-up done by attendants—that is, he would pay out every year for attendants, who will only give information to the enquirers during that year, more money than it will cost to put the same information into a permanent form where it will be of use as long as the library lasts.

To assist those who come to the library in finding what will suit their needs is the librarian's highest work ; and his best help in doing this is a good catalogue. That elaborate and costly "tool" was in its origin merely a memorandum made, rudely enough no doubt, by the librarian to assist his memory ; as the number of his books increased he found that he could not remember the places of all. Little by little, as experience revealed defects in the incompletely made lists and consequent inconveniences, and as new questions occurred, invention suggested devices for overcoming those defects, till we have the 91 rules of the British Museum and the 295 rules of the "Special Report." No doubt some improvements will yet be made, but it will not be by mixing up all the Smiths or Joneses in one indiscriminated heap, or by so cataloguing an anonymous work that a man who wants all its author's productions shall not find that one under his name. Of the three economies suggested by Dr. Hagen two, if adopted, would result in the loss of more time than they would save ; the third is already practised at most libraries.

The subject catalogue grew up in the same way, as the librarian's memorandum. That, too, was made merely because the need for it was felt strongly, as its usefulness has always been. It is costly, but it is cheaper than men and women intelligent and learned enough to be its substitutes, and it does not die or get married as men and women do ; it is never tired and forgetful ; it requires no vacations, and is never sick. But more than all this is the fact that these male and female attendants, however bright they may be, find that when resort is made to them by readers they absolutely need its assistance to enable them to give information satisfactory either to themselves or to the questioners.

I will notice briefly some other objections. There need be no more difficulty in lighting card-drawers than book-shelves. Of course in the Harvard College Library, where nearly all the light is cut off by temporary shelves blocking up the windows, the drawers have their share of the general gloom ; but all that will be over when the new wing is finished. If the cards are taken out and misplaced, it is only necessary to adopt Prof. Robinson's plan, successfully practised at Rochester, and run a small rod through a large hole in the lower left-hand corner. Again, the bulk of a card-catalogue is not an insuperable objection. The British Museum catalogue of authors occupies 3.4 inches for every thousand volumes (*Edin. Rev.*, Jan., 1874, p. 42) ; the Harvard College catalogue of authors and subjects needs 5.16 inches for a thousand volumes, but in the latter case the perpendicular height is about one-third greater. The truth probably is that card and pasted-slip catalogues take up about the same amount of room. The complete catalogue of the present Harvard College Library if finished could be put into four of its fifty alcoves, with room for books above and below, so that it would occupy less than one-sixth of the wall-room of each of the four alcoves. This is somewhat different from "compelling the library to encamp outside of the building."

Dr. Hagen refers frequently to European libraries as sustaining his objections to subject-catalogues and to printing ; but they will hardly bear him out. The Free Public Libraries of any size in England, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, have printed subject-catalogues on the "dictionary" plan ; many of the French provincial libraries have printed or are printing classified catalogues ; the Bibliothèque

Nationale at Paris, which professes to be the largest library in the world, is printing its subject-catalogue—in an exceedingly clumsy way, to be sure, which will probably lead before long to a discontinuance of the enterprise. A subject-catalogue was part of Panizzi's plan for the British Museum; but it was decided to complete the list of authors first, although by use of the manifold writer the slips for the other part could have been obtained without extra expense, and it would only have been necessary to add to the number of binders who are employed in arranging and rearranging, pasting and repasting the slips in the two thousand or more volumes of that catalogue. And here it may be well to quote two sentences from Nichols's 'Hand-book of the British Museum' in regard to this "comparatively inexpensive" "marvel of British skill and industry":

"It is unwise to decide hastily that any work is deficient in the Museum; before such a decision is come to—even after all the official catalogues have been searched—the superintendent of the reading-room should be consulted." "The first thing a new reader should understand, should, in fact, deliberately sit down and study, is the plan or arrangement of the official catalogues. We may go so far as to say that until the reader is an adept in the use of these assistants, inconveniences, delays, and disappointments will necessarily be of constant occurrence."

He is speaking, remember, of an author-catalogue. We may go so far as to say that the student who would require ten minutes to understand the plan of the author-catalogue at Cambridge would be unworthy of the name of Yankee.

Another point of Dr. Hagen's is well made. Libraries are certainly wasting money in independent action. Mr. Jewett felt this years ago, and proposed a general catalogue of all the libraries in the country prepared on a plan which, he thought, would ensure much better work than was usually obtained, at a much smaller cost. But the times were not ripe for the enterprise. The energetic promoter of the Library Conference, and founder of the *Library Journal*, has been impressed with the same feeling of the necessity of union, and has undertaken to bring it about. And now the time is ripe. To take the place of the partial indexing of periodical literature going on at a score of places at considerable expense, we are to have a complete index prepared by combined labor. The index to current periodicals will follow. A scheme for co-operative cataloguing is under weigh. Many details have to be settled before a beginning can be made, and it may be some time before anything is actually done, but it is better that there should be no work to undo.

CHARLES A. CUTTER.

Boston, February 1, 1877.

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., Philadelphia, announce that they have purchased the stereotype plates and copyright of the entire series of Worcester's Dictionaries (seven in number), and will hereafter publish them. If, now, they will introduce the Worcesterian spelling into their own publications, they will make this transfer of real significance as a flank operation against Webster. Finally, if they will reprint a cheap edition of Sir Edmund Head's 'Shall and Will,' and employ New England proof-readers to carry out its precepts in all their publications, they will doubly deserve the name of benefactors.—The Philadelphia Book-trade Association is exercised about a bill introduced by Prof. Seelye, which removes the duty on all books, periodicals, maps, engravings, etc., imported after April 1. Their spokesman at a recent meeting protested that "no one article of manufacture should be selected to be destroyed while other articles are protected." This principle, or its equivalent—that no one article of manufacture should be protected if other articles are thereby destroyed—has not heretofore had much recognition from Pennsylvania protectionists.—E. P. Dutton & Co. have in press a 'History of France for the Use of Children,' adapted from the French by Emma Marshall.—Dr. Russell's narrative of the 'Tour of the Prince of Wales in India' will be published in this country by Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co., New York.—The *Publishers' Weekly* for January 27 contains summary advertisements by the leading houses of their publications during the past year, together with an index to them, the whole forming a record of especial value to the trade. We suggest that the *Weekly* add this to its "prize questions": Judged by these summaries, which house deserves to rank first for the average quality of its publications?—The important article in the *Magazine of American History* for February is Mr. E. F. De Lancey's account of the capture of Fort Washington on the 16th of November, 1776. The main points are: the imperfect construction of the fort, which was "simply a large, open earth-

work"; the want of power in Washington to overrule his council when they had decided to hold the position; the proved betrayal of the condition of the defenses by William Demont, adjutant of Magaw's Philadelphia battalion; the confidence of both Washington and Greene in the strength of the Mount even when the attack was imminent.—Bulletin No. 40 of the Boston Public Library continues its check-list for American local history as far as *Danvers*; gives the "Literature of 1777"—i. e., references to works bearing on American occurrences in that year, from Beaumarchais's agency to Valley Forge; and continues its bibliographical "History of Mental Philosophy."—A second edition of the Catalogue of the Publications of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories has just appeared, being revised to December 31, 1876.—Capt. Henry W. Howgate, U. S. A., has printed a memorial to Congress on "Polar Colonization and Exploration," in which he urges his now well-known plan of holding "the point which Hall attained as a permanent post for a series of years, from whence to make further advances." The sum asked of Congress is \$50,000.

—*Scribner's* for February contains few noticeable articles. "Trout-fishing in the Rangeley Lakes" furnishes a subject to Mr. Edward Seymour, who gives a publicity to the reputation of that favorite fishing-ground which will no doubt cause many an old fisherman a pang of regret. He takes for the text of his paper a drawing of a "speckled brook trout," weighing eight and a half pounds when taken, June 5, 1869, and of which he says that it is "by no means the largest which has been captured in the Rangeley Lakes," but is "one of thousands of this species, ranging from half a pound to ten pounds." A "Winter on the Nile," by General McClellan, goes over old ground in a somewhat old way; and perhaps we cannot give a better idea of the general effect of this number of the magazine than by saying that the instalment of "Nicholas Minturn," by Dr. Holland, appears to be its *pièce de résistance*. Readers who were pained by the horrors of the shipwreck in the last number, and the shocking revelations of the depravity of the character of one of Dr. Holland's "awful examples" to which it gave occasion, will be relieved by the sunshine with which the present number opens. Critics may say that when a young man, more or less in love with a young woman, saves her life at sea, and after many weary days of separation goes down "with a throbbing heart" to her cabin, and they take each other's hands without a word, and it is long before either of them speaks, few people would expect her first remark to be as altruistic as "I am very glad for you. You have done a great deal of good"; or her second to be: "I am not going to tell you of my gratitude for my own safety. That is of small account; but I am grateful that you have helped to save my faith in human nature. I thought I would like to tell you that." These critics, however, only show the depravity of their own natures by their want of appreciation for the lofty tone of Dr. Holland's fiction. We have great confidence in the ultimate happy ending of the story, and prophesy that the wicked Benson will meet with his deserts at Dr. Holland's hands, and that his knowledge of the working of nature's eternal laws will be justified in the end by the complete triumph of the amiable ninny and the high-minded prig, who, in his pages, as in real life, invariably succeed in the long run.

—Mr. Richard Grant White's papers on "Reading Shakespeare," which are concluded in the current number of the *Galaxy*, contain many suggestions of value to the student, but we are surprised to find him saying of "Troilus and Cressida":

"There seems to be a slur cast upon this play; the reason of which is its very undramatic character, and the consequent non-appearance of its name in theatrical records. No one has heard of any actor's or actress's appearance, even in the last century, as one of the personages in 'Troilus and Cressida.' Its name has not been upon the play-bills for generations, although even 'Love's Labor's Lost' has once in a while been performed. Hence it is almost unknown, except to the thorough Shakespearian readers, who are very few; fewer now, in proportion to the largely-increased, leisurely, and instructed classes, than they were two hundred years ago, much to the shame of our vaunted popular education and diffusion of knowledge. And yet this neglected drama is one of its author's great works; in one respect his greatest. 'Troilus and Cressida' is Shakespeare's wisest play in the way of worldly wisdom. It is filled chokeful of sententious, and in most cases slightly satirical revelations of human nature, uttered with a felicity of phrase and an impressiveness of metaphor that make each one seem like a beam of light shot into the recesses of man's heart."

But the lines which Mr. White cites in proof of this strike us as hardly bearing out what he says of them, and we should rather select them to prove that the play was not rich in "beams of light shot into the recesses of man's heart." The common use of the most often-quoted line, too, to which he refers—"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin"—seems to us to

indicate the strong common-sense of the whole world quite as much as the success of Shakspeare with language in this particular play. Mr. White points out that while, in common use, it is

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,"

it is used by Shakspeare in a satirical or cynical sense: "There is one point on which all men are alike, one touch of human nature which shows the kindred of all mankind—that they slight familiar merit, and prefer trivial novelty," and so the line can only be read:

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

The surrounding text proves conclusively enough that this is the true reading, but the line apart from the context can be read the other way, and we are inclined to think that the reason it is generally read the other way is that it is simple and natural to take it so, and not, as Mr. White seems to suppose, because of a sickly sentimentality which makes us wish to prove the brotherhood of mankind with it. Indeed, we should have supposed that its common use was by no means limited by the sentimental possibilities of the meaning, but was at pleasure sentimental, satirical, cynical, or colorless, as the case might be, the "one touch" being treated as equivalent to "any touch," and nature not being used necessarily in a good sense or in a sense having any moral attributes. But we may very likely be mistaken as to this.

—The following medical works which appeared in the past year seem worthy of mention: Heinrich Frey's 'Compendium of Histology' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is a brief and attractive account, in twenty-four lectures, of the structure of the tissues of the body, and, while intended for students, is not unsuitable for general readers. The translation, by Dr. George R. Cutter, is fair without being elegant. In Dr. Thomas Dwight's 'Anatomy of the Head' (Hurd & Houghton) we have six lithographic plates representing frozen sections of the head. They are well done, and are important as being among the very first produced in this country. The book is notable, further, for presenting a very readable summary of the subject, which is remarkably brief for a monograph, and yet does not appear to have neglected anything. Dr. David Ferrier's 'Functions of the Brain' (Putnam's) will take its place in the history of physiology as containing some very precious original contributions to the doctrine of the functions of the brain. Besides a rather brief statement of what is already known in general, it affords a full account of the author's special researches in the production of muscular activity by a stimulus (electricity) applied directly to the surface of the brain, until lately held to be inexcitable. The 'Studies, chiefly Clinical, in the Non-emetic Use of Ipecacuanha,' by Surgeon A. A. Woodhull, U.S.A. (Lippincott), shows the serious value of the work done by our army medical service. The thesis maintained, and extremely well illustrated both by compiled and original matter, is that ipecac, commonly spoken of as a depressant and emetic, is applicable in many diseases where stimulus (of the nerves or of some special department of the nervous system) is desirable; also, that its remedial virtues in these cases are by no means dependent on the production of nausea or vomiting. Dysentery and malarial fever the author lays most stress upon as having been observed by himself.

—The death of François Buloz is a literary event of no little importance to the French. He was the founder of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and all his faith, persistence, tact, and incessant devotion were needed to keep it alive after it was first called into being in 1831. It is only from 1848 that the *Revue* dates its pecuniary prosperity. Its literary success has been marvellous, and the English have found it hard to explain why a fortnightly of similar scope and standing should not have arisen among themselves. Several causes may be assigned for this: the fact of the pre-existence of the quarterly; the fact of there being two literary centres—London and "the gray metropolis of the North"; the greater liberty of the press and of speech (producing, the one, several quarterlies and numberless monthlies, and the other, a diversion from literature to political life); the custom of anonymous journalism; the absence of an Academy to which admission might be gained by the distinction of having written for the *Review*, etc., etc. Buloz absorbed his rival, the *Revue de Paris*, and annexed its staff of contributors to his own, and the commotions of the times only served to confirm his hold on the best literary talent of France. His sway over his neutral Swiss territory was little less than autocratic; he treated all comers alike, with the rudeness of a monopolist and almost of a parvenu. He was, in fact, of very humble origin, the son of a Savoyard peasant, and a protégé of M. Naville (father of M. Ernest Naville, of Geneva), who gave him his education and sent him to Paris, where he became a journeyman printer. We cannot go into further details concerning his career. Those who are interested in it should read the very bitter and insulting notice of Buloz by Edmond

About in the *Athenæum* for Jan. 20, and the more temperate and analytic notice by G. Monod in the *Academy* of the same date. We cannot refrain from quoting what each has to say concerning the effect on the French literary style of Buloz's revision of contributions to the *Revue*. Says About:

"Not only did he make it a principle to buy without money the first work of a writer, but he took a fierce pleasure in mutilating it, in spoiling it by omissions and corrections often foolish. Never did a more commonplace mind wage more cruel war against an author's originality. A contemporary of the stiffest and most ponderous of the Doctrinaires, he formed upon their model a sort of uniform pattern to which, whether he liked it or not, every writer must adapt his article. Bring a new idea, an original view, a freshly-hatched discovery: you were not permitted to mention it in the *Revue* unless you started off with a long nonsensical preamble, crammed with platitudes that often had no sort of connection with the subject. When you came to the actual matter in hand, you were forced to develop it in long periods, wavy and vague, to avoid the right word, to indulge in periphrases, and to conclude with one of those cloudy perorations in which the reader gets bewildered, loses himself, and goes to sleep. Some of our most original writers, after vain efforts, have jumped out at the bottom of this Procrustean bed. J. J. Weiss, for example, and Prévost Paradol lost months in cobbling unhappy articles with which Buloz was never satisfied, and which he ended by returning to them with an ugly grimace and a bad compliment for their sole payment."

More calmly, Monod, who allows that, "without style and without high literary culture, he had a very acute perception; his criticisms were almost always just, his corrections happy, his selections well grounded":

"Buloz has done harm to many of those who have had the misfortune to give themselves up too unreservedly to his domination, and who, whether from necessity or weakness, have accepted the heavy chains with which he bound them. The uniformity of style and composition characteristic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has left its mark on French literature, and has been hurtful to originality, to *verve*, to freedom of thought. The *Revue* has been a power like the French Academy, and like it has done harm as well as good. It has accustomed authors and the public to insist before all on some often factitious ordinance, on general ideas which are often either unmeaning or untrue; to be afraid of all that savors of scholarship, all that requires labor, an intellectual effort or a task. The *Revue* eschewed frivolity; it was, perhaps, too fearful of fancifulness; but superficiality was its special note."

—The distinguished Icelandic skalds, Matthias Jochumsson and Steingrímur Thorsteinsson, are publishing in Reykjavik, Iceland, a collection of modern Icelandic poems, in two large volumes. The first volume is to contain all poems translated from other languages into Icelandic; the second will contain only original Icelandic poetry. The two volumes will form a complete cyclopædia of original and translated Icelandic poetry, and will be the first work of the kind in the language. The work will certainly be well done, and will be heartily welcomed by all lovers of Icelandic as a suitable companion to the already existing collections of Old Norse lays. The publication of this work is no small undertaking, when we consider that all Icelanders are poor, and that the whole population of the country is not more than about 70,000, counting men, women, and children. It is hoped that there will be a demand for the work, when published, in Germany, England, America, and other countries, as well as in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

—Mr. Henry B. Joyner, C.E., F.R.G.S., the director of the Meteorological Department at Tokio, a gentleman who has already done much and wishes to do much more for the advancement of the science to which he has devoted himself, has just published a small non-official pamphlet on "the progress and ultimate results of meteorology, especially considered in reference to Japan." In this work he proposes a scheme of organization suitable to the wants of the country, and strictly in accordance with the resolutions of the Vienna Congress, where a practical and comprehensive plan of meteorological stations, methods of and times for taking observations, instruments to be employed, and reports to be furnished, was laid down, and has since been followed with admirable results both in the United States and in Europe. In order to indicate the utility to Japan of a department established upon that plan, and the excellent opportunity that country has to contribute equally with others to the further development of one of the most useful of sciences, he says, reasonably enough: "There are certain particular features connected with this science which would seem especially to urge the importance of the fulfilment of this duty upon a country like Japan, which is just entering on the international rivalry of progress with the other great nations of the world. For this is not an old science, in which the field open for the labors and the rewards of discoverers has already been contracted to its narrowest limits; but it is comparatively a new one, into the investigation of which all who enter do so with equal advantages." And, indeed, the Government of the Mikado will do better in fostering and improving the means at the disposal of Mr.

Joyner and his department than in building costly and useless ironclads, purchasing heavy armaments, and erecting stately but fearfully expensive edifices for palaces and Government offices, quite out of proportion to the present pecuniary resources or the actual needs of the country.

—One of the most interesting chapters in the history of the fifteenth century is the change of dynasty in Hungary and Bohemia in 1458, when, at the death of their youthful king, Ladislaus Posthumus, each kingdom elected a native nobleman to succeed—Matthias Corvinus in Hungary, and George Podiebrad in Bohemia. Dr. Adolf Bachmann, a *Privat-docent* in the University of Prague, has just discussed the events of this important year in a brief monograph, entitled 'Georg von Podiebrads Wahl, Krönung und Anerkennung.' King George, the champion of Bohemian nationality and of the Hussite religion, is a favorite character with the great Bohemian historian, Palacky; but the German writers regard him as selfish, ambitious, and unscrupulous. However this may be, he was certainly one of the ablest rulers of his time, and, if his reign had not been consumed by incessant conflicts with the Pope, he bid fair to take the leading place in German affairs. It is not difficult for Dr. Bachmann to show, on several grounds, that his election was strictly illegal; it appears to have been the work especially of the lower nobility, in which the strength of the Hussite movement lay, while the higher nobility was Catholic, and never willingly accepted the rule of the new king. In the contemporary election of Matthias in Hungary the religious element did not come in; it was partly a personal triumph—Matthias was son of the distinguished hero John Hunyady—and partly a triumph of the nobility over the principle of hereditary royalty.

LORD SHELBURNE.*

"THE fact is, that throughout life I have stood aloof from parties. It constitutes my pride and my principle to belong to no faction, but to approve every measure on its own ground, free from all connection."

In these words Lord Shelburne offers his own apology for his tortuous political career, and this defence is in substance adopted by his biographer. Lord Shelburne was, on this view, the *homme incompris* of English politics. He was too good, too enlightened for his generation. They called him "the Jesuit," they nicknamed him *Malagrida*. They caricatured and distrusted him, simply because his ways were not like their ways; because he would not bow down and worship the spirit of faction; because, in short, to use the words attributed to Bentham, with which Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice concludes his ancestor's life, the first Lord Lansdowne, was "a minister who did not fear the people." Now, it may be granted that, as we have pointed out in former reviews,† Lord Shelburne was free from the prejudices of his age, and suffered in the estimation of contemporaries through being cursed or blessed with a turn of mind better suited for the nineteenth than for the eighteenth century. Such talents as he had were, in fact, far better adapted to adorn the president of a congress for the promotion of social science than to increase the credit of a Prime Minister of George the Third. It must also be conceded that he was the patron and friend of men whose name deserves to live far longer than his own. Posterity looks with a lenient eye on the faults of the nobleman who appreciated Priestley, and brought forth the genius of Bentham from obscurity. But when the singularity of Lord Shelburne's genius and his services to the world as a patron of letters are taken into account, the question still remains whether it is possible to believe that contemporary opinion was utterly deceived, and that a man distrusted beyond any statesman of his time, was the victim of his virtues and fell a sacrifice to the spirit of partisanship which he refused to propitiate.

That Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice means his readers to answer such an enquiry in the affirmative is obvious; that the biographer has done his best to put his ancestor's character in a favorable light, and that to a certain extent he has succeeded, is also undeniable; but after a careful perusal of the whole "case" for Lord Shelburne (for the life is nothing else than an elaborate plea for reversal of the judgment which has been formed as to his character), we are not inclined to hold that the verdict passed against him was substantially erroneous. This is a matter on which it is worth while to speak out with some plainness. Modern historical literature is vitiated by the passion, infecting both writers and readers, for the maintenance of paradoxes, and, above all, of that kind of paradox which consists in maintaining that a man deemed by all his contemporaries a brutal tyrant was in reality an unappreciated reformer, or that a politician held by his acquaintance to be the most untrustworthy of colleagues was in truth a man too honest to be understood by a coarse-minded age. There have been much

worse cases indeed of historical whitewashing than Lord Fitzmaurice's attempt to clear Lord Shelburne from the charge of duplicity, but all such cases need very careful investigation, since it is scarcely possible to "whitewash" one rogue without indirectly impugning the character or judgment of a hundred honest men. It is further of importance to note what is the essential weakness of ninety-nine out of every hundred such attempts to reverse the established estimate of a politician's character.

The method usually adopted by writers who, like Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, wish to achieve this difficult feat, is exactly the same as that practised by the defenders of gentlemen under suspicion of petty larceny. Writers and advocates alike base their defence of their hero or client on the simple device of taking each step of his career separately and refusing to look at it as a whole. The jury are told by the barrister that a man is not necessarily a thief because he is found to have another person's purse in his possession; that his running away from a policeman is not of itself a certain sign of guilt; that his giving a notoriously false account of the way the purse was obtained argues timidity, want of presence of mind, a desire to escape from an awkward position—anything, in short, but dishonesty. The historical apologist in like manner deals with his hero's career bit by bit. No doubt his early associates were disreputable, but the statesman was young and inexperienced. In later life he was accused of duplicity, but the accusers themselves were not men of high honesty. Look at each transaction by itself, compare dates, and, above all things, assume, now that the contrary cannot absolutely be proved, that the hero's version of his own conduct is strictly correct, and you will find that all accusations against him may be disposed of without involving the belief in an absolutely incredible tale. This, at any rate, is the method of defence adopted by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. He argues elaborately and with some skill that in a number of single instances it is possible that Lord Shelburne was not so much of a deceiver as a victim of other men's craft. What the apologist forgets is that, while it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the details of past intrigues, it is quite possible, and moreover absolutely necessary for the formation of a fair judgment, to trace the general outline of Lord Shelburne's career and to make a good guess at the essential features of his character. His own defence of his political course is, in one sense of the words, perfectly sound; he was not a "party man," for an adventurer who fights for his own hand without any regard to the interests of his associates is certainly not guilty of party spirit.

It is this "fighting for himself," and fighting moreover with very little scruple as to the stratagems adopted, which is the peculiar characteristic of Lord Shelburne's attempts to achieve political greatness. He began his course under the patronage of Bute, though Bute was a man whom he despised, and one of his lordship's prejudices was an unconquerable distrust of the Scotch. He next joined Chatham, and here charity would suggest that his lordship was influenced by generous admiration for a great statesman. Charitable judgment is, however, baffled by the private notes in which Lord Shelburne denies to his leader even the virtues with which he has generally been credited by his foes. As the troubles with America approached, Lord Shelburne characteristically attempted to avoid responsibility for perils which his sagacity foresaw. In this last volume we have the long account of the negotiations by which peace between England and the Colonies was at last attained. His colleagues under Lord Rockingham, and especially Fox, believed Shelburne to have played them false. It is hard to see how, on the plain facts of the case, it can be disputed that this belief was well grounded. He had his negotiator, the rest of the ministry had theirs. It takes the credulity of a biographer to believe that the king and Shelburne were not intriguing against the other members of the Cabinet. When Shelburne became prime minister he had his reward. A little later he had the further reward of being, like other ministers, betrayed by the monarch. That he was, on the overthrow of the coalition, ill-treated by Pitt, we can easily believe. Two facts, however, deserve attention. Shelburne himself had treated with Lord North, and at the crisis of the great political contest he took a course which, better than any other act of his life, explains his political failure. He stayed away from London, and eluded the responsibility of voting either for or against the India Bill. The man who stays away from the battle may escape danger, but he cannot expect to share the rewards of victory. Pitt and the king quietly left Lord Shelburne out of the game. Pitt's conduct was certainly not generous, but it would be difficult to deny that it was prudent.

Lord Shelburne's ambiguous merits did not go quite unrewarded. He became a marquis and was flattered with the doubtful prospect of a dukedom. To office he never returned, but absence from power did not mean retirement from intrigue. In 1791 George the Third contemplated the overthrow of Pitt, and thought Lord Lansdowne the appropriate instru-

* Life of William Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquis of Lansdowne, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Vol. iii. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.
† See *Nation*, Nos. 518, 567.

ment for such a manoeuvre. In his letter to the king we have a programme of intrigue; we have also the explanation of the practical interpretation put by his lordship on the boast that he belonged to "no faction," and can easily understand why he was "free from all connection." No party or connection would willingly bind up their fortunes with the deceitful straightforwardness and self-seeking public spirit of Lord Shelburne.

A Book of the Play. Studies and Illustrations of Histrionic Story, Life, and Character. By Dutton Cook. (London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.)—Mr. Dutton Cook has made in these two pretty volumes a very readable compilation of theatrical anecdote and gossip—a sort of literature which has flourished among us, some persons may be inclined to say, even more brilliantly than, for many years, the stage itself. The appetite for this species of information seems great, even among people who go little to the play, especially when it relates to a period not immediately contemporaneous. Indeed, the faculty among the public at large for reading stories about Betterton and Garrick, Cibber and Macklin, Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Bracegirdle, seems well-nigh infinite. We might have imagined that all the stories had been told and told many times over; but it appears that the stock is inexhaustible, and the prestige of these extremely defunct artists unabated. And it is a singular point, too, that we may peruse their somewhat frivolous records—the record of their tipsiness and their impudence, their makeshifts and their mutual fisticuffs—without the sense of degradation, as we may almost call it, with which we con the paragraphs in the Sunday papers about the "stars" of our own period. The actors of the last century appear somehow to belong to a superior race, and their very follies to be more or less a part of literature. They are the mere echoes of names, the shadows of shadows, and yet our imagination offers them on easy terms an honorable reality. How much, according to our present taste, they deserve the honor we shall never know; but Mr. Dutton Cook helps us to realize that the stage itself, until within the last forty years or so, was a tolerably inelegant and dingy institution. He has a happy quotation from Thackeray—any quotation from Thackeray, anywhere, is sure to seem happy—about the tallow candles of the past:

"In speaking of the past I think that the night-life of society a hundred years ago was rather a *dark life*. . . . Horrible guttering tallow smoked and stunk in passages. . . . See Hogarth's pictures: how dark they are, and how his feasts are, as it were, begrimed with tallow! In 'Marriage à la Mode,' in Lord Viscount Squanderfield's grand saloon, where he and his wife are sitting yawning before the horror-stricken steward when their party is over, there are but eight candles—one on each table and half a dozen in a brass chandelier."

If such dulness prevailed in the "saloons" of the nobility, we may be sure that the playhouses were not more brilliant; and we may picture Mrs. Siddons, for instance, sweeping through the rant of *Belvidera* or *Statira* in a sort of narrow, dusky booth, illumined by what Thackeray calls "the abominable mutton of our youth." It may be argued, and very plausibly, that these sordid conditions only threw into relief the intellectual side of the actor's art; but Mr. Cook, in his chapter upon "Benefits," reminds us of a practice which could hardly be said to be elevating—the custom of an actor calling upon possible spectators to solicit the purchase of tickets for his "bespeak." He quotes from some one who had seen the great Siddons, "in an old red cloak," walking up and down both sides of a provincial street, and stopping at every house for this purpose. In such a spectacle there seems at first something pitiful, but a consistent admirer of past glories might maintain that this practice is really a proof that actors in the last century were more "genteel" than nowadays, inasmuch as few members of the theatrical profession, as it is actually constituted, could probably acquit themselves gracefully of an "interview" of the kind we allude to. Among interviews of this nature (though it owes its reality to fiction, not to history) Mr. Cook recalls the visit of Miss Snevellicci to the citizens of Portsmouth, accompanied by Nicholas Nickleby "and, for propriety's sake, by the Infant Phenomenon."

Mr. Cook's chapters are almost wholly anecdotal, though, the condition of the English stage being what it is, they would have perhaps gained by the infusion of a somewhat more critical tone. (The author, we believe, was for some time theatrical critic to one of the prominent London journals.) But Mr. Cook has contented himself with collecting a multitude of odd facts about the material accessories and accidents of the drama, from "Playbills" to "Stage Whispers," and from "Stage Banquets" to "Gag." He has had recourse to various compilations and published records—the number of theatrical biographies and memoirs in English is very great—and mentions especially Mr. Payne Collier's 'History of English Dra-

matic Poetry' and the Rev. Mr. Geneste's 'History of the Stage from the Restoration to 1830,' made up from the immense collection of play-bills in the British Museum. Apropos of theatrical advertisements, Mr. Cook mentions that in the last century it was not the theatres that paid the newspapers for their announcements, but the reverse. There was so little news for the journals to print that they were but too happy to fill their space with casts of characters and other theatrical intimations, and paid large sums for the privilege. Now, says Mr. Cook, a play bill may not be exposed in an eating-house window without the promise of many tickets to the proprietor. He also mentions that in the early times of the English theatre the spectators who disapproved of the piece were entitled to demand their money back at the end of the first act—a custom which must have promoted much scuffling at the box-office. (It is true that the box-office did not then exist, but this only left the vender of seats freer, as the French say, *de sa personne*.) As there was no box-office, there was no taking of seats beforehand, and the occupants of the best places in the last century could only secure a seat by sending a footman to sit in it till they came. Garrick, in 1744, taking a benefit at Drury Lane, and the play beginning at six, "ladies were requested to send their servants by three o'clock." One hardly knows whether most to envy or to commiserate the domestics of Garrick's patrons. With regard to this great actor, Mr. Cook observes in a chapter on "The Art of 'Making Up'" that the wonderful illusion that he produced was but meagrely aided by his costume, and must have depended upon his power of facial expression. He played "King Lear," for instance, without a beard. Mr. Cook relates a story of a French dancer of the last century—Mlle. Guimard—who was so inconsolable at growing old and showing it in her face that, appearing for the last time at the age of sixty-four, she had the curtain lowered so far as to conceal her head and shoulders, and went through her steps from the bust downwards with great applause. These are a few specimens of a multitude of stories, agreeably presented, to which we refer the reader.

The Plains of the Great West. By Lt.-Col. Richard I. Dodge, U.S.A. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877. 8vo, pp. lv.-448. Illustrated.)—This is a practical study of the life of the Plains, made by an officer whose duties and tastes have kept him hunting the Indians and the game that he here describes during much of his twenty-five years' service. Colonel Dodge is an energetic sportsman, whose enthusiasm has not run away with his discretion; and he has made an interesting book whose very simplicity attests its truth, and the subjects discussed give it value. His facts are not taken at second-hand, and his opinions, whether we agree with them or not, are the honest views of an intelligent man. After an excellent description of the region itself are two capital chapters on Travel and Camp, full of useful memoranda, and following these is Part II., devoted to Game. Insisting that, to the novice, nothing can take the place of actual experience in hunting, the author only offers a few general rules, but he supplements them by sketches of his own adventures that have all the charm of oral narration. The notice of the mountain buffalo will be new to most people in the East, and the account of the elk is particularly attractive; but that over which the general reader will linger with the deepest interest is the description of the ordinary buffalo of the prairie and the pathetic record of its ruthless slaughter, nearly five millions having been killed in the three years 1872-4. With his generally accurate delineation of their habits, it is singular that the author makes no mention of the curious manner in which the herds sometimes simulate the formal and intelligent manoeuvres of cavalry, misleading distant observers; and we think that while laying proper stress upon the dangers of the ground in their pursuit, he underrates the peril from the wounded bulls. Unwounded they are inoffensive. Col. Dodge errs in saying that the coloring matter of the Bear Rock, on the Purgatoire, is two inches deep. It varies from one-sixteenth to one-eighth of an inch, a fact which has an important bearing upon the probable nature of this remarkable curiosity. And the outline is far from rude—it plainly depicts the animal with cocked ears and projected muzzle, as if in alarm or anger. So the moon (or more properly night) blindness does occur; and his medical officer would probably describe it as a manifestation of scurvy, thus explaining why it attacks the classes mentioned. But sometimes it is feigned.

The last two hundred pages are devoted to the Indian looked at as a savage—which he certainly is. Col. Dodge iterates the well-known truth that it is the miserable and faithless policy of the Government, aggravated by the rascalities of the agents and traders, that has driven this savage from bad to worse. The Indian question is nothing but one of horror, however viewed, and if Jefferson, looking at the negro, trembled for his country when he

reflected that God is just, the statesman of to-day may well shrink from the settlement of this account. We think the author does not give credit to the possibilities of the Indian for culture, in view of what has been accomplished by the Cherokees, and very recently among the wilder tribes of the Northwest; but of the state that he does describe the delineation is capital. Space restrains us from noting some things that we wish had been told, and, on the other hand, there are two topics that might have been enlarged upon. Indian "medicine" embraces more than the author sets forth. It is "made" as an act of divination, and, again, as a propitiation, as he states; but, besides, either at times or constantly, an Indian will be governed by some peculiar, and often very inconvenient, observance after the fashion of a vow or a penance. Thus, it will be an act of medicine for one man not to remain in a lodge with a loaded firearm, for another always to turn to the left, for a third to avoid the rays from a looking-glass, and so forth. The motive or intent of these customs is not clear. One has a right, too, to expect a more particular account of that pantomime which supplies an intelligible and accurate language common to the whole plains, and which, it is said, is also employed by the Bedouins of the desert. Based upon ideas not words, its outline is easily acquired, and its usefulness is immense. Upon it, far more than upon verbal speech, do the white interpreters—who are very chary of teaching it—depend. Most of the thirty-fourth chapter, coming from an irresponsible pen, would be rejected outright.

There are about twenty illustrations, chiefly poor and sensational, none of which probably were made for the book. The sheets were evidently printed in England, and this may explain numerous errors in proper names, but ought not to excuse certain other blunders in proof-reading. There is no index. There are occasional odd lapses in style, as well as a misuse of words; but the whole work is like the honest conversation of a man who has read "books in the running brooks" more than in libraries, and it is the more readable on that very account. We heartily wish it a second edition, with amendments.

Dr. Strousberg und sein Wirken, von ihm selbst geschildert. Mit einer Photographie und einer Eisenbahn-Karte. (Berlin: J. Guttentag; New York: E. Steiger. 1876).—Few men have been more emphatically the children of their age than the hero of this autobiography, whose dazzling career was so rudely arrested by the collapse of his gigantic enterprises and his imprisonment at Moscow in October, 1875. Merchant, journalist, teacher, broker, builder, manufacturer, financier, railway-king, philanthropist, parliamentarian, patron of art, and what not, he has passed through almost all the phases of a society which, in the days of his successes, always distrusted yet always courted him, to find himself, at the age of fifty-three, a disgraced bankrupt in a prisoner's cell. But even here his indomitable energy does not fail him. Solely aided by his memory, he pens the story of his achievements and, as he confidently believes, the vindication of his fame. "I am not terrified," he writes, "at the thought of being left, in my fifty-fourth year, without means, nay, without a home, and without a prospect of supporting a numerous family bred in comfort. Trusting to God and my good intentions, I wish to carry but this consolation into the still bleak future: that I have succeeded in picturing myself as I am—as a man of honest thought and endeavor, whose efforts were unsuccessful, although deserving of success." The closing chapter of a life so rich in its vicissitudes is still to be written; yet it is impossible to withhold a certain sympathy for the fate of one who, whatever his faults, was never guilty of the meaner vices which, in so many cases, are among the causes and effects of extraordinary wealth. Servility and hard-heartedness certainly never paved the way to his successes, nor, on the other hand, was his ostentatious prodigality ever coupled with licentiousness. Directed into proper channels, the better qualities of the man who, but a few years ago, could boast of having 100,000 people in his employ, might have made him a benefactor of his generation instead of its representative adventurer.

It is curious to trace in the opposite traits of Strousberg's character the influence of his God-fearing Jewish ancestors, who for several generations had resided in the small town of Neidenburg, in East Prussia, no less than that of his Christian education in the English metropolis. He refers with pride to the virtues of his progenitors, particularly to those of his grandfather, "whose blessing was prized as that of a saint." Upon the death of his father, who early instilled into him the belief in his future greatness, he left his home for London, being then in his thirteenth year. He was impelled to do so, not by the hope of gaining riches, but by the desire of fulfilling his "mission." Upon his arrival in England he changed his name of Bartel Heinrich Strausberg into Bethel Henry Strousberg—to please his uncle, as well as for "linguistic" reasons. In the extensive business of this relative he acquired a practical knowledge of affairs, while devoting his leisure

hours to his intellectual improvement, particularly to the study of political economy. He became a contributor to various journals, and finally adopted journalism as his profession, establishing the *Merchant's Magazine*, and assuming the proprietorship of *Sharpe's London Magazine*, a literary monthly. These ventures were successful; they yielded him an income of £1,500, and he even now proudly points to the *Merchant's Magazine* as a "standard work," while speaking in terms of disparagement of the profession in general. The life of a journalist he thinks almost intolerable to one "who has the desire and the ability to accomplish something great which is to last." Returning to Germany, he intended to edit his journals there in order to lessen expense; but they suffered by his removal and he was forced to sell them. He then became the German representative of an English life insurance company, and returning to England a few years later, he conceived a disinterested project "of introducing German art into London." His "exhibition of paintings," however, proved unsuccessful and involved a considerable loss. Meanwhile, he had gained the sum of £10,000 in the insurance business, his advice as "expert" being sought by several companies then consolidating. Thus equipped with means, he again removed to Berlin, where he was approached by several Englishmen, who enlisted his interest in a projected railroad between Tilsit and Insterburg—the first in the series of his famous enterprises.

At this point the author abandons the biographic form of his narrative, and in the following chapters recites, in more or less disjointed fragments, the story of his principal achievements, encumbered with all the disquisitions, reflections, and refutations to which the subject gives rise. Yet, in spite of the literary defects of this volume—its Anglicisms, commercial slang, and abundance of foreign words and phrases—which sadly belie the author's title of doctor, we meet everywhere with evidences of an unusually intelligent mind. He shows considerable polemical skill in his treatment of Lasker, to whose attacks on him in the Prussian Diet he chiefly attributes his ruin. Like all his abstractions, his analysis of Lasker's character is a curious mixture of the true and false, and in portraying his powerful antagonist he has more faithfully portrayed himself. In refuting the sweeping accusations of the *Gartenlaube*, which said that Strousberg "corrupted the press, the civil service, and the nobility," he evidently defends a better cause, for here the almost proverbial honesty of the Prussian official speaks in his favor. And in like manner he asks whether the systematically poor construction of his railroads with which he is charged does not argue an incredible negligence on the part of the authorities of a state where railroad surveillance is notoriously strict. The technical details of the chapters treating of Strousberg's principal enterprises are of little interest to the general reader; but it is of great interest to see his gigantic schemes unfold themselves, each new undertaking bearing on the last, and in turn calling others into life. He built railroads in Germany, Hungary, Rumania, and Russia, directed factories, worked mines, erected market-halls, and cultivated vast domains. His princely estate, Zbirow, in Bohemia, sixty thousand acres in extent, with about four hundred buildings, which had cost him more than five million dollars, was the direct cause of his failure, as the enormous sums spent in its improvement were partly raised by his ill-fated banking operations in Russia. Still, with inevitable ruin before him, he retained his Napoleonic faith in himself, and, among other vast projects, he was planning a railroad between Paris and Narbonne when disaster overtook him at Moscow. His trial resulting in his banishment from Russia, he has returned to Zbirow to administer, for its new owners, the estate which his genius built up and his recklessness lost.

A Manual of Comparative Philology as applied to the Illustration of Greek and Latin Inflections. By T. L. Papillon, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.)—This book was written, the preface tells us, because Professor Max Müller could not spare the time to write such a book. As it is intended merely to give a philological explanation of Latin and Greek inflections, and as the author believes that a brief array of facts, simply and clearly arranged, is better for beginners than a larger array of facts, the book is comparatively small. Including four appendices, it contains only two hundred and thirty-six pages of text. There are eight chapters, the first being introductory, the second dealing with the classification of languages, the third with that of sounds, the fourth with changes and modifications of sounds, the fifth with the formation of words, the sixth, seventh, and eighth, respectively, with the inflection of nouns, of pronouns, and of verbs. One of the appendices contains several pages of specimens of early Latin.

The author justly asserts that a book like his is valuable for preparing the way for a consideration of the higher problems of language. Such a study is also valuable in learning or teaching a language. The student of

a language should not, unless he is already fairly well trained in one or more languages, be troubled with the problems of linguistic science. Yet some of the results of this science, some of the facts that it has clearly established, are of great value in teaching a language. Mr. Papillon's book contains numerous incidental illustrations of this, and he who reads it may perhaps see how system might have been found in facts that were chaotic to him when he was a boy. For instance, most interesting and solid instruction may be derived from the endless illustrations of Grimm's Law that occur in the several languages commonly studied in schools and colleges. Still we fear that Mr. Papillon's work will not be very edifying to beginners, unless that term is used with considerable latitude. Despite every effort to avoid detail, detail is, on such a subject, almost unavoidable, and the comparatively small amount of it in this book will bewilder pupils. Again, the author's system of classification, with its numerous sub-divisions and sub-sub-divisions, will keep any reader constantly on the watch to see where he stands.

Mr. Papillon's book is, however, a very useful one, despite some faults both of plan and of treatment, which we shall now proceed to note. We call attention first, among omissions, to the failure, for the purpose of illustrating the "tolerable certainty" of the development of the passive from the middle voice, to refer to the French and German use of reflexive verbs; also to the omission, in the table on p. 18, of the Anglo-Saxon forms of the words *mother*, *brother*, and *daughter*, and of the forms for the present tense of the verb *to be* in the same language. Passing to matters of another kind, we think that the author, like some others in this respect, uses the term *life*, too freely in reference to language, without intimating that the term when thus applied is a mere metaphor. We are told, too, on p. 17 that "the study of language offers no trace of a mixed grammatical apparatus in the same language," which is not true, if gender-endings are a part of the grammatical apparatus; the English gender-ending *ess* is of French origin. Again, the author's views on p. 24 as to the evolution of auxiliary functions (e.g., in *habeo*) are both vague and incomplete. Surely, *habeo* began its auxiliary career as a presentive word, with the meaning, we will suppose, of *own* or *hold*, and in connection with nouns denoting something that could be owned or held, and was afterwards extended by analogy to cases where owing or holding is inconceivable. When used in such connections as the last, auxiliaries are purely symbolic; but they are all capable of use either as presentive or as symbolic terms. On p. 164, where *t* of the third person singular (Aryan inflection) is said to survive in English as *-s* or *-th*—

"carries" and "carrieth"—it is not stated that the form *-th* (A. S. *þ*) alone complies with Grimm's Law, nor is anything said of the relation of *-s* to *-th*. And though the author (p. 209) justly condemns the expression "infinitive mood," he does not state that the infinitive has no element of *time* also, but derives its time from that of the proposition in which it is used.

Mr. Papillon's book seems to be based upon Müller's works on the science of language; yet in saying (p. 2) that the signs that form a language are "bound to the idea signified only by a tie of mental association, and not by any natural and necessary connection," and in saying (p. 3) that it is "at least probable that language owes its origin to a combination of imitative and interjectional sounds," there is quite a departure from Müller's views. It is to be regretted that there was not a like departure from them in reference to phonetics, and also that, while quoting Prof. Whitney's 'Life and Growth of Language,' Mr. Papillon does not seem to have examined the 'Oriental and Linguistic Studies' (second series) of the same author, in which the subject of phonetics is treated so elaborately. With such a basis for his views, that part of his work that deals with the classification of sounds is doubtless the least satisfactory. Thus, he says (p. 29) that consonants are so called because they have no sound of their own, and on p. 30 he says this is true of only one class of consonants, the mutes; whereas all sonant consonants have a sound of their own. Preferring the term *mediae* to either *flat*, *soft*, or *sonant*, he thus describes the *mediae*: ". . . The contact or approximation takes place with the vocal chords close together, so that they vibrate and cause sound, either during approximation, or (in the case of mutes) directly the contact is released" (p. 31). Here the true characteristic of the sonants is entirely lost sight of—the preliminary sonant murmur, which is in all cases audible and in some markedly so. It is needless to follow the author into details in this direction; so we close by stating that on p. 68 he refers to *r* and *d* (in *cordis*) as examples of explosive mutes; and on p. 60 he says that certain rules of change apply most uniformly to explosive sounds, or consonants proper, and that it is not easy to trace definite rules of change among the "protracted" or "momentary" sounds; but on p. 30 consonants proper, or explosives, are called "momentary" sounds.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Albérdi (J. B.), Life of William Wheelwright.	(A. Williams & Co.) \$1 50
Allen (J. H.) and Greenough (J. B.), Manual of Instruction in Latin.	(Ginn & Heath)
Armitage (Ella S.), Childhood of the English Nation.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Auerbach (B.), The Convicts and their Children.	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 25
A Voice from the Pews, swd.	(Am. News Co.)
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Total Assets, \$6,051,715 84

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1877.

The Week.

THE Electoral Commission, after a full hearing of counsel on both sides and a free expression of opinion among themselves, decided on Wednesday week, by a vote of 8 to 7, that in the case of Florida they would neither receive nor consider evidence "which was not submitted to the joint convention of the two Houses by the President of the Senate with the different certificates, except such as relates to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors." This conclusion was opposed by all the Democratic members and by Judges Clifford and Field; and they only secured the exception in regard to the elector's qualifications by the aid of Judge Bradley, whose vote was for this purpose joined to theirs. From the testimony taken on the following day it appeared that Mr. Humphreys was appointed by the United States Circuit Court, in December, 1872, Shipping Commissioner for the port of Pensacola; that he resigned the office last September, and that the resignation was accepted October 2 by Judge Woods, who was at the time in Ohio. The Democratic counsel argued that this resignation was not valid, because made not to the appointing power, the Circuit Court, but to the absent judge. This is a technical objection about which we must suppose that there may be two opinions; but that the Commission should again divide on party lines in refusing to allow it, is greater ground for surprise than either of their other votes affords. On the whole question, the Commission reported to Congress on Saturday that the vote of Florida was cast through the Hayes electors, and that as regards Mr. Humphreys, "the evidence does not show that he held the office of Shipping Commissioner on the day when the electors were appointed."

This report was at once ratified by the Senate, and of course objected to by the House, Mr. Field being ready with a long arraignment. A recess was ordered till Monday, when, after a deal of useless talk and an irregular attempt to recommit the subject to the Commission, the report was rejected by a vote of 168 to 103, with only one Democrat in the negative. The joint convention of Congress thereupon reassembled, and as provided by the law which constituted the Electoral Commission, the Vice-President directed the tellers to announce the vote of Florida in accordance with the Commissioners' decision, "the two Houses not concurring in ordering otherwise." The count then proceeded without interruption till Louisiana was called, when the necessary objections were raised, the two Houses separated, and the chief bone of the Presidential contest was thrown, stripped apparently of most of its meat, to the Commission. It should be added as a part of the record that a disposition on the part of the Democrats to waste time by filibustering was effectively checked by Speaker Randall, who promptly sustained a point of order made by Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, that the House could refer nothing to the Commission without the concurrent action of the Senate.

It is unfortunate that the vote in the Commission has been cast on party lines, as we have said elsewhere, and it is true that Judge Bradley has in form determined the result in the Florida case by his casting vote, but it is not true that he has any more power or ought to bear any more responsibility in the matter than either of the judges who voted with him. Judges Miller and Strong are entitled to just the same amount of praise or blame as he is and no more. Judge Miller by voting the other way might have changed the result, and so might Judge Strong, and the "Hayes men" are just as much indebted to them as to Judge Bradley. The Florida

case has discouraged the Democrats, which is not surprising, as it is a little difficult to see how under the ruling of the Commission they can get in any evidence tending to show the illegality either of the composition of the Louisiana Returning Board or of its action, but the Louisiana case does contain new points. No doubt this ruling is covering up a great deal of fraud, but we must again remind our readers that the Commission was not formed to do absolute justice, but to find the simplest and wisest way out of a position of great difficulty and danger. We repeat that no Commission can provide an adequate remedy for the Republican performances in Florida and Louisiana, and for the shameful bolstering up of the knaves and knavery of those States in which leading Republicans have indulged since the election. That remedy must be sought at the polls, and that it will be found at the polls we have little doubt.

We say this in the fullest confidence that examination will show that it was not David Dudley Field who got up all the late election troubles in Louisiana, and brought the present cloud on the honored name of J. Madison Wells. There seems in some quarters to be a disposition to make us believe that Field has been in Louisiana a long time, and has passed there under the names of Casey, Packard, Pinchback, Kellogg, Durell, and more recently of Kenner, Pickett, Maddox, and Littlefield, and that what he is really enquiring into now in Washington before the House Committee is his own frauds, perjuries, forgeries, and corruption, and that his questioning the Returning Board and its clerks about these things is a mere attempt on the part of the wretched wag to hide his own shame. We trust this is not true, and that he will be able to prove an alibi; but if true, we can tell the poor man that his efforts at concealment are a failure; that the Republican press has its eye on him, and that his identity with all the leading Louisiana rogues is with them no longer a matter of doubt, and that they firmly believe that it is his infernal activity under various aliases which has so long plunged that unhappy State in disorder.

He has been, however, to all outward appearances, comparatively harmless this week in the political world, though his behavior in the social sphere has been nothing to boast of. He contemplated on Saturday making the House "filibuster" so as to carry the Presidential count over the 4th of March, and thus necessitate a new election or plunge us into civil war. This evil design he seems to have relinquished on Monday, but he supported his reputation by bringing about two murders in New York and causing a bank defalcation of a peculiarly aggravated character in Hartford. He also produced a drunken witness before his Committee, thus showing himself the friend of intemperance. He meditates, we believe, organizing Sunday excursions of a predatory character around Washington among Democratic members of the House, and is making extensive arrangements for producing very bad weather in March. He also "runs to and fro" between the Supreme Court-room and the House, but, strange to say, all his Satanic ability seems to desert him when addressing the Tribunal. Before that body he is feeble and incoherent, making foolish propositions and supporting them with arguments that are almost idiotic. The decision in the Florida case took all the life out of him for a few hours. He was depressed and seemed to shun observation, and lost all interest in the Louisiana case. We have compiled the foregoing account of this remarkable man, or deduced it by reasonable inference, from various Republican papers of high standing.

There has been a sharp debate in the House, and more or less excitement in one or two Republican legislatures, over the treatment experienced by the Louisiana Returning Board while in custody for contempt. They are confined in a room in the basement of the Capitol which has been long used for such purposes, and which is

neither sunny nor cheerful nor very dry, and is doubtless less comfortable than a hotel bedroom with a southern or eastern exposure. Rooms used for such purposes are always called "dungeons" by the prisoners confined in them and by the members of the political party to which they belong, as are also all prison-cells used by the British Government for the confinement of Fenians. This room in the Capitol is also sometimes called "the American Bastille." We do not think the members of the Returning Board are entitled to any greater comfort than other recusant witnesses imprisoned under similar circumstances, and it is a mistake to suppose that they ought not to be imprisoned for contempt at all because the contempt was committed against a Democratic House, and the questions were asked by David Dudley Field; but it would be very unwise for the Democratic House to subject them to any unusual discomfort. An old Trojan like Wells who goes into a committee-room to be examined about his "judicial functions" armed with two revolvers and a bowie-knife is not, however, a very proper object for unusual sympathy, even if it be not true that he has in his time killed three men. We presume there are few right-minded persons who have read Wells's letters and made themselves properly acquainted with his career who will not witness his discharge from "the dungeon" with extreme regret, and will not wish sincerely that he could be transferred from it to a warm and clean cell in one of our leading penitentiaries. He is one of a class of political vermin who have during the last fifteen years swarmed on the body politic, and are now in their last days making almost more mischief than during any portion of their career by tempting respectable men at the North into defending and excusing and even crying over them. That they should pass away without formal and conspicuous punishment is a great public misfortune.

It is pleasant to find that Chief-Justice Church, of the Court of Appeals of this State, has been able to contradict a long and elaborate account, given by an Albany correspondent of the *Times*, of his opinions and those of his colleagues about the Electoral Commission Act. The Chief-Justice was reported as pronouncing it wildly unconstitutional, and his colleagues as expressing themselves in very contemptuous terms about the Democratic case before the Commission. He says he has had doubts about the constitutionality of the law, but has "acquiesced in it as a compromise measure passed in the interest of fairness and harmony," and while holding that electors authenticated according to the laws of the State were alone competent to cast its vote, "he has never undertaken to determine what questions may arise for decision by the counting power consistent with this general proposition," and has expressed no opinion and formed none as to which of the candidates is entitled to receive the votes of either of the disputed States. As to his colleagues, he says the subject has never been discussed or alluded to at any of their meetings, and he does not know their views on any of the points involved. This is all very satisfactory, but we will take the opportunity it offers of saying that the probable cause of putting all this stuff, which the Chief-Justice contradicts, into his mouth is, that he is apt to be a little free in his talks on politics with lively writers for the press, and is better known in political circles than is quite suitable for a man in his position. In these days a judge should wrestle with his interest in politics as with an evil inclination, and when he sees a fascinating and licentious reporter approaching him should arm himself against him as against Satan in his most seductive guise.

Belknap has at last had a happy issue out of all his afflictions. When the Senate failed to convict him on impeachment the public consoled itself by remembering that he would still be held by the Criminal Court, about whose jurisdiction there was no question, and that he would thus get his due. But his case, after hanging on for a year, has at last been brought up, and the District Attorney has entered a *nolle prosequi* by order of the Attorney-General, and with the written approval of the President. The reason of the order is

that there is not proof enough to convict him; of the approval, that the poor man has been subjected to a good deal of expense by these proceedings, and has gone through a great deal of suffering. The Washington correspondents add that "much sympathy is felt for the ex-Secretary by many of his old friends." Under the circumstances it would seem to be not improper to reimburse him for his law costs and his enforced idleness out of the public funds, and as he has been used a good deal to damage the party, if the party stays in power it seems as if some place ought to be found for him. People are slowly but surely becoming ashamed of the outcry against this estimable man. We ought to say for Murtagh, Shepherd, and Babcock too, although we have often spoken severely of these gentlemen, that they have never believed in Belknap's guilt, and we are sure now be ready to help him in any way in their power.

Eight of the Southern States, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, are defaulters. Four of these have some excuse in having been for a long while subject to carpet-bag rule in its worst form. The others have none except the impoverishment caused by the war. But the return of prosperity and the smallness of the amount due begin to make the continuance of this insolvency a great national disgrace. For the sake of the national credit and repute generally the subject has been taken up by some of the leading New York financiers, and a Board of Arbitration, consisting of five bank presidents, has been appointed to mediate between the debtor States and their creditors, and arrange some plan of compromise and settlement which the former can carry out and which the latter will be willing to accept. Within the last month an agent of this Board has travelled through the South sounding the financial authorities of the defaulting States, and there appears to be some prospect that Virginia will make an attempt to meet her obligations; but little that North Carolina and Tennessee will do so. About the other States nothing very certain seems to be known, and probably nothing will be known until the present Presidential excitement is over, and the future political condition of the South more clearly ascertained. Of the expediency to the South of some sort of settlement that will satisfy the Northern public, there can be no sort of question, for what the South needs most is capital and immigration, and these cannot be looked for on any great scale under dishonored governments which are unable to borrow in the markets of the world for the execution of any local improvement.

It has been a great week for the bears in Wall Street, and they have been assisted in their work by the break-down of the Central Railroad Company of New Jersey, which has had not only to contend against the depression in the coal trade, but to meet difficulties caused by unwise management in the past. The shareholders were convened early in the week, and the critical condition of the company was explained to them; they were requested to advance \$3,000,000, which Mr. Knight, the President, told them would enable the company to cross the stream that threatened to engulf it. For the \$3,000,000 so advanced the company would give as security \$5,000,000 of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre bonds. At the time the offer was made these bonds were selling at 56, so that the "collateral" for the loan would have been less than the loan. Subscriptions were made to the amount of about \$1,250,000, on condition that these should not be binding unless the whole \$3,000,000 were subscribed. The conditional subscriptions never exceeded \$1,250,000, and the attempt to tide over failed; meantime the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre bonds fell from 56 to 36, so that at the latter price the \$3,000,000 asked for would have been secured by only \$1,800,000 "collateral." The attempt to get money having failed, the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Company was turned over to the creditors, who were represented by three receivers. This company's intimate connection with the Central of New Jersey left the latter no choice but to be put in charge of a receiver likewise.

All these circumstances contributed to the heavy decline in the securities of the Central of New Jersey, which became the pretext for a general decline in other stocks. Central New Jersey stock fell from 26 to 13 $\frac{3}{4}$; and the bonds of the company fell from 2 to 20 per cent. All other coal securities, whether of sound or unsound companies, declined heavily, the largest decline having been in Delaware and Hudson stock, which fell from 59 to 45. Other stocks, no way connected with the coal trade, fell from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 per cent. Aside from the stock speculation which engrossed the attention of Wall Street, the notable events were the call of the Treasury for the redemption of another \$10,000,000 of 5.20 bonds, interest to cease May 12. This makes \$30,000,000 called this year, and leaves of the old 5.20's of 1865 \$70,538,650 yet to be called. The Syndicate, of course, are selling 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, and the refunding of the debt with the result of reducing the interest 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum is making steady headway. No bonds have yet been sold for gold. The gold in the New York banks has fallen to about \$35,500,000. The price of gold has ranged between 106 and 105 $\frac{1}{2}$, or, as it would be more correctly expressed, the gold value of the United States legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged between \$0.9433 and \$0.9478.

Parliament was opened in England on the appointed day by the Queen in person. Her speech contained the usual commonplace rehearsal of things with which everybody was familiar, and expressed no opinion on the Turkish imbroglio beyond a belief that the proof revealed by the Conference of a general agreement among the European Powers cannot fail to have a material effect on the condition and government of Turkey. The Opposition did not move an amendment to the Address on the Turkish question, apparently not having sufficiently full information, but the course of the Government was severely criticised by the Marquis of Hartington in the Commons, and the Duke of Argyll and Earl Granville in the Lords, who demanded that the Ministry should not let matters stand as they are, and should adopt an active policy of some kind. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, maintained that the coercion of Turkey would mean not simply the protection of the Christians, but the break-up of the Empire, the result of which would probably be general European disorder, and therefore was not to be lightly entertained. Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, ridiculed the new Turkish constitution, as Lord Salisbury had already done in his despatches. The retention by the Sultan of the power of unseating and banishing members of the Chamber of Deputies naturally gives an air of fragility to the scheme. The Blue Book containing the despatches relating to the Eastern Question has been published, and the main points revealed by it are the substantial identity of views and interest between Austria and England; the firm determination of the English Government from the outset to insist on guaranties, while opposing an occupation by a foreign military force; the total want of faith on Lord Salisbury's part in Turkish promises of reform, and the plainness with which Turkey was given to understand that if she rejected the proposals of the Conference she would have to face the consequences alone. There is, however, a good deal of discrepancy in spirit between the instructions as first issued and the concessions with which at the close Lord Salisbury agreed to be content.

The causes of Midhat Pasha's fall are not much clearer than they were a week ago. He himself ascribes it to Russian intrigue, which is perhaps the theory most flattering to his self-love, but Prince Bismarck is reported to have attributed it recently to what ladies call "bad habits," or, in plain English, drunkenness. Edhem Pasha, who succeeds him, is pronounced by the same authority the one incorruptible Turk left—we presume he means in high places; but then an incorruptible Turk is not likely to be much of a reformer, or very eager to meet Western demands. As a general rule, the more civilized a Turk is, and the broader his views, and

the deeper his passion for "progress," the readier he is to be "seen," as our politicians say. Nothing could better illustrate, however, the small amount of reliance there is to be placed in the permanence of Turkish reforms, such as the new constitution, than the evanescence of the ministers who frame them, and the large part mere palace intrigues play in changing the Sultan's advisers. The diplomatic circular issued by the Porte on the proceedings at the late Conference is said to have adopted a contemptuous tone in noticing General Ignatieff's statement that Turkey had virtually abrogated the Treaty of Paris by rejecting the proposals of the Powers. It says that the Turkish representatives remained silent in the presence of these remarks because they were irrelevant, and the other members were astonished by them. This little digression, if truly reported, is not likely to improve the chances of peace at St. Petersburg.

Peace with Serbia, however, seems to be nearly concluded, and, it is said, with the consent or connivance of Russia, who wishes to placate Austria, or, at all events, tranquillize her by putting an end to hostilities on her immediate frontier. Turkey abandons the demand for material guaranties, but asks Serbia to give her diplomatic representation at Belgrade; to concede equal rights to Jews and Armenians; to protect Turkish territory against the invasions of armed bands; to put down secret societies; to keep the Servian fortresses in good repair, and hoist the Turkish flag on them jointly with that of Serbia. To all of these, except that with regard to the Jews and Armenians, the opposition to which is said to be due to the commercial rivalry of the native Servians at Belgrade, Serbia accedes. Montenegro is also said to be disposed to treat on the basis of a "rectification of its frontier" (which means different things at different times) both towards Austria and Turkey. From Austria the Principality would like the seaport of Cattaro, which lies only one hour from the Montenegrin line, but from Turkey it would like, and has long sought, on the north the little corner of Herzegovina which pushes into Montenegro, forming the plain south of Niksics, and on the south a slip of territory that would include Podgoritz and bring the line fairly down to the Lake of Scutari. In the meantime all the news from Russia is more and more warlike. Additional corps are being mobilized, and the massing of troops on the Pruth continues.

The resignation of the Russian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Gortchakoff, after over fifty years of service, is likely to increase the hesitation and embarrassment which the Emperor undoubtedly feels at the prospect of hostilities with Turkey. The empire has had no minister to whom it is more indebted. He was mainly instrumental, while at Vienna in 1853, in keeping Austria from joining the Anglo-French alliance, and afterwards, when he succeeded Count Nesselrode in the Foreign Office, in preventing the Polish insurrection in 1862 from causing a general conflagration. It was to him, too, that the bold and successful step of disregarding the Treaty of Paris and introducing Russian war vessels once more into the Black Sea was due. The long game of diplomacy in which he has been engaged with Bismarck ever since the latter rose into prominence in 1865 has been admirably described in M. Klaczko's most interesting book, 'The Two Chancellors,' perhaps the most curious and instructive of recent contributions to political literature. Gortchakoff's success has been the more remarkable because he received his first training in and inherited the traditions of a world which, since 1848, has entirely passed away. For many years after he entered on his career the affairs of Continental Europe were managed by three or four virtually absolute monarchs, with little more regard to popular sentiment or to most of the considerations which are now all-powerful in diplomacy than to the wind. He not only passed through the change of régime without damage, however, but he distinguished himself fully as much in the new Europe as in the old one.

THE FLORIDA DECISION.

ALTHOUGH the decision of the Electoral Commission in the Florida case very probably covers up a good deal of fraud, we believe it will meet with hearty acceptance from the sober second thought of the majority of both parties. It is not after all of great importance whether Hayes or Tilden secures the Presidency. Even the most hot-headed partisans now begin to acknowledge this. Rational men on both sides began to acknowledge it almost immediately after the election. Most of those Republicans who passed last summer painting in glowing colors the ruin and devastation that would follow from Tilden's election, and the depravity and blindness not only of supporting him, but even of contemplating with calm the possibility of his success, have for three months been speaking of it as one of the ordinary incidents of American politics, over which it would be Mexican to get excited. In fact, we are all cool now; the wildest of us is wiping his face, and says smilingly, looking back to the canvass: "It was an exciting time, wasn't it? And how admirably the people are behaving!" Therefore we believe the immediate result of the decision of the Commission will excite much less sober interest than its remote results; and it is not difficult to see that the remote results of a precedent which gave the majority in both houses of Congress the power of looking into the manner in which State Returning Boards did their duty, and of passing on the fairness of the election, and of waiting until the day of the count in February to see whether the State authorities would not send in a new vote by means of a *quo warranto*, or order a fresh canvass, would be in the highest degree embarrassing, if not dangerous. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that such a precedent would speedily reduce the State vote to an empty form, and throw the election of the President into the hands of one or both houses of Congress, and this not simply whenever the States failed to elect by giving a clear majority to one candidate, but whenever the Congressional majority was not satisfied with "the face of the returns." It must not be supposed that because this danger seems small now it would remain small. One needs only a very slight acquaintance with the temper which the bulk of Washington politicians bring to the consideration of matters affecting their own retention of office, the distribution of patronage, and the interests of their party generally, to foresee how rapidly, if the power of tinkering the returns were once conceded to them, the passion for "doing substantial justice" would grow on them. They would at every election either be so deeply impressed with the vast importance to the morals and happiness of 40,000,000 of people of keeping one party in for another term, or of expelling the other party before it had completed the ruin of our institutions, that they would stick at no trifles in attaining their ends. The vote in November would simply be the beginning of a vast investigation into the frauds and violence committed at and preceding the election all over the country, which would certainly last until the fourth of March, if not longer, and the result of which every child over ten would be able to predict with accuracy. Had the Commission adopted the view of their power presented by the Democrats in the Florida matter, we have no hesitation in saying that the enormous change in the structure of the government above indicated would, to all intents and purposes, have been begun.

Nor is the decision by any means a triumph for the Republicans, even though it may help to elect Hayes. It puts the seal of condemnation on the theory of the relation of the Federal Government to the States which the extreme Republicans have been maintaining ever since the war, and which has been carried out with such bad results in the case of Louisiana—we mean the paternal theory which makes the Federal Government the *ex-officio* guardian and special providence of a large body of Southern voters, and gives Congress the power which Mr. Boutwell's committee claimed in the Mississippi case, to investigate the manner in which the State authorities do their police duty at and before elections, and to remand the State to a Territorial condition

until such time as its civilization comes up to the standard fixed by a hostile majority of the opposite party in Congress. It so happened that at the late election the State Government of Florida was Republican, but how soon will this happen again? How would the Democratic theory of Congressional power work in 1881 if there should happen to be a Republican majority in both houses, and it was not satisfied with the vote sent up from that State or any other Southern State by a Democratic Governor and Board of State Canvassers?

It is, of course, to be regretted that the judges of the Supreme Court on the Commission should have been divided on party lines in giving their decision; that one or two of the Democratic judges should not have seen fit, when the majority was certain, to vote with it in order to give the judgment of the Commission greater moral weight with the country, and to prevent even the slight loss of prestige which results from the presumption that the opinions of the judges have been colored by their politics. But there is after all nothing surprising in the result, and if the Democrats show till the end the patience and good temper in submitting to the judgments pronounced by their political adversaries which they have displayed thus far, they will assuredly profit by it in the long run. If the law and morality and expediency of the controversy now before the Commissioners had been so plain that neither the judges, nor any other honest and well-informed men, could have differed on them, there would have been no controversy at all. The difference of opinion which has shown itself in the Commission is exactly what might have been expected over a matter in which there is a great deal to be said on both sides, and there is, except in the case of Senator Morton, no reason to doubt that it has been reached after full consideration, and with a desire to do right. Nor do those who opposed the Commission from the beginning make their position now any more tenable than it has ever been by pointing to the political line of division, and saying that this was what they always expected, and is the reason why they denounced the plan of reference. Its friends never said the Commission would be unanimous, and never suggested that it would have to be unanimous, or that the majority on either side would have to be large in order to command respect for the judgment. What they said was that it was a body with which the disputants would be satisfied, and whose decisions, whether they emanated from the whole fifteen or from eight, would be a sufficiently near approach to rightness to furnish a safe way out of our present troubles. The objections made to it now are, as they have been from the beginning, only tenable on the theory that the Commission ought to be composed of angels and do pure justice, the fact being that it is composed of men and seeks to end a human controversy by rough human methods.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

IT is now nearly two months since the occurrence of the Ashtabula railroad disaster, and the discussion occasioned by it has apparently ceased. Neither does the accident nor the discussion seem to have resulted in anything very tangible. Undoubtedly railroad officials are subjecting their bridges to more thorough examination than heretofore, and there has been a general screwing up of loose nuts and inspection of stringers. Travel by rail is safer than it was by so much, and it will probably be some months before we have another holocaust. Meanwhile, the Ashtabula accident has illustrated one thing to which much too little attention has been called; we mean the very great importance to the community of investigations, at once public, thorough, and scientific, into the causes of railroad disasters. By such disasters and by shipwreck only are lives in these days sacrificed by the score, and yet, except through the clumsy machinery of a coroner's jury, hardly anywhere in America is there the slightest provision made for enquiry into them. Here are wholesale killings. In four cases out of five some one is responsible for them; there has been carelessness somewhere, or a false

economy has been practised, or a defective discipline maintained, or some appliance of safety dispensed with, or some one has run for luck and taken his chances. In other cases of manslaughter, and even of homicide, we do not usually leave the investigations into the circumstances accompanying the killing wholly in the hands of those responsible for it. In the case of railroad accidents this practically is exactly what is done. The regular tribunal to investigate the Ashtabula disaster—for instance, some local coroner and his jury—would never have elicited anything of value from it. The special board of experts which the Legislature of Ohio set to work has brought to light facts which it is not too much to say have before this affected the condition of half the railroad bridges of the country, and the security of the whole travelling public.

We have been led to refer to this subject more especially, as the public apathy in regard to it seems to be founded on something which bears a resemblance to reason. It is argued that, with a system so complicated and high-pressure in its nature as our travel by rail, a certain percentage of accident is inevitable; that the present percentage in America is almost miraculously small; that in Great Britain all accidents on railroads are publicly investigated and reported upon by Government inspectors, and yet in Great Britain accidents are more frequent and the percentage of casualties greater than in this country; and, therefore, such investigations would be of no special benefit. Now, we are in no ways disposed to deny that travel by rail in America is in itself wonderfully free from risk; and, in advance, we concede to those to whose skill and care this safety is due all the credit which is claimed for them. When it comes, however, to comparisons, that is another matter. They are proverbially odious things; sometimes, also, they are harmful. This contrast of the safety of American railroad travel with the alleged comparative danger of that of Great Britain is not particularly odious, but to us it is most harmful. It blocks improvement. It fosters that pleasing faith, to which we are all so prone, that we have from others, at least, nothing to learn in this respect.

It so happens, also, as we propose to show, that the commonly-received idea of the comparative safety of American railroad travel is wholly erroneous. It grows out of the facts elicited from the statistics of certain localities, especially Massachusetts, in which some attempt to get railroad statistics is made, and where railroad accidents are of comparatively rare occurrence. In the country as a whole, what was alleged against us twenty years ago is true to-day: railroad travel in the United States is accompanied with a greater degree of risk to life and limb than in Great Britain, or, indeed, in any other country of advanced civilization on earth. The difference is that in other countries the statistics of accident are carefully compiled, while in this country, except very locally, they are not compiled at all. Still an approximation can be made, and, rough as it is, it will be found, we fancy, in its results as conclusive as it is unexpected.

We will take Great Britain for example, and analyze the comparison which has been referred to and is so often heard. Of late years, owing to a vast increase in the traffic of the lines and the number of trains run upon them, there has been an alarming increase of railroad accidents in that country, though, in proportion to the persons carried, there do not seem to have been more casualties than formerly. For instance, during the three years 1847-9 about 58,000,000 passenger journeys were annually made, and an average number of twelve passengers were killed from causes beyond their own control, or one passenger to each 4,700,000 carried. In 1874 nearly 500,000,000 passengers were carried and eighty-six were killed from causes beyond their own control, or one passenger to each 5,500,000 carried. Yet in 1874 the disasters were peculiarly fatal. During the year 1875 in Great Britain 507,000,000 passengers, exclusive of season-ticket holders, were conveyed, of whom 134 were killed and 1,806 injured from all causes, while from causes beyond their own control seventeen were killed and 1,212 injured. Here, then, are statistics worth something; we have a basis to start from. From all causes one passenger out of every 3,800,000 who

travelled by rail in Great Britain was killed in 1875, and one out of each 280,000 was injured.

Turning now to America, the first thing which strikes the investigator is the utter absence of data; it is not reliable statistics that are wanting, but there are no statistics at all. In the case of a few States—Massachusetts, for instance—we have them, but we cannot generalize from them so as to include the whole country. There are, too, more passengers carried on the railroads of Great Britain in one year now than have been carried in Massachusetts in forty years. To get, therefore, a good basis for comparison, balancing one year, including a Revere disaster, with another year which sees no disaster at all, we should have to cover a period of time in the case of Massachusetts during which all the data would change. Leaving localities out of the question therefore, except as a basis for certain approximations, we must attempt a "guess," for it is little better, as respects the whole country.

For a few years past the *Railroad Gazette* has kept as faithful a record as it could of railroad disasters. During the four years 1873-6 it has reported on an average 1,100 accidents a year, resulting in 260 deaths and 1,040 cases of injury. How large a proportion of those killed and injured were passengers, and how large a portion were employes, we have no means of ascertaining. Neither can we tell how many deaths or injuries were partly owing to the carelessness of the sufferers. However, taking the figures for what they are worth, it remains to ascertain what proportion they bear to the whole number carried. Here, however, we abandon poor statistics for none at all. It only remains to approximate—to have recourse to estimates. The number of passengers carried on the roads of a few States is reported with more or less accuracy. We also know the number of miles of road in the United States. According to the Massachusetts returns, 16,500 passengers are annually carried to each mile of road in that State, while in New England, as a whole, the reported number is only 8,700. Outside of New England not more than four or five States pretend to any information on the subject, and New York is not one of those four or five. Pennsylvania professes to carry annually 4,700 passengers to each mile; Ohio, 2,400; Michigan, 1,500. There is something simply barbarous about such statistics, but they are all we have. The States named include more than a quarter part of the railroad mileage of the United States. They average annually 4,500 passengers to the mile. Supposing that this average holds throughout the country—a manifest over-estimate—it would give us a total of 335,250,000 passengers annually carried on the railroads of the United States, or less than half the number carried on the railroads of Great Britain. Of this number, as nearly as we can judge, one in each 1,300,000 was killed, or about six times the average in Great Britain, and one in each 330,000 was injured. In Great Britain, however, 13 cases of injury were reported to each case of death, against only four injuries to one death in America; thus again recalling our statistical weakness. Neither is any account made of the 600,000 holders of season tickets over the roads of Great Britain, who, if computed by the method in use in Massachusetts, would increase the British total of passengers annually carried, by more than 50 per cent., to 850,000,000. Supposing, therefore, by way of summary, that nine out of ten of those whom we know to have been killed in the American train accidents were employes, to offset the nine out of ten of the passengers killed on the British roads whose deaths were due to their own want of care—an allowance, by the way, largely in favor of this country—we have as a result that with but two-thirds the number of passengers the roads of this country have twice as many fatal casualties among them. As to cases of injury in America, manifestly not one in four is ever reported at all.

Perhaps, after all, the one really valuable conclusion to be arrived at from all these figures is, that we are absolutely without any reliable railroad statistics in America—hardly worthy, indeed, to be classed in this respect among highly civilized countries. Meanwhile, however, so far as the direct point at issue is concerned—the commonly received idea that travel by rail is in this country peculiarly free from danger, much more so than in England—

even the wretched figures we have show it to be a complete fallacy due to pure ignorance. The percentage of deaths and injuries to passengers carried is to-day with us probably at least three times what it is in Great Britain. At Ashtabula alone five times as many passengers were killed and burned up as were killed, from causes beyond their own control, on all the railroads of Great Britain during the year 1875. It is high time these facts in connection with our railroad travel were understood, and that we ceased to evolve a conceit of safety out of ignorance. We may not have too many railroad disasters for our own good; but we certainly do have more than we need, more than other countries, and very many, like that at Ashtabula, to which a thorough, scientific, and public investigation would do great good. At least it should be no longer an argument against having such investigations that in England, where they do have them, they have also more accidents than we do here. Such is not the fact.

FRANÇOIS BULOZ.

PARIS, January 26, 1877.

FRENCH literature has suffered a severe loss in the person of François Buloz. He never or hardly ever wrote a line, but he has been since 1830 the inspiration and soul of the famous *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He was of very humble origin, born in Savoy, and he had the hardy qualities of a mountaineer. He bought the *Revue* when it had only one hundred subscribers, and by his efforts and perseverance made it the most important organ of the French mind in the nineteenth century. I have known him intimately for more than twenty years, and can only remember now his remarkable and sterling qualities. When I brought him my first article I did not take the precaution to bring him any introduction, and I did well. He was absolutely impervious to recommendations, and he said to his credit he had some sympathy for unknown young men. I did not enter without emotion the little room in the Rue St. Benoît, which Philarrète Chasles once called the "cavern of Cacus" (Buloz had lost the use of one eye). The terrible editor received me very well, and enquired, "Have you time to take a walk in my garden?" The garden was a small plot of land, without any flowers, with only a few trees and shrubs, which lived as well as they could between three high walls, and could only receive the midday sun. Buloz asked me who I was, whether I intended to give myself wholly to literature, or to cultivate it only as a pastime. Why had I written an article? Did I intend to write more? Literature ought not to be a profession except for a man of genius. Every man should tie himself to a profession, and only write when he had something useful to say. "I know better than anybody the real men of letters—vain, self-glorious, foolish creatures they are. I must allow them a little space in the *Revue*, but the chief place I will always give to the men who know things professionally, and who can be the instructors of this nation." I was not a man of letters, and when he found it out he became almost amiable. "You are a man of science," he said; "well, I have always looked for one who could instruct my public, who could write good French. You scientific men are generally out of the reach of humanity. You cannot be approached. I don't wish to popularize science—I don't believe in popular science. I want real science, and I believe that if the public cannot understand its methods it ought to be made aware of its general results, of its philosophical teachings." That was exactly my programme, and we understood each other perfectly. I had no difficulty with my first article, nor with those which followed. I submitted meekly to the discipline of Buloz, and a better teacher of grammar I never found in my life, as well as a more intelligent exponent of the necessities of a Review. "Look at me," he said to me; "as long as I don't understand you the public will not." And he was never satisfied till he completely mastered the meaning of my words. When I look now upon the hours which we spent together over proof-sheets, altering and correcting, I forget the annoyance which I sometimes felt, and I can only admire the conscience of the man, who was never satisfied till the work was as perfect as it could be.

When the American war began he allowed me to change my subject, though he was very fond of confining his writers to a special department; and when I left for America he asked me himself to give him a series of articles on the country I was going to visit. I had taken, and with some warmth, the part of the North; and the French Foreign Office was far from sympathetic to your cause during the war. Buloz received many a visit from high officials of the Foreign Office, and even during the Empire he was almost obliged to remain on good terms with them, as some of them

were his contributors and he received from them information which was all the more valuable to the *Revue* because the press was fettered, and because the 'Chronique Politique' of Forcade had become the most important expression of the French policy during the Crimean and Italian wars. I shall never forget that Buloz, though he had no personal light on the subject of American affairs, and had every temptation to please the Foreign Office, always stood by me, and would never give way to the representations of the men who prophesied the disruption of the American Union. He sometimes called me an enthusiast, he warned me against considerations which might have contributed to blind me, but he never refused me the means of expressing my convictions; he allowed me fair play. When I sent him my article on President Lincoln, just after his assassination, he cried, and sent it to the press, and said: "Not one word will be changed in that." He was, in his own way, a sentimental man; and his outbursts of sentiment were all the more touching as coming from a man who was so robust, so hard, so unflinching. The triumph of the American cause, I am almost ashamed to say it, was my definitive triumph with him. Everybody had warned him against my opinions, and, after all, I had happened to be in the right. From that time I may say that he allowed me the free use of the *Revue*. Of course, he always preserved nominally his dictatorial rights; practically, he allowed me to write on anything I pleased, and he even consulted me often on difficult points of policy.

There was one point, however, on which we never could agree, and I bitterly regret now not having shown more tenacity on this painful subject. I had spent a part of my youth in Germany, and knew the depth and seriousness of the German aspirations for unity. Buloz had espoused with much warmth the cause of Italian unity; he was a friend of Cavour, and did better service than any other Frenchman to the Italian cause. I tried at that time to show him that German unity was as much a European necessity as Italian unity. I gave him an article on the subject after a journey which I had made in Germany. He took it with reluctance, and it appeared under the name of M. de Mars, the editor of the *Revue*, as I could not at that time sign my name to the article, for reasons which it is useless to state here. This article was, I believe, very moderate, but gave great offence to our Foreign Office, and to the host of ministers whom we still kept at the German courts. Buloz this time thought that I was completely in error; my views were at complete variance with all the reports which came from Germany. I abandoned the German question for ever, and even after Sadowa, when I made a journey to Austria and Bohemia, I did not feel tempted to touch it again in the *Revue*. And I was wrong, for a man ought always to do the contrary of what Fontenelle advised—when he thinks he has the truth in his hand he ought always to open it. I am convinced now, as I was then, that the Germans might have accomplished their unity without inflicting such wounds on France as can never be cured; that France ought not to have stood in the way of the national movement in Germany; and that if she had shown to Germany half the sympathy which she showed to Italy, even without going to arms for her, she would have preserved her ancient territory, and Europe would not be what it is now, the nations would not be all in arms, and the two most civilized countries of the Continent would be friends instead of enemies.

Buloz was a true patriot; he loved the honor and glory of France. He had never been a friend of the Empire, but he tried to facilitate more than to hinder the action of the Empire when it could serve the real interests of the country. His position during the Empire was one of extreme difficulty; the *Revue*, which had not been very prosperous in the time of Louis Philippe, when its pages were filled with the works of men and women of genius, of Musset, of Mérimée, of Guizot, of Madame Sand, of Victor Hugo, and others, had become very prosperous since the 2d of December. The Liberals, who could have no papers of their own, were content to find allusions and regrets, which, under the pen of clever writers like Prevost-Paradol and Forcade, had all the charms of the best literature combined with the concealed passion for liberty. In the silence of public opinion, the appearance of every number became an event; but the fate of the *Revue* hung upon the thread of the ministerial and imperial will. How many anxious days and years did Buloz pass! how he was obliged to watch every sentence, every word! It is enough to say of him that he *lived* during these terrible years. "What did you do during the Terror?" asked somebody of Sieyès. "I lived." Buloz lived also, but he did not live silent: he spoke, and he always stood by the old cause of liberalism and free institutions. Every temptation was offered him by the Empire; this obscure, self-made man never flinched—he was that rare and admirable thing, a man of conscience. And so he became a power, and potentates and ambassadors, and kings and ministers had to take him into account.

The war of 1870 was his death-blow. He would not, he could not believe the fatal truth. He remained in Paris during the siege, and corrected his proof-sheets amid the sound of the distant guns. I saw him again after the Commune; he was inconsolable. His interest in public affairs was almost gone; he was an Orléanist, and in the most stringent times of the Empire had never refused the columns of the *Revue* to a prince of Orléans. He was also a great admirer of M. Thiers. He did not understand why M. Thiers and the Orléans did not work in harmony. He did not understand the visit of the Comte de Paris to Frohsdorf. He was instinctively hostile to the Legitimist party; he was a man of 1830, lost among a new generation.

As a scientific, historical, and literary periodical the *Revue* had preserved all its importance; its political rôle was finished. Forcade was gone; his clear and brilliant mind had been obscured by madness. Buloz was ill; his last days were embittered by those deep afflictions which prepare a man for death—he had lost his eldest son; I will not even allude to other troubles, which were too great for him. When he saw one of the writers of the old days (for he had almost ceased to see the new contributors), he had a moment of satisfaction; but to his visitors it was a pitiful sight, this strong man completely unnerved, like an oak which has been uprooted and is lying on the ground with its broken branches and withered foliage.

Buloz has been accused, by a whole generation of litterateurs, of great avarice. He certainly has left a large fortune; but I can only say that after I had been a few years in the service of the *Revue* he doubled my salary without my asking for it, and he would not even receive my thanks. I would not mention this detail if it were not in order to do justice to a man who, with all his defects, deserves to be praised for his good and great qualities (and for qualities which have at all times been very rare), and especially for his extraordinary devotion to a great political and intellectual work. Of him it can be well said, “Exegit monumentum.”

GERMAN HOME-LIFE.*

FREIBURG, January 15, 1877.

IT is surprising to find a foreign lady possessed of so intimate a knowledge of German life, down to its minutest and most insignificant details, as is displayed on almost every page of the book whose title is given below; but it is still more surprising to see that what she proves to be so well acquainted with is so little understood. The justice of the first part of my proposition is not impaired by the fact that quite a rich harvest of blunders—some of them very ridiculous—might be gathered from these pages. Really to know a people it is certainly indispensable to have a somewhat thorough knowledge of its language. To this our keen-sighted critic, whose strong little fingers tear “our cousins German” into such nice little shreds with charming grace, accompanied by full-toned, good-humored laughter, can lay no claim. The few German phrases and words that are strewn in here and there furnish abundant proof of that. I lay no stress on such mistakes as “mit derer Art Leute” (p. 233); but to speak of the *Empfindlichkeit* of the young ladies (p. 178) where their *Empfindsamkeit* is meant, shows that the author is not quite as completely master of her subject as she thinks. I honestly believe that no false patriotism has betrayed me into getting *empfindlich*, because I have been taught that, while we Germans supposed ourselves to stand, on the average, on about the same level as the other great nations of the earth, the distance between us and our cousins on the other side of the Channel is so enormous as almost to defy all calculation. Yet I must confess that my ears were “*empfindlich*” enough to make me heave a deep sigh on being introduced to the *Fräulein*, a real monster of a word, which I had never before met with in my life. Extraordinary, indeed, must have been the circumstances which had kept me from making its acquaintance; for our author assures us repeatedly that the unfortunate being afflicted with this excruciating title is an unavoidable appendage of every German household of the “middle class.” On this I take issue with her. I belong to this class, and profess to know something of its way of living in all the different parts of Germany; and there is not a single family among my pretty numerous friends and acquaintances to which the hairdresser is a daily visitor. She is a *rara avis*, and her appearance marks the epoch of a ball.

It will, perhaps, be considered almost mean to pick a quarrel with a lady about this hairdresser question. I beg to differ. This *Fräulein* is an illustration of what, to me, seem to be two fundamental defects of the whole work. This creature, which, if only on account of its name, should not be tolerated in any decent household, is certainly no figment of

the author's imagination. She has seen it, perhaps, in six or even twelve families, and therefore she honestly believes it to be a plague of every household. So it will unquestionably appear now and then that the “*Polterabend*” (p. 192) is celebrated in the way to which it owes its name; but I doubt whether one German out of ten has witnessed such a frolic; I never have, though I have been a guest at some fifty weddings or more in my lifetime. I have frequented a good many German theatres (though, of course, not all), but have never heard before that “the noble [are] divided from the ‘ignoble’ even in the ranks of the theatres” (p. 82). If the exhortations of our laughing philosopher had fallen on my ears at the happy time when I would not have sold my student's cap for all the orders and stars in the universe, my pockets might now hardly be able to hold all the small change foolishly spent in the *Kaffee- and Biergarten*; but I have learned only now that “the division of sexes” (p. 158)—certainly one of the ugliest, most Philistine, and most pernicious features of German life—is carried even into these “*heilige Hallen*.” It cannot be denied that the majority of our *Junker* are in the army, or have been in it, and many of them would not do much good anywhere else; yet the mystical *von* is not quite as insurmountable a barrier to every other calling as our author supposes (p. 201). Among my personal acquaintances, for instance, there happen to be not less than seventeen university professors of noble extraction. Among lawyers, physicians, as well as the lower grades of the civil service, we are not able to count them; even to meet the *von* in manufacturing circles has no longer the effect of an electric battery on our hair. In mercantile life Jews play a prominent part, but to say that “bankers and merchants” are “almost exclusively Israelites” is ridiculous (p. 83). Officers we have about as many as we need wish for, but to say that the “intended one” of a young lady of the middle class is almost sure to be an officer is absurd, if it be not witty.

I shall stop here, though I might go on with this list for at least an hour. These exaggerations and hasty generalizations are not the main point to which the *Fräulein* was to lead us. Especially as to the exaggerations, absolutism might be granted without great difficulty, partly because every thinking reader will easily find them out, partly because the author is evidently drawn into them by her being a little too eager to show her humor and *esprit*, of which, however, she has so much that her sketches will be found as interesting as any novel. Yet some exaggerations she should soften down in a future edition to make true her “ought set down in malice.” Cleanliness is no national virtue of the Germans; but to write: “A German baby is . . . bound up in yards of bandages, which are unfolded once (at the outside twice) a day; it is never ‘bathed,’ but I suppose is sometimes washed after some occult manner” (p. 241), etc., is, speaking of the middle class, so far from being true that we dare not “call the child by its right name.” There is nothing to extenuate this ungenerous thrust at her own sex, except that the author has not described what she professes to have described, *i.e.*, the home-life of the middle class. Almost every page bears witness that she has lived with but a pretty narrowly circumscribed group in this class, while her keen eyes have caught many a glimpse of the life of all the rest of the people, the remainder of this class as well as the lower and higher classes. And everything she has found of any interest is tumbled and jumbled together into the one mould. The consequence is that, while the great majority of her statements taken by themselves are perfectly true, yet the whole, taken as a whole, is but an ingeniously drawn caricature. And this is so much the more the case because the standard by which everything is measured is the life of what is termed in England the middle class, a class which, in the poor Fatherland, has barely begun to come into existence. If the author had really understood that, and if she had drawn the legitimate conclusions from it, the “Teuton woman”—for it is she who has to complain—might have been held up in many respects as a model where she now, at best, gets a good-natured sneer. Take the chapter on “Food.” Everything is true, and yet the main point has entirely escaped the author's eye: the really great merit that lies in the German *Haushfrau's* ability to produce dishes almost without number out of the same simple materials. Husband and children would very soon lose their appetite if there was as little variety in their food as there would be on any English table which had to be provided for with as slender a purse. The German middle class, too, would like very well to leave the kitchen to the servant and “read the latest novel” instead of “straining salve”; but they cannot afford it, and, in spite of all you may say, Madam, they cannot. But though they cannot be as much “ladies” as the women of your middle class, yet they are far from being “only upper servants.” There is, I confess it with candor and from a deep-seated conviction, much to be mended in the relation between man and woman, husband and wife, in Germany, but this

* ‘German Home-Life.’ Reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

is a gross exaggeration, and the assertion in the last line and a half of the following stanza is so grossly exaggerated as to be almost wholly untrue :

"It is that by her lord she still is thrust
A pining 'linderella in the dust
Of household toil, while on his spirits fall
The magic and the music of the ball."

As to the German men, taken by themselves, the author is not "hard upon them." She admits that the Germans have about as many great men as other nations, and that, in all essential things, their average men do not compare unfavorably with others. Now, ask those men who need not shun the scrutinizing eye of an English lady, from whom it is they received their best inheritance for life, and ninety-nine out of a hundred will answer without a moment's hesitation, "My mother." And this could not be so if the following were true : "The woman is a slave of the ring ; for the wife the baking and brewing, for the husband the cakes and ale ; for her the toiling and spinning, for him the beer and skittles ; for her the sheep-walk of precedent and the stocking of virtue, for him the parades and prancings ; for her the nippings and screwings, for him the pipings and dancings ; for her the dripping-jar and the meal-tub, for him stars and garters, and general gallooning, glitter, and sublimity" (p. 230). Ask those men, further, what is the best thing they have learned from their mothers, and they will answer with one voice : "To do my duty, though it be hard." If that picture were true they could only have learned from them to be "slaves" too.

The German *Hausfrau* is not "an upper servant," though she has many things to do which the English gentleman of the middle class is happy enough to be able to put on the shoulders not only of his upper but even his lower servants. The German *Hausfrau* does them, and she does them cheerfully, *because* she is after all not an upper servant but the *Hausfrau*—because she does them for her *home*. Has it never occurred to the author that, if the picture drawn by her were true to the life, there could be no such thing as "home, sweet home" in Germany ? It has, and she directly denies that there is such a thing. "We are accustomed to think of Germans that they are a domestic people. The truth is that of domesticities there is enough and to spare ; but of domestic life, as we understand it, little or nothing. Beyond eating, drinking, and sleeping under one roof the sexes have little in common" (p. 230). How, then, is it that the Germans have a name for a thing which they do not know ? The German *Heim* is quite as full of meaning as the English *home*. How, then, is it that there are considerably more derivatives from this *Heim*, as full of the deepest meaning as the root itself, than there are from the English *home* ? What, then, is the solution of the riddle that the author, knowing German life so well, has even failed to discover the existence of what she intended to describe ? It is not difficult to find the answer ; she gives it herself. "How is it, then, that young English ladies are so enthusiastic for Germany and the German life ? Simply because they *are* English—free to take all that is pleasant" (p. 195). Every page furnishes proof that this is the spirit with which the author has lived in Germany, and this state of mind has unfitted her for the task to which her intellectual faculties are fully equal. No mere critic will ever really understand a people ; in order to do that it is absolutely necessary to feel for it and with it.

Correspondence.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A FAIR ELECTION ?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Dr. Francis Lieber, in his 'Civil Liberty and Self-Government,' enumerated the conditions which seemed to him necessary to a fair election. I quote the opinion of this eminent man so far as it is applicable to the election in Louisiana. He names seven conditions as essential to a fair election, three of which seem to have been more or less wanting in the State in question :

[Page 421, Condition Number 3.]

"All elections must be superintended by election judges and officers independent of the executive or any organized or unorganized power of the Government."

[Page 421, Condition Number 4.]

"The election returns ought to be made so that they are not subject to any falsification. They must not be fingered by the Government officers."

[Page 422, Condition Number 7.]

"The power claiming the apparent judgment ought not to have committed a criminal act and then, as the law expresses it, insist on deriving profit from its own wrong."

The last clause bears on the question as to how far the Republican party can legally profit by the state of violence that has prevailed in Louisiana. Some impartial men, both Independents and Republicans, assert that the party in power are guilty of criminal negligence in not maintaining the peace nor repressing violence. Charles Nordhoff, on page 17 of 'The Cotton States in 1875,' says :

"The injury done to a community by the total failure of its rulers to maintain order, repress crime, and execute justice is more seriously felt in Louisiana than in any other of the States of which I am speaking. It is a wonder to me that society has not entirely gone to pieces in that State."

Later, Mr. Z. L. White, a staff correspondent of the *Tribune*, in a letter to that paper, dated New Orleans, Dec. 7, says :

"I will not say that Gov. Kellogg and other Republican politicians of Louisiana wished the disorder to continue during the campaign, in order that the Republican party might have a pretext for throwing out the votes of enough polls in the State to destroy any majority the Democrats might get ; but it has sometimes seemed so to me. The evident satisfaction with which the Republicans at the Custom-House exhibited any affidavit which described a murder more atrocious than another, was a fact that was remarked by every newspaper correspondent who visited Republican headquarters. A murder was worth hundreds of votes to them, and they could not conceal their pleasure at discovering it."

Yours very truly,

LYMAN B. PARSHALL.

FARMER VILLAGE, N. Y., February 2, 1877.

THE ELECTOR NOT A DELEGATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : I desire, through your paper, to call the attention of the Republican organs to the "outrageous" and, in the partisan view, "treasonable" language of Judge Stanley Matthews, one of the Republican counsel in the case now pending before the Electoral Commission. In his argument before that body on Feb. 3 he spoke as follows (I quote from the special despatch to the Boston *Daily Globe* of Feb. 5) :

"The election of the two high officers is not a particular election either according to the spirit of the Constitution, the meaning of its framers, the interpretation of the generation which adopted it, or the practice under it. There is a select body of men in each State who constitute the constitutional body who are to make that election, and I need not remind the Tribunal that they have a right to make a selection as well as an election. It is altogether, in my judgment, a mistake to suppose that the electoral bodies are delegates representing the State, or the people of a State, as agents to accomplish their will. They not only have the power in the sense of might, but they have authority in the sense of right, to vote upon the day named for the persons who, in their judgment, ought to be, all things considered, the chief Executive of the nation."

Now, this is the very doctrine which the *Nation* advocated last fall, and which was denounced from one end of the country to the other, and even by the religious press, as encouraging "breach of trust" and other high moral offences. But had one or two high-minded, courageous electors acted upon it by casting their votes for other than their party candidates, thereby, beyond peradventure, throwing the election into the House of Representatives, what a world of trouble and suspense would have been avoided !

The New York *Times* ought to open its batteries of wrath at once, and overwhelm this unwise and indiscreet Ohioan. If it fails to do so, we shall but have another proof, if more were needed, of the unscrupulousness of men who, for partisan purposes, deliberately assert what they don't believe.

R.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Feb. 7, 1877.

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN AND THE HAMBURG MASSACRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : I desire to correct one or two inaccuracies in your article of last week, entitled, "What is our Duty to the Negro ?" In referring to the campaign in South Carolina, you intimate that the action of Governor Chamberlain in asking for troops, and the proclamation of the President relative thereto, were based upon the Hamburg massacre, which took place early in July ; while in fact they grew out of the Ellenton massacre, which began on the 16th of September and continued through several days. You also say : "The District-Attorney passed his summer on the Chamberlain stump." I suppose the Attorney-General of the State is the person referred to. It is within my personal knowledge that neither the United States District Attorney nor the Attorney-General of the State appeared on the "Chamberlain stump" during the campaign. Personal

reasons made it impossible for them to participate actively in the campaign, and it is a fact that until after the election neither of them took any action bearing upon the contest, except as they were officially required to do so. You also fall into error when you say that the parties arrested as participants in the Hamburg massacre were "promptly indicted." They have not yet been indicted, and I have no idea that a Grand Jury summoned from that vicinage ever will indict them.—Respectfully,

REUBEN TOMLINSON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Jan. 15, 1877.

[We "intimated" nothing of the kind. What we said was:

"Governor Chamberlain, in South Carolina, used the Hamburg massacre with great effect in the late canvass. He based on it a letter to the President asking him to get the troops ready, as he would most likely need them, although the persons accused of participation in the massacre had been arrested and promptly indicted, and he himself had not tried, as a Northern governor would have tried, whether the civil force of the State was or was not sufficient for the punishment of the crime."

There is nothing here about "the action of Governor Chamberlain in asking for troops," or about the proclamation of the President, or about the Ellenton massacre. We were referring to his letter of July 22, written soon after the Hamburg affair, and first published August 7, on which we commented in our issue of August 10, 1876, in the following terms:

"We must say, too, that the unnecessary and somewhat heated letter of Governor Chamberlain to the President about the Hamburg matter, and the President's extravagant answer, cannot but make an unfavorable impression on those who want to see the South treated with patience and skill. It is impossible not to wish that Governor Chamberlain would silently and quietly and vigorously push the prosecution of the Hamburg murderers, and show, by so doing, whether or not the machinery of State justice is adequate to the protection of life and property; and avoid inflammatory correspondence with the President about State affairs until a lawful occasion for Federal interference has arisen."

Did he so "silently and vigorously push the prosecution of the Hamburg murderers"? Not a bit of it. The persons accused of participation in the murder promptly surrendered, when warrants were issued against them, to the sheriff of Aiken County. They were brought before Judge Malier and held to bail, after a full hearing, at which the Attorney-General was present. We were mistaken in saying that they were indicted, but the mistake makes our case against Mr. Chamberlain all the stronger. The law of South Carolina made it the duty of the Solicitor of the Circuit (the Attorney-General was not "the person referred to") then to prepare and present indictments against them to the Grand Jury, and, when the bills were found, to conduct the trial before the Petit Jury, and made it the duty of the Attorney-General, if the interest of the State seemed to him to require it, to attend the Grand Jury and aid the Solicitor at the trial of any capital charge. At the first session of the Court at Aiken after the Hamburg affair no such bill of indictment was presented to the Grand Jury, although the accused were present in Court and demanded such indictment through their counsel, and the cases were then simply continued by the presiding judge. One other session of the Court has since been held, and at that also no bills were presented, and the Solicitor of the Circuit simply said he would not present bills, without assigning any reason. Mr. Tomlinson may have "no idea that a grand jury summoned from that vicinage would indict them," but things have not reached such a pass yet even in South Carolina that the hopelessness of a gentleman in Charleston will justify a prosecuting officer in neglecting his sworn duty in the pursuit and punishment of crime in Aiken County. Finally, let us ask, where was this Solicitor of the Circuit during the summer? He is the man we had in our eye when we spoke of "the District-Attorney" as having been on "the Chamberlain stump." Was he not on it? Did he go on it in a fit of despondency lest the Grand Jury should not find bills he never presented? Finally, did Governor Chamberlain ever call him to account for his negligence, or punish him for it?—ED. NATION.]

A PRACTICAL TEST OF THE SOUTH-PASS JETTIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Some time since my attention was drawn to some articles in the *Nation* in regard to the works at the South Pass of the Mississippi. Being a member of the profession for whose use the improvements were in a measure intended, my interest in the matter was somewhat aroused. An opportunity has just been afforded me of testing practically the success or failure of the jetties by testing the practicability of the channel formed by them.

The U. S. Ship *Plymouth*, to which vessel I am attached, entered the jetties at the South Pass on the morning of the 9th of February at low water, and passed through the lines of jetties, over two miles in length, without any delay. Soundings were taken from the ship while passing through, the least water found being eighteen feet just at the entrance to the jetties and a little out of the channel. The *Plymouth* being a steamer, no assistance was given or wanted in passing through the lines of jetties.

As special stress was laid upon the shoaling at the head of the Pass, I looked forward to our passage there with considerable curiosity. We passed through the jetties at the head of the Pass in eight minutes, with no difficulty but that incident to a strong current in a curving channel. The least water found was twenty-seven feet. The channel used was the one to the eastward of the island, at the head of the Pass, and the two systems of jetties did not seem to affect each other injuriously.

As to the merits of the South-Pass jetties as a work of engineering, I am not a competent judge. As to the jetties forming a navigable channel for vessels drawing seventeen feet, the passage of the *Plymouth* is a living evidence. A channel of twenty feet is claimed by the engineers, and vessels drawing over nineteen feet have been taken out. Our want of a greater draught was much regretted.

On referring to the Coast Survey Chart of the passes of the Mississippi—No. 194, published in 1873—I find the soundings at the mouth of the Pass, at mean low water, given as seven, eight, and eleven feet. Am I over-confident in thinking the South-Pass jetties a practical success?

C. H. S.

NEW ORLEANS, February 10, 1877.

Notes.

A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. have in press a work which has involved considerable research on the part of the author, Mr. W. C. Prime, being a history of the wood known as the True Cross.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. offer in a single volume for the library, well-printed and attractively bound, Dean Stanley's 'Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold,' a book which may be equally prized for the subject and for the author.—J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce 'The Two Americas,' being an account of sport and travel by Sir Rose Price, Bart.; and 'Hamlet,' the third play in Mr. Horace Howard Furness's Variorum Edition of Shakspeare. The same house have just issued in book-form, under the title 'Life in South Africa,' Lady Barker's twelve letters to their magazine. The book is not so shapely nor the print so good as the author has been accustomed to in England—it is, in fact, merely the type and long columns of the magazine bound in covers. This agreeable correspondence was, we think, worth resetting, with the addition of a map and photographic illustrations of scenery and people.—G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready the second volume of Van Laun's 'History of French Literature,' covering the period from the Renaissance to the end of the reign of Louis XIV.; and a new work by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, 'The Cradle of the Christ: a Study in Primitive Christianity.'—Andover Seminary stands ready to establish a professorship of "Theology as related to other Sciences," if any one is prepared to endow it, and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* asks: "Where is the man who has been so richly favored of heaven that he can come forth in defence of the Bible and provide for this new chair of instruction?" "Aid and comfort from Bible friends everywhere" is also requested by the Serial Science Society of this city, which aims to "meet infidel scientists with their own weapons in their own chosen field." These two movements show that the necessity of a scientific equipment for theological students is beginning to be recognized.—H. O. Houghton & Co. have purchased of J. R. Osgood & Co. the copyright, plates, and stock of the standard edition of the British Poets, edited by Prof. Child of Harvard, and comprising 130 volumes. It is to be attractively reissued.

—We have received the following correction from Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons :

"In the notice in the *Nation* of 8th inst. of Col. Dodge's book on 'The Plains of the West,' it is stated that the 'sheets were evidently printed in England,' and 'the illustrations were probably not made for the work.' Your reviewer is in error as to both these points. The book was edited in London by Mr. Wm. Blackmore, a friend of the author, and for his convenience the stereotype plates were made there; but the American edition was printed in New York. The illustrations were, with we think but one exception, drawn for the work by Grisct, from original photographs and sketches in the possession of Mr. Blackmore. M. Grisct had planned to have them engraved in Paris, but the English publishers, being pressed for time, finally had the work done by London engravers. We should be unwilling to have it supposed that, for a work of this importance, we had vamped old material."

—The *Tribune* Index for 1876 is, already in its second year, a much improved tool. To begin with, it is more than a third larger, and then the whole is brought under one alphabet. The Centennial rubric is noticeable, and so is that of Fires, which occupies one and a half pages instead of only half a page as in 1875. Whether this is due to more careful indexing or to the actual occurrence of a greater number of fires we cannot judge; a useful addition to this record is the estimated loss in each case. Congressional proceedings seem somewhat neglected; and we miss the Obituary of last year, showing under one head all the deaths of the twelvemonth. Now we must search for each name separately. Whitaker's Almanac (London) for the present year is a worthy continuation of a work which it has become superfluous to praise. Its well-known contents have undergone no material change except in revision, and in such annually renewed departments as the Commercial Summary, Scientific Summary, Remarkable Occurrences, etc. The limit of 322 pages is still adhered to. There is little to remark also on another well-established annual, Mr. Frederick Martin's 'Statesman's Year-Book' for 1877 (London and New York: Macmillan). Its size is still increasing, and we observe one new feature of importance, namely, a short list under each country of its diplomatic representatives in Great Britain, and the reverse. The chapter on the United States has undergone scarcely any change beyond bringing it down to date. We are glad to see that the error in regard to school-attendance which we pointed out last year has been eliminated by omitting the paragraph containing it, but we would suggest to the editor whether this is enough in a work of reference of which the preceding volumes are quite as likely to be consulted as the current one. A table of errata discovered in any of the series would seem to deserve insertion somewhere. The list of statistical works relating to this country has been altered for the better; but Mr. Dilke's 'Greater Britain' is entered as 'Great Britain.'

—The *Atlantic* for February contains Dr. Holmes's poem "How not to Settle it," which has perhaps attracted less attention than it would naturally had it not appeared almost at the very moment when the idea of a settlement of the Presidential dispute by an appeal to force had been finally abandoned. Notwithstanding this misfortune, however, it strikes us as being as fresh and amusing as anything Dr. Holmes has written, and to those who have followed the history of the Class of '29, as recorded in "Smith's Immortal Verses," the idea of the campaign of 1876 ending in the trial by battle described by Dr. Holmes is a decidedly happy thought. The name of the writer of the article on the "Political Condition of South Carolina" is withheld by the editor for "obvious reasons," the writer being a "South Carolina contributor," a Southerner "by birth, education, traditions, associations, and residence." The writer belongs to a large class of writers about Southern affairs, whose fears about the probable results of a "Southern victory" are rather based on their recollections of the old South in the day of its vigor and aggression than of the South in its present condition—ruined by war, without commerce or manufactures, and confronted always by the suspicions and distrust of a powerful, rich, and lately victorious party. It is almost comical to read, while the Presidential question is being settled at Washington in what is practically a court of law, such sentences as these:

"The excitement in the South over the Presidential contest is literally frightful. Should it be adverse to Mr. Tilden, the national House of Representatives and Mr. Tilden have it in their power to cause an explosion in the South so terrific that the outbreak of 1860-61 will be almost forgotten. The most dangerous hopes and emotions are agitating the bosom of every Southerner. At every street-corner and fireside, on the steps of every store, you may hear men saying that the hour of the Republicans is striking, they have got to submit, the North is split, and 'We'll try them this time with Tilden and New York to help us.'"

In fact, all things considered, the South of 1876, with its Southern claims advanced exclusively by Northern politicians, and repudiated by the South

itself, with its intimidation and wholesale slaughter of negroes, who all the time go on, as they are murdered, producing larger and larger crops of cotton, and with the whole body of its population determined on "rising" to put Mr. Tilden into the White House, when all its political leaders are engaged at the same time in arranging a plan of settlement which may result in Mr. Hayes being the next President—this campaign-South will surely pass into history as a very queer one.

—The *Atlantic's* new department—the "Contributors' Club"—seems to have got well under way, and furnishes to the magazine certain well-known conveniences which are afforded to the daily press by departments known as "Letters from the People" and "Drift of Public Opinion." It is made up of communications from all sorts of people on all sorts of topics, and we cannot help thinking that now and then a member is admitted to the club who would perhaps not pass muster as a contributor in the ordinary acceptance of the term. In the present number, one contributor writes to enquire whether a plan of a friend of his to bring out a series of "elongated" Classics will interfere with the patent under which the "Condensed Classics" are brought out; another wishes to know what the advantages of telling a story in the autobiographic manner are; another sends some curious stories illustrating the degraded state of the pianist since he has been reduced to slavery by the piano manufacturers; another calls attention to the new decoration of Trinity Church in Boston; and still another wishes Mr. Edgar Fawcett to publish his poems in a book, giving for his or her reasons the satisfactory development of the poet's "curious felicity of expression" as shown in the poems of his published in the *Atlantic*—e.g., "The Lines on a Toad," in which the toad is called a "dull bulk," and a "grey lump of mottled clamminess with that preposterous leer." Mr. James continues the "American," and Mr. Howells, in the current number, begins a comedy called "Out of the Question."

—Local historians are earnestly discussing the matter of Paul Revere's signals hung out from the "North Church steeple" on the evening preceding the Concord fight to give warning of the movement of the British troops. The gist of the question is the location of the "North Church," and whether in North Square or in Salem Street, each place having its warm advocates in print. But, heat being in "proportion to the want of true knowledge," the main point is in a fair way to be lost sight of. The objection to one theory and the other is that the signals were hung out neither from North Square nor Salem Street, but from the steeple of the church situated where now is the corner of Hanover and Richmond Streets, and mentioned in historical works as the "Revenge," the "North," the "Old North," the "New Brick," and the "Cockerel" Church. The curious name first given, by the way, arose from the fact that the founders of the church had seceded from the New North on the occasion of the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Thacher, in 1720. Dr. Ephraim Eliot, in his 'History of the New North' (printed in Boston, 1822), gives an account of the quarrel, and adds: "The aggrieved brethren went off in bad humor, and proceeded to the gathering of another church. In the plenitude of zeal they first thought of denominating it the *Revenge* Church of Christ, but they thought better of it and called it the New Brick Church. However, the first name was retained for many years among the common people."

—Within a week of each other three rear-admirals on the retired list of the U. S. Navy have passed away—James Alden, Theodorus Bailey, and Charles Wilkes. Admiral Alden was born in Maine in 1809, and saw hard service during the Mexican war and in the Rebellion; from 1848 to 1860 he was on the Coast Survey, from 1869 to 1871 Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. He was a model officer. Admiral Bailey was also actively engaged in the Mexican war, and had the honor during the Rebellion of being second in command in the attack on New Orleans. He was a native of Plattsburg, N. Y., and at nine years of age witnessed from the shore McDonough's victory over the British on Lake Champlain. It was Admiral Wilkes's fortune to play a more conspicuous part than either of his brother officers in the history of his country. He was a native of New York City, and became a midshipman at the early age of fifteen. His fifty years of service were of the most varied character, and he twice won a world-wide notoriety. His scientific bent was gratified by his being placed in command of an American expedition, whose special object was to explore the Antarctic Continent. Incidentally in his voyage round the world (1838-1842) other very important contributions were made to science, which were ultimately published in several volumes. With this expedition the name and fame of Professor Dana are inseparably connected. Some of Capt. Wilkes's determinations of land in the southern ocean have lately been called in question by the *Challenger's* observations in the same waters. As commodore, after the lapse of nearly a score of years, Wilkes's impulsive

act in forcibly removing Mason and Slidell from the deck of a British steamer at once turned all eyes upon him, and while his fellow-citizens fêted him and would have voted him a statue, he was denounced in England with equally unreasonable abuse. The act was one of those breaches of international law which all nations have felt inclined to reward at the same time that they were obliged to disown and to make a pretence of censuring them. Had it led to the war which it nearly caused, Commodore Wilkes could not have escaped the unfavorable verdict even of the most patriotic. As it was, he furnished the occasion of one of the finest displays of moderation ever displayed between two angry and jealous nations, and will never be thought the worse of by his countrymen for having had the courage of his convictions, however mistaken. He dies at the age of seventy-six.

—We have received from Mr. Christern the first three *fascicules* of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures.' An examination of the work corrects the impression we had received from the publishers' announcement, and shows us that something quite practicable and, with all its necessary shortcomings, very useful has been undertaken. It aims to take account of "men and things, books and authors, history and theory, facts and opinions, general questions and technical particulars, processes and results." It is biographical, but not wholly or mainly so; it does not, like Allibone, attempt to name all the works of each author, much less to include all the "writers of all times and countries." It excludes all living writers. It devotes space freely to the great anonymous productions which have had so vast an influence on the human race—the Mahâbhârata, the Puranas, the Eddas, the Nibelungenlied, the Chanson de Roland, the Gesta Romanorum, Arabian Nights, etc. The Bible fills three pages. Even Bedlam is admitted to the republic of letters (*littérature des Aliénés*). German language and literature, English language and literature, Alsatian dialect, and the rest in due alphabetic order receive attention. A novel feature is the insertion of famous works with a simple reference to their authors, *e. g.*, Anabasis (Xenophon). Then all kinds and forms of literary expression—anagram, allegory, ode, drama, trilogy, moralities, opera, eclogue, Anacreontic, etc., etc.—are treated of, each by itself; so likewise rhetorical modes and figures. Anachronism, Accent, Euphuism, Ana (definition, history, and list of *ana*), Anti- (the same), Amour ("ce sentiment qui a inspiré tant d'œuvres littéraires"); types like Harlequin, Crispin, Pierrot, Pulcinello, Scapin, etc.; troubadours, minnesingers, scalds; literary quarrels, orders, salons; Port Royal; theatres; journals—such are some of the titles which indicate the scope of M. Vapereau's Dictionary. There is an interesting notice of the French Academy, with a list of members from the beginning (each name having set against it the name of its predecessor), as well as the list of the occupants of each chair from I. to XL, and of some of the occupants of chair XLI. Bibliography fills three pages, libraries and archives (Bibliothèque), three and a half. Here we have an opportunity to test M. Vapereau by his knowledge of libraries in the United States. He says we have a great many, but none particularly rich in books, and the only ones worth mentioning are the following: Cambridge, 92,000 vols.; Logonian Company, 60,000; Astor, 60,000; New Haven, 53,000; and Boston (!), 50,000. The Library of Congress is ignored, though it lacks but 4,000 of having as many volumes as the sum of these antiquated statistics of M. Vapereau. He allows us a grand total of 4,700,000 volumes—a figure certainly not derived from the Commissioner of Education's late report, which enumerates 3,682 public libraries with an aggregate of 12,276,964 volumes.

—In a photo-lithographed quarto volume of 196 pages entitled 'Etude philologique sur les inscriptions cunéiformes de l'Arménie' (Paris: E. Leroux) M. L. de Robert makes an ambitious attempt to settle in what language the cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia were written. Although over forty of these inscriptions are known, and although they are among the earliest that were published (by Dorow in 1820, by Schultz and also Von Mühlbach in 1840, and by Layard in 1851), and although as long ago as 1848 Dr. Hincks published an able paper on the subject, scholars are not yet agreed as to their language. Dr. Hincks's scholarly effort was made in so early a stage of the study of the cuneiform characters that he could not possibly arrive at a satisfactory conclusion; and his readings, which made these inscriptions belong to the Aryan family, were founded largely on insecure transliterations of the cuneiform characters. In 1870, Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, a resident of Constantinople, announced that they were of a language very closely allied to the modern Armenian, and to prove it he published in 1872 a long and learned paper in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society. Dr. de Robert, also of Constantinople, we believe, attacked this position with French ardor, and considerable discussion on this subject

took place in the *Levant Herald*, in which the German scholar secured the patriotic sympathy of all the Eastern Armenians, who were delighted to have an antiquity proved for their race going back of the history of Moses of Khorene. Dr. de Robert insists that the inscriptions are not Aryan but Semitic, and he transcribes and translates several of them on that theory. He is much more successful in disproving their Armenian character than in proving that they are Semitic. The latter is even more improbable than the former; for, with the Semitic languages of the vicinity so well known, it would be impossible that such scholars as Rawlinson and Oppert should have failed so long to read this language if it were allied to the Assyrian or to the Phœnician. Here and there, by considerable ingenuity, De Robert succeeds in putting together characters to make Semitic words, but, as a whole, his attempt is as great a failure as that of Mordtmann. The Semitic key does not open the puzzle, which awaits the efforts of more judicious investigation than either of these gentlemen is able to give to it. In all probability the language is Turanian, belonging to a race which antedated the Armenians. Their system of writing seems to have been adopted from the Assyrians, with whom they were in constant war from the IXth to the VIIth century B.C. It is very curious that while we do not even know in what language the inscriptions about Van are written, we know very well the substance of them. Some of them are in honor of their deities, both native and foreign, and include lists of the animals offered to each of them, while others give extended historical accounts of the wars of their kings, the capture of cities, and the annexation of provinces, the booty taken and consecrated to the gods. This facility in getting the sense where we do not know the language is due to the fact that the inscriptions consist so plentifully of ideographs, or allophones, imported from Assyria, which were variously pronounced according to the language used. Their meaning is perfectly familiar, and we know how to pronounce them in two or three other languages, but not yet in Armenian. The very fact that there is still so much difference as to the character of a language is in this case, as in that of the Etruscan, itself an argument for its being, as the best scholars believe, a Turanian tongue. The Armenians, properly so called, appear to belong to a later Aryan race, which, as Herodotus says, came out of Phrygia; while the aboriginal people were the Alarodians, as he calls them—the same in all probability as the Urardi, or Urarte, of the Assyrian inscriptions—a word, as Rawlinson has suggested, of the same root as the biblical Ararat.

MRS. BROWNING'S LETTERS.*

THE form of this work is a trifle singular, Mr. Horne officiating as editor to Mrs. Browning, and Mr. Mayer rendering the same service to Mr. Horne—though it would not seem that the latter gentleman, who is a literary veteran, stood in need of a sponsor. Mr. Horne, whom the readers of the poetry of forty years ago will remember as the author of a quasi-philosophic epic entitled 'Orion,' which enjoyed at that period considerable popularity, sustained a correspondence with Mrs. Browning during the early years of her celebrity—the years immediately preceding her marriage. These letters he lately published in certain magazines with a slight connecting narrative. They are here republished, supplemented by two or three chapters of literary reminiscence by Mr. Horne, and garnished with an occasional note by Mr. Mayer—the result being a decidedly entertaining book. As nothing in the way of a memoir of the lady who may fairly be spoken of as the first of the world's women-poets had hitherto been published, and as no other letters from her hand had, to our knowledge, ever been given to the world, these two volumes will be held by her admirers to have a biographical value—perhaps even to supply in some degree a sensible want. We may add that they will be read with hardly less pleasure by Mrs. Browning's colder critics.

The letters are very charming and altogether to the author's honor. Mr. Horne's own observations, moreover, are frequently interesting, and characterized by much raciness of style. The correspondents never met face to face, and their topics are almost wholly "intellectual" and literary, Mrs. Browning alluding to no personal affairs except her extreme ill health, to which, moreover, her allusions have the highest degree of cheerfulness and serenity. The letters run from 1839 to 1846, the date of her marriage and her removal to Italy, in pursuit (in some measure successful) of stronger health. During these years Miss Barrett was wholly confined to her sick-room, lying on her sofa "wrapped in Indian shawls" (Mr. Horne begs her on one occasion to "recline for her portrait"), but writing, reading, thinking, and (by letter) talking most copiously, and

* Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, addressed to R. H. Horne. With Comments on Contemporaries. Edited by S. E. Townshend Mayer. London: R. Bentley & Son. 1877.

publishing the poems which laid the foundations of her distinction. She has little to write about except her ideas, her fancies, and her literary impressions, for she sees few people and knows, personally, little of the world's life. Her letters are those of an extremely clever and "highly educated" young lady, of a very fine moral sensibility, who is much interested (as a contributor and otherwise) in the magazines and weekly papers, and whose only form of gossip is literary gossip. She is an inveterate and often an acute critic; Mr. Horne, indeed, informs us that her criticisms in the *Athenæum* "are among the finest ever penned." It may be noted that her admiration for 'Orion' and Mr. Horne's other productions was lively and demonstrative; but, as the editor very justly observes, these allusions could not be removed without destroying the coherency of the letters. Miss Barrett's tone is extremely natural and spontaneous, and has often a touch of graceful gaiety which the reader of her poetry, usually so anti-jocose, would not have expected. It offers a peculiarly pleasing mixture of the ladylike and the highly-intelligent, and leaves an impression somewhat akin to that of an agreeable woman's voice—soft, substantial, and expressive. Miss Barrett's invalidism evidently only quickened her intellectual activity. "There I had my fits of Pope and Byron and Coleridge," she writes in allusion to the Malvern Hills, "and read Greek as hard under the trees as some of your Oxonians in the Bodleian; gathered visions from Plato and the dramatists, and eat and drank Greek and made my head ache with it." "But as to poetry," she writes of her own contemporaries (about 1841), "they are all sitting (in mistake) just now upon Caucasus for Parnassus—and wondering they don't see the Muses." Whether or no Mrs. Browning herself ever trod the highest peak of Parnassus, she certainly never sat upon Caucasus. An American had sent her a newspaper with a review of Tennyson's poetry, requesting her to forward it to the poet, which she did after some hesitation, the review being "cautious in its admiration." "I was quite ashamed of myself and my newspaper," she writes; "but [Tennyson] was good enough to forgive me for an involuntary forwardness. The people of Yankeeland, I observe, think that we all live in a house together, particularly we who write books. The idea of the absence of forests and savannahs annihilates with them the idea of distance." Mr. Horne had questioned her about Miss Agnes Strickland and her literary claims, and she, answering him tentatively, adds: "But do not trust me an inch; for I feel in a mist and a sort of fear of confounding the maiden didactication of Mrs. Ellis, when she was Sarah Stickney, and this of Miss Strickland's—having been given to confound Stickneys and Stricklands from the very beginning. . . . Either a Stickney or a Strickland wrote the 'Poetry of Life.'" We quoted just now an allusion to Miss Barrett's copious reading; here is another—the tone of which is singularly just—which should balance against it:

"Mr. Kenyon calls me his 'omnivorous cousin.' I read without principle. I have a sort of unity, indeed, but it amalgamates instead of selecting—do you understand? When I had read the Hebrew Bible from Genesis to Malachi, right through, and was never stopped by the Chaldee"—if Mrs. Browning means this literally, by the way, it is a very considerable achievement for a sick and lonely young girl—"and the Greek poets and Plato right through from end to end, I passed as thoroughly through the flood of all possible and impossible British and foreign novels and romances, with slices of metaphysics laid thick between the sorrows of the multitudinous Celestinas. It is only useful knowledge and the multiplication-table I never tried hard at. And now—what now? Is that matter of exultation? Alas! no. Do I boast of my omnivorousness of reading, even apart from the romances? Certainly, no!—never except in joke. It's against my theories and ratiocinations, which take upon themselves to assert that we all generally err by reading too much and out of proportion to what we think. I should be wiser, I am persuaded, if I had not read half as much—should have had stronger and better exercised faculties, and should stand higher in my own appreciation. The fact is that the *ne plus ultra* of intellectual indolence is this reading of books. It comes next to what the Americans call 'whittling.'"

Miss Barrett had a particular passion for novels, and one of the most charming passages in these letters, which, in spite of its length, we shall venture to quote, is a eulogy of the reading of fiction. She had a very high opinion of Bulwer, and rendered more liberal justice to George Sand, Victor Hugo, and Balzac than was to have been expected from a quiet young English lady of thirty years ago. She thinks that the French novelists of that period present a much more brilliant front than the English. But here is the passage in question, which sustains what we said above about her "gaiety":

"O that love of story-telling! It may be foolish, to be sure; it leads one into waste of time and strong excitement, to be sure; still, how pleasant it is! How full of enchantment and dream-time gladnesses! What a pleasant accompaniment to one's lonely coffee-cup in the morning or evening to hold a little volume in the left hand and read softly along how Lindoro saw Monimia over the hedge, and what he said to her! After

breakfast we have other matters to do, grave business matters—poems to write upon Eden or essays on Carlyle. . . . But everybody must attend to a certain proportion of practical affairs of life, and Lindoro and Monimia bring us ours. And then, if Monimia behaves pretty well, what rational satisfaction we have in settling her at the end of the book! No woman who speculates and practises on her own account has half the satisfaction in securing an establishment that we have with our Monimias—nor should have, let it be said boldly. Did we not divine it would end so, albeit ourselves and Monimia were weeping together at the end of the second volume? Even to the middle of the third, when Lindoro was sworn at for a traitor by everybody in the book, may it not be testified gloriously of us that *we* saw through him? . . . What, have you known nothing, Mr. Editor, of these exaltations?"

The only person, in addition to the correspondents, who plays a prominent part in these letters is Miss Mitford, the intimate friend of both parties, and to whom Mr. Horne devotes several pages of recollections. It will be remembered that in the admirable collection of Miss Mitford's own letters published a few years since, and which are certainly among the best in the language, there were a great many addressed to Mrs. Browning. Her friends seem all to have concurred in the opinion that her personal intelligence and brilliancy were much in excess of those to which her writings testify, and certainly her letters have a higher value than her books. Mr. Horne describes and characterizes her with much felicity, though with a certain oddity of phrase. "The expression [of her countenance] was entirely genial, cognoscitive, beneficent. The outline of the face was an oblate round, of no very marked significance beyond that of an apple or other rural 'character.'" And he emphasizes the apple metaphor by saying elsewhere that her countenance had a "fruity hopefulness." But he gives a vivid portrait of Miss Mitford's mellow geniality, her dogged old-English conservatism, and her intimate acquaintance with all rural things. His last pages are occupied with an account of the enterprise known as the "Guild of Literature and Art," which attained some renown upwards of thirty years ago, and of which, as of so many other enterprises, Charles Dickens was the leading spirit. As to the precise design of the "Guild" Mr. Horne is not explicit; it appears to have included the erection of a college for the aspiring, and an asylum for the retiring littérateur and artist. Bulwer, at any rate, offered land on his estates and wrote a comedy for raising money. The comedy was performed by the most distinguished amateurs, with Dickens as stage-manager, at Devonshire House, which its proprietor had lent for the purpose; the Queen came to see it, and sent a hundred guineas for her box, and Mr. Horne was in the cast. His record of the affair is very entertaining, but we may perhaps add without undue harshness that it induces meditation to discover in a writer whom we had accepted as the not unworthy correspondent of an illustrious woman the tip of the ear, as the French say, of that peculiarly British vice of which Thackeray was the immortal historian. Thackeray sometimes did not like to write the word, and we will not do so here. But the reader will perhaps guess it when we say that in relating how Mr. Mark Lemon, one of the actors in Bulwer's comedy, lost his way in the corridors of Devonshire House, Mr. Horne calls our attention to the "delightful urbanity" which the Duke manifested in giving him the necessary indication.

The Illustrated Polyglot Pilgrim's Progress. English and French (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.)—Bunyan and the French humor have so little in common that one is not surprised at the curiosities which this translation affords. Though page for page and even picture for picture, it is neither close nor characteristic. At times it almost appears as if the French were expanded or abridged to suit the typographical exigencies of the opposite page; sometimes even this excuse seems wanting, as at the very end, where "Je vis par là qu'il y a plus d'une manière d'aller en enfer" stands for "Then I saw that there was a way to Hell even from the Gates of Heaven as well as from the city of Destruction." Sometimes, again, Bunyan's verses are rendered into prose (as on p. 147), and this has some justification; but when metrically treated they are frequently doubled in length in the translation, thus taking out of them all the merit they have (which is precisely that of the prose). On p. 103 the six lines beginning

"Behold ye how these crystal streams do glide,"

appear in other six, beginning

"Aimables lieux! Qui peut décrire,"

which echo not one word, phrase, or idea to be found in the original. The names of the *dramatis personæ* fare much worse than might be expected of a language in which compounds like *Rabat joie*, *Couche-tout-nu*, *Va-nu-pieds*, etc., have been coined on occasion. Mr. Pickthank and *Le Flattur* are very different creatures; and equally tame are *Le Méchant* for Mr.

Love-Lust, *Le Mort en vivant* for Mr. Live-Loose, *Le Perfide* (why not *M. Vaurien*?) for Mr. No-good, and *L'Homme de col roide* (why not *M. Hutin* or *M. Têtu*?) for Mr. Head. In short, the comedy is quite taken out of the performance.

We remark among the illustrations two of the Wicket-Gate, both showing a light open-barred door swung under an arch. Dean Howson, in his preface to Rimmer's 'Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England,' remarks on this archæological detail that

"The 'wicket-gate' of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is commonly represented as a garden-gate or a turnpike-gate; but really the term denotes a small doorway cut out of a large door; and concealed behind a tree at the west end of Elstow Church, is just such a small doorway in the broad wooden surface of the great door. Through this lowly opening Bunyan must often have passed when a boy; and if it were simply drawn and engraved I believe we should have a correct picture of that which was before his imagination when he described the early steps of Christian's pilgrimage."

It is worth while to add in regard to this polyglot series that if the subsequent translations are to be as unskilful and unsympathetic as this one, they will lose a value they might have apart from the narrative and didactic—we mean that of assisting foreigners to acquire English, or the reverse.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publ.-hers.—Prices.
Barker (Lady), <i>Life in South Africa</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Dennys (N. B.), <i>The Folk Lore of China</i> , swd.....	(Triebner & Co.)
Healy (Mary), <i>Storm-Driven. A Tale</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) \$1 00
Harper's Bazar, Vol. IX.....	(Harper & Bros.)
Harper's Monthly, Vols. LII, LIII.....	"
Harper's Weekly, Vol. XX.....	"
Habberton (J.), <i>Sir Roger de Coverley</i>	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Hageman (S. M.), <i>Silence: a Poem</i>	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Hudson (Rev. H. N.), <i>Selections from Addison and Goldsmith</i> , swd.....	(Ginn & Heath)
Jazemann (Dr. E. von), <i>Stellung der Niederdeutschen in Belgien</i> , swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Mehlis (Dr. C.), <i>Der Rhein und der Strom der Cultur</i> , swd.....	"
Münter (Dr. J.), <i>Muscheln, Schnecken, etc.</i> , swd.....	"
New Encyclopedia of Chemistry, Parts XV-XIX, swd.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 50
Olney (Ellen W.), <i>Love in Idleness</i> , swd.....	" 50
Packard (A. S., Jr.), <i>Mental Powers of Insects</i> , swd.....	(Estes & Lauriat) 25
Ralston (W. R. S.), <i>Russian Folk-Tales</i>	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Scott (W.), <i>Rob Roy</i> , condensed.....	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Sellar (Prof. W. T.), <i>Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil</i>	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 00
Sweet (H.), <i>Anglo-Saxon Reader</i>	"
Sadebeck (M.), <i>Entwicklungsgang der Gradmessungs-Arbeiten</i> , swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt) 50
<i>Tribune Index for 1876</i> , swd.....	(New York)
Vapereau (G.), <i>Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures</i> , Parts 2, 3, swd.....	(F. W. Christern)
Wright (C.), <i>Philosophical Discussions</i>	(Henry Holt & Co.) 3 50

Fine Arts.

DURING the latter half of the past year the new French journal *L'Art* has made a steady advance in the variety and brilliancy of its reading portion. Delightful articles by About, Francisque Sarcey, Burty, and P. G. Hamerton have by turns entertained the readers of the later numbers, and it would be hard to find a French serial containing more bright and witty thoughts or shrewder criticism. In the matter of illustrations, since closing its notices on the *Salon*, *L'Art* has had a little the air of a functionary out of work, and it can hardly be maintained that the winter numbers are in that respect as good as the summer numbers, though the etching by Chauvel after T. Rousseau, "La Hutte," is as rich and vital a transcription as the journal has ever published. The little cluster of etchings purchased by the editors from among the "Pariahs of the *Salon*," as it calls them, contains at least one masterpiece, Desbrosses' study from the portrait of Hille Bobbe by Franz Hals, in the Suermondt collection, a work just a little inferior in goblin impishness to the "Hille Bobbe" of our own Museum, but inferior to that only. In running the eye over the half-year's work of *L'Art* we often find the youthful love of iconoclasm which we have been taught to look for since the key-note was struck in the first numbers. Couture (vol. vi., page 189) is classed with those prodigies who have made a single hit and been dead ever since; and Cabanel (vi., 221) is overwhelmed with scorn for his figure of the "Shulamite," a criticism, by the way, which would come in rather better were it not apropos of the plate of the "Shulamite" prepared for *L'Art's* rival, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Hardly any notice is accorded to the Philadelphia Exposition, and no explanation is made of the unique absence there of the marked men of a single nation—the French. But American affairs are not quite neglected, and there is a long, wandering article on American painting, apparently written in 1867—the year, as we remember, in which Mr. Tuckerman's 'Book of the Artists' appeared—in which Stuart, Huntington, and Hicks are arranged in the most curious perspective, to say nothing of the misspelling of every other name. It seems odd to the American reader to be obliged to go to French contributors like Victor Renaud (who mentions Bartlett, the sculptor) and René Ménard (who gives prominence to Bridgman, Knight, etc.) for the purpose of learning what American artists are really

getting some notice from the eyes of the world. Due consideration given, we think *L'Art*, as it is the most expensive periodical published—though a great reduction in subscription price is allowed by the American representative, Mr. J. W. Bouton—gives the greatest amount of aesthetics and culture that can be had for anything like the money. It is fresh, it is audacious, its views are thought out by original brains, and it sets you in the midst of the principal bazaar of modern opinion. Its wide scope—embracing such topics as drama and music besides the crafts of design—and the noble plates sown freely through its large, creamy pages, make it the true and sumptuous repository of contemporary art-ideas.

—The *Portfolio* opens with fresh features of interest for the new year, and in quality of art-workmanship is certainly not retrograding. The lately-published works in aqua-fortis have been unexceptionally, and we think increasingly, good, the copy from Rubens, for instance, in the January part being bolder than that from Reynolds in the number for October. Mongin's etching from Moroni's "Lawyer," in the December number, seems to be quite equal to anything of Unger's for luminousness, transparency, and the suggestion of carnation. The very welcome features for the present twelvemonth are a series of portraits of contemporary artists, led off in lordly style by Legros' bold likeness of Poynter, and the fac similes from old engravers, instanced in the January number by copies of two important Schoengauers and a Dürer, the principal one, by Durand's heliograph process, being admirable. Messrs. Hamerton, Colvin, and Simcox continue to make the letter-press weighty with whatever sound ideas are stirring in the London world of art. We find not the slightest recognition given to the fanatical or Roundhead theories with which those especial circles are rather richly allowed, but instead a fine equity of opinion, balanced and levelled on every side by the tranquil justice and international equivoise characteristic of the editor-in-chief. As a guide of art-education we see nothing in English so friendly and trustworthy as the *Portfolio*.

—The explorer-artist, Mr. Thomas Moran, has published, through Messrs. L. Prang & Co., a series of fifteen of his water-color studies, in chromo-fac-simile. The set is collected in a large portfolio, and has for a general title: "The Yellowstone National Park, and the mountain regions of portions of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, and Utah." The text is well written by Prof. Hayden, the geologist and explorer-in-chief of the Yellowstone region. There can be no doubt that this work of Mr. Moran's was worth doing, and worth doing so well; and it is especially to be commended that Mr. Prang was willing to undertake so costly an enterprise, the copying of such water-colors as these being one of the things that lithography is undeniably fitted to effect, and, indeed, its chief reason for existence. Having seen several of the original aquarelles prepared by Mr. Moran, we are prepared to testify to the remarkable accuracy of the rendering into chromolithographs, an accuracy which we do not think could have been surpassed in any country. Concerning Mr. Moran's artistic qualifications, we can cheerfully say that we think he is at his best when working on paper instead of on canvas. The Yellowstone studies present a series of color-effects taken from regions confessedly out of the plane of common human experience, and accordingly we do not pretend to judge them; we only wonder how scenes described in the text as ideally glorious should generally look crude and shocking in the water-colors; and again, we cannot but be a little surprised to find the bold, not to say violent, scale of color used for the topographic curiosities of the Yellowstone adopted afterwards, with not much chastisement, for subjects like the mountain of the Holy Cross and other scenes more or less out of fairyland. We humbly confess, however, that the only way to judge these views perfectly would be to get a camping outfit, go into the West, and successively put a mule at every one of the summits, passes, and natural belvederes from which the startling results we see were obtained. Of the pictures before us we especially like the "Tower Falls," and, for its sky, the "Head of the Yellowstone." In the "Valley of Babbling Water" and the "Great Falls of Snake River" the artist has obviously let his hand become too heavy. The boldness and facility of the drawing are really impressive. The artist of an exploring party, it is evident, cannot dawdle over his task; when he comes home he must do one of two things: he must work up photographs—a process which inevitably produces dead, coal-looking pictures—or he must give broad, spirited results, with his sketches for the base. The latter process is the best, and we must not complain too much of the perpetual Turner sky and Calame pine-tree in works done under such difficulty and with so much enterprise. On the whole, the untravelled world is under vast obligation for these vivid reports of regions we shall not all live to see in any other form.

—The annual exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water-Colors is in progress at the Academy, with an assortment happily exempt from anything to astonish or arouse. The spirit of the thing is contributed by the public, who industriously attend and faithfully buy, rather than by the artists, who have usually sent works of sad and level mediocrity. The only accent about the exhibition appears to us to be the advance made on himself by an amateur, Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith, who hangs in the corridor an excellent and poetic piece of study—a mill-pond, reflecting objects dully like a plaque of burnished metal, and catching the light, as if hammered over, at the edge where the fall goes down. Mr. Tiffany's "Palace at Algiers" (43) is an exceptional infelicity even among his perpetual misfortunes. Mr. Jervis McEntee sends two welcome little sketches, each slight, but with a touch of the incommunicable. Mr. S. Colman has a "Durham Cathedral" in gouache, and a "Lincoln Cathedral" in transparent color. Mr. Homer was never more care-

less and capricious and trying. Messrs. Kappes and Abbey are represented by interesting but coarse figure-sketches. Mr. Magrath is repeating the old, old model, without the old charm. Mr. Eakins contributes a "Zither-player," strong enough to bear the critical neighborhood of a flashing Spanish aquarelle hung above it. There is a blue and white Meissonier, a vedette of the Republic, in light uniform against a solid sky of azure, which it was almost impossible to hang, so agonized were the prayers of the contributors, who hastened with all their energy to get out of the way of so deadly a neighbor. Another lent picture, a Japanese by Villegas, is almost as terrible a comrade, reducing the sheets around it nearly to *grisaille*. Mr. Killingworth Johnson has two fairly good pictures in evidence, not quite unworthy of the painter of "The Rival Florists." The contribution of black and white is small, but shows life. There is great need of activity on the part of the painters, to sustain by more serious and inventive studies the present good nature and interest of the public.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1877.

The Week.

THE Electoral Commission is required by the law of its creation to state as briefly as possible the grounds of its decision, and has done so in the Louisiana as it did in the Florida case. It can hardly be said that in this respect the law has worked well, for, owing to the peculiar construction given it by the majority of the court, the decisions, instead of containing a brief statement of the grounds on which they rest, are, more accurately, a highly elaborate entry of "judgment for the plaintiff." For instance, in the Louisiana case the Commission decides that it has no power "to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the President of the Senate" to prove that other persons than the regularly returned and certified electors had been appointed electors, or *vice versa*, because the Commission is "of opinion that it is not within the jurisdiction of the two Houses of Congress, assembled to count the votes for President and Vice-President, to enter upon a trial of such question." The Commission also decides that it is not competent to prove that any of the persons appointed electors were ineligible under the Constitution of the United States "at the time when they were appointed," nor that they were ineligible "under the law of the State"; also that the Returning Board was a "lawfully constituted body," and that a vacancy "did not vitiate its proceedings." This may be all the best sort of law, but it will puzzle any lawyer or future Congress to extract any principle from it, and it is greatly to be regretted that the law did not compel the Commission to file regular opinions, as in an ordinary law case. This necessity of stating the process of reasoning which leads a judge to his conclusions is one of the most important guarantees of judicial impartiality, and it cannot but be regretted that the established custom was departed from in this case.

The Senate's notification to the House on Saturday that it was ready to meet in joint convention for the purpose of continuing the count, found that body engaged in the discussion of a resolution to fix the time for meeting on Monday at eleven o'clock. The resolution was carried, and time was thus gained for preparing the formal objection of the House to the Commission's decision and for a caucus which came off in the evening. At this, several resolutions were presented by Western fire-eaters, to the effect that the Commission should have no further recognition from the House, and that no more joint meetings should be held to entertain their decisions; that the Commission had disregarded their oaths and fraudulently refused to obey the law and "the will of the people" by their non-admission of evidence, and that resort should consequently be had to all possible delays "with the view of multiplying issues, and thereby defeating the inauguration of the usurper." Mr. Reagan of Texas, however, offered a sensible resolution that no dilatory opposition should be made, but that the Commission's decisions should be respected in accordance with the law, and the count proceed. He was supported by Senator Bayard and the whole weight of the Southern delegation, and it was noticeable that Mr. John Young Brown of Kentucky and Mr. Ben. Hill of Georgia bore a prominent part in resisting the Western Mexicans. These gentlemen have in the past two years, on account of their differences with Messrs. Blaine and Butler, been put in the light of typical "ex-rebels" aching to get control of things at Washington, and undo the great results of the war. Mr. Reagan's resolution was carried, and the Joint Convention met on Monday as appointed. The House in due course protested against the Louisiana decision, and the Convention separated immediately for further discussion, each house in its own chamber.

The Senate, after a short but lively discussion, confirmed the decision; the House took another day to formulate its dissent. The debate on Tuesday was remarkable only for the speeches of two Massachusetts Republican Representatives, Messrs. Seelye and Pierce, who sided with the opposite party in thinking the Commission's decision contrary to the Constitution. The joint convention reassembled and continued the count as far as Michigan, when a frivolous objection was made to the eligibility of an elector, which was subsequently unanimously overruled by each house. A Nevada elector was next objected to, and the count again delayed.

Mr. J. Madison Wells is reported as considerably elated at the decision on the Louisiana electoral vote, and any one who has followed the progress of Mr. Wells's case will have no difficulty in seeing why. The Democrats had got evidence of an unusually strong character tending to show an intention or readiness to commit fraud. Among other things, it appears from the "offers of proof" made by the Democratic counsel that they were prepared to show that the Returning Board employed "persons of notoriously bad character" to act as their clerks and assistants—viz., one Davis, "then under indictment in the criminal courts of Louisiana"; three gentlemen, named respectively Catlin, Blanchard, and Jewett, "then under indictment for subornation of perjury" (Jewett being also under indictment for obtaining money under false pretences); and, finally, one Isidore McCormick, "then under indictment in a criminal court" for murder—so that, as was suggested during the argument of the case, it would seem as if an indictment of some kind was a necessary qualification for clerical work of the sort to be performed by the Board.

Mr. Hayes's election seems now so well assured that the newspapers have not unnaturally begun to form his Cabinet for him, but as far as our observation has gone the only person on whom there is a general agreement is Mr. Eugene Hale of Maine—a curious expression of the widespread confidence that Mr. Hayes will follow the old track. Mr. Hale is to be put in (1) because he would satisfy the claims of Mr. "Zach" Chandler, being his son-in-law; (2) because he would satisfy the claims of Mr. James G. Blaine, having been "brought up" by him; and (3) because he is one of the smartest and most dexterous little machinists in the political army. He was Mr. Blaine's managing man at the Cincinnati Convention; he was one of the "visiting statesmen" who whitewashed the Louisiana Returning Board on a three weeks' acquaintance, and he violently opposed the Electoral Commission; so that he really seems cut out for a reform Cabinet. We imagine the public will ask but few things at Mr. Hayes's hands in the selection of his advisers, and they are these: That he will put no one into his Cabinet who has been connected by connivance, complicity, or apology with that compound of nepotism, lawlessness, and corruption called "Grantism"; that he will put no one into it who has been mixed up in any of the politico-financial jobs, contracts, or speculations, whether in banking, railroading, or mining, which have during the last eight years disgraced the country abroad and lowered the tone of our public life; that he will put no one into it who has ever made himself conspicuous as the advocate of any form of inflation or repudiation; and no one who has either been a carpet-bagger or a confederate of carpet-baggers at the South, or who has labored in any shape or way for the prolongation of sectional hatred, or sought to build up or maintain a party organization on the passions of the late war; and, finally, nobody who has been connected with the late Returning Board frauds as a promoter, a participant, a defender, or a screener.

In all the debates in the House over the Presidential dispute, ever since the election, the Southern members have been foremost in supporting a policy of peace and moderation; they held the violent Northern Democrats in check in the earlier days of the controversy; they threw their influence in favor of the plan of arbitration; they helped to pass it, and since the decision has gone against them they have counselled a cheerful submission and have discountenanced all schemes for "filibustering" or delay or resistance. The leading Republican papers, including even the organs of the Desperadoes, have been compelled to acknowledge this with various degrees of heartiness. We now call attention to it once more for the sake of the light it throws on the conduct of the Republican leaders last summer in wickedly converting the canvass into a "bloody shirt" crusade against the South, and in presenting Mr. Hayes's election to the public as a continuance of the civil war. Mr. Wheeler in particular ought to blush when he remembers that he allowed himself to be selected to lead off in this nefarious business, and went up to Vermont and unscrupulously told the people that they were to cast their votes as a continuation of the battle of Gettysburg. If it be asked why we bring this up now when the contest is over, we reply that it is only by "bringing things up" which political schemers would like to have forgotten that the public can be prepared for them when they reappear with a new dodge or fraud, which they are sure to do before very long. That Messrs. Blaine, Chandler, Morton, and their kind are going to settle down to the dull work of promoting peace and harmony and tranquillity, of reforming the civil service, of restoring the currency and lightening the burdens of taxation, is something which we have no reason to expect. What is most likely is that they will try to maintain their bad eminence by stirring up some new form of dissension, by giving the alarm over some sham danger, or by concocting some sensation calculated to destroy public interest in the work of sane and orderly progress.

The facts about the Oregon telegrams seem to be these: The Democratic campaign was managed partly through the National Committee, of which Mr. Hewitt is chairman, and partly through another organization known as the "Literary Bureau," an institution created with the avowedly innocent object of disseminating sound political information, but easily used for other and less innocent objects. At the head of this bureau was Mr. Pelton, Mr. Tilden's nephew, and for his Oregon correspondence Mr. Pelton himself is alone probably responsible, though his telegrams, sent as they were from Mr. Tilden's house, have a compromising look which, to say the least, is unfortunate. The operations of Mr. Pelton should, however, be carefully distinguished from those of Mr. Hewitt, who is entirely above reproach or suspicion in this matter, and, in fact, could have had, from the circumstances, no connection with it. Patrick, the Oregon agent, appeared in the transaction accidentally, as a substitute for another man. He is closely connected by ties of interest or affection with one Davis, a gentleman whose name has appeared prominently in connection with the history of the Emma Mine. Whether the translation of the telegrams which passed between Patrick and Pelton is correct or no, remains to be settled, and it is much to be hoped that there have been grave mistakes in deciphering them. As to one of them signed "Gobble," which was translated "Governor," Mr. Grover has made the most positive denial. This, of course, does not prove that the key to the cipher is incorrect, as some one may have used his title in signing the despatch for the same reason that Patrick wanted Mr. Kelly's name. Altogether, the Oregon case does not become more attractive as time goes on.

A wild article in the last number of the *Capital*, a Washington paper edited by Mr. Don Piatt, after groaning terribly over the decision of the Commission, says: "If a man thus returned to power can ride in safety from the Executive Mansion to the Capitol to be inaugurated, we are fitted for the slavery that will follow the inaugu-

ration," and it adds afterwards that "if there is a law for fraud, there is reason for violence, and to that end we make our last appeal." It appears that this raving has excited more or less commotion in the Cabinet, and there has been consultation as to what ought to be done, and it is reported that the editor is to be indicted and punished, if possible, for "incendiary writing." We trust that nothing of the kind will be attempted. It will simply advertise the *Capital*, and give the editors of every struggling paper in the country a motive for recommending murder and insurrection. If the good sense of the public does not make this sort of talk harmless, no use of legal machinery will do so. Considering the impunity which almost every species of rascal has enjoyed under the present Administration, and the ease with which "guilty men" have escaped, it would be pitiful now in the last week to grow stern and inexorable over a bit of newspaper delirium.

The Senate has adopted a resolution which has also been agreed to by the House, allowing the Silver Commission till the 24th of this month to report; has passed the bill for the taxation of property in the District of Columbia; has concurred in the House amendments of the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill; and has had a discussion of the bill providing for a settlement between the Government and the Pacific Railroads, in the course of which Mr. Booth of California was indiscreet enough to refer to Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts as being, since Talleyrand, the best master of the art of "saying what he did not mean, and meaning what he did not say." This complimentary comparison Mr. Dawes resented, and it was afterwards "withdrawn." Senator Kelly of Oregon has explained his approval of the cipher despatch sent by Patrick, proposing the purchase of a Republican elector, in a manner which we believe is generally considered by those who know Mr. Kelly's previous reputation to be satisfactory. He says that Patrick misstated the contents of the despatch to him, representing its purport to be that \$10,000 were wanted for legitimate expenses, and begging him to sign his name in order that the despatch might receive more immediate attention. This he did, without having the cipher translated, and so without any knowledge of the real nature of the proposal.

In the House Mr. Purman of Florida has made a speech, declaring it to be his opinion, and a matter of common notoriety, that Florida went for Tilden, and denouncing the Hayes count as dishonest. The Naval Appropriation Bill has been passed, with an amendment authorizing the appointment of an unpaid commission, to consist of the Admiral of the Navy, the General of the Army, two naval officers to be designated by the President, two Senators and three Representatives, to decide and report upon the future naval policy of the country.

Bishop Whipple publishes a long letter in the New York *Tribune* on the Indian war, in which he ascribes its origin to a mistake of the late Mr. E. P. Smith, who outlawed the Indians who had innocently left the reservation to hunt, and ordered them to be treated as hostile unless they came back within an impossible period—that is, before February 1, 1876. In March they were attacked by the troops, and the miserable fight has gone on ever since, the United States, on the whole, getting the worst of it. He denounces in terms none too strong our indiscriminate onslaughts on the men, women, and children of their villages, and on the employment against them of other savages—Pawnees and Crows—their hereditary enemies. He shows that in spite of a solemn pledge given by the President, and joined in by the Indian Commissioner and General Sherman, that the property of friendly Indians remaining peaceably at the agencies should not be molested, two thousand ponies were taken away from those at Cheyenne and Standing Rock agencies last fall and driven across the prairie towards St. Paul. Most of them perished on the way, and the rest were sold. The Indians have received neither money nor vouchers, and not even

an inventory has been taken of the property of which they were despoiled. They now have to live thirty or forty miles from the agency for the sake of fuel, and have to cross this distance of frozen prairie in midwinter on foot to draw their rations.

He speaks in the highest terms of the qualities of the Sioux whom we are fighting; quotes the testimony of the leading army officers as to the intolerable nature of the wrongs which have driven them into war; calls the seizure of the Black Hills "a great robbery"; and, finally, tells one story which ought to make everybody connected with the Indian Administration of the United States feel ashamed and repentant. Fourteen hundred of the Sioux concerned in the Minnesota massacres of 1864 fled into British territory. They have dwelt there in peace and quiet ever since, on a reservation assigned to them, and the Secretary of the Interior of the Dominion reports that when it was proposed to remove some of them to another reservation, "their white neighbors objected, because they had been found so useful." In short, General Grant's Indian policy, like his other policies, has been a failure, and for the same reason. It has been marked by the usual gnomie wisdom and professions of pious aims, but has been backed by no real reform. It was ridiculous in a great Government to hand over a leading department of administration to missionaries and ministers without training or experience, instead of making a thorough clearance of the jobbers, corrupt contractors, post-traders, and thieving agents, and the organization of a proper skilled service for this special work. The result has been that "the guilty men have escaped"; "we have not had peace"; the poor Indians have suffered sorely, and the nation has been disgraced.

The notable events of the week in Wall Street were (1) the transfer of the Central Railroad Company of New Jersey to the hands of a receiver representing its creditors, and the report of the stockholders' investigating committee; (2) the application for a receiver of the Delaware and Hudson, the order to show cause why a receiver should not be appointed having first been issued and then immediately vacated by Judge Donohue; (3) the issue of the annual report of the company; (4) the issue of the annual report of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western; and (5) the annual election of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, which resulted in putting into the board of directors the representative managers of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, and the Erie Railroads. All these events bore directly on speculation in stocks, and the market was very sensitive and changeable. The report of the Jersey Central stockholders' committee was an appalling exhibit, and created distrust of everything which had been represented as good. This made attacks on other companies both easy and successful. The Delaware and Hudson was represented to be no better than Jersey Central, and the statement was made credible by the announcement that the courts had authorized preliminary steps for the appointment of a receiver. On this the stock sold as low as 45, and it was predicted that it would go to 10, the lowest price for Jersey Central. When the order to show cause was vacated, and it became known that the annual report was forthcoming, the stock began to advance, and when the annual report actually appeared, rose to 57½. This report showed that the company has property beyond its capitalization and debt, and earned \$300,000 above first charges; but it gave no hope to shareholders that they will receive dividends until the price of coal advances. The annual report of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western showed that first charges were earned and \$720,000 more; the stock of this company was comparatively steady throughout. The effect of the changes in the Atlantic and Pacific direction was to break down the price of the stock of the rival line (Western Union Telegraph) from 70½ to 63½. The interest in the stock speculation overshadowed that in other Wall-Street markets. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar ranged between \$0.9445 and \$0.9478. Silver fell to 56d. in London, which makes the gold value of the proposed 412½-grain silver dollar \$0.9358.

All the news from the East goes to strengthen the anticipation of war. Russia continues to mobilize fresh corps, and the despatch of troops to the Pruth and the preparations for their passage through Rumania continues. Moreover, although perhaps no one story about the condition of the army is to be implicitly relied on there is a general concurrence in all the accounts that it is in good spirits and good condition, and there is much color for the belief which we have more than once expressed that the earlier reports about its unreadiness were designedly spread, and that, in fact, Russia has not been above luring the Turks on into their present position of arrogant defiance by an affectation of hesitation or weakness. She has evidently employed her truce very profitably while waiting for the spring to open. She has succeeded in getting Turkey into a false position towards Europe, and has sown division in Turkish councils by seducing the progressive party into making promises and drawing up programmes of reform which the Old Turks will never accept; she has made it certain that England will not protect Turkey, and has probably by this time solved the remaining part of the problem by securing Austrian neutrality, either by direct arrangement with that Power or by an agreement with Germany that there shall be no meddling in the fight on anybody's part. It has probably needed an intimation from Germany that she means to see fair play, to quiet the disposition of the Magyars to force Austria into a threatening attitude of some kind towards Russia.

Although it is quite certain that the Turks will fight hard, and that they will not be driven out of Bulgaria without heavy losses, we must not be deceived by stories of Turkish valor and obstinacy, or of the size of the Turkish forces, or the perfection of their armament, as to the probable result of the conflict. The Turkish troops are brave and well armed, and the high commands seem well filled, but the regimental officers are poor, and there is absolutely nothing worthy of the name of medical or transportation service, or commissariat. The losses from disease are already reported to be enormous. As long as the Turks try to hold their present positions, therefore, in which they have supplies accumulated, they will be formidable antagonists, but as soon as their line is broken, and any necessity arises for rapid movement, and especially movement in retreat, it is difficult to see what is to prevent a total débâcle. The country is not one in which an army in rapid motion can live, and the Turkish troops are wholly dependent for transportation on the impressed ox-wagons of the peasantry. It must be borne in mind, too, that the troops which have been hurrying from Asia to the Danube for the last three months are raw levies fresh from the plough, and that behind this first line there are no reserves whatever, and an empty treasury. The contest, therefore, if Russia is in real earnest, is, as far as the Turks are concerned, a mad one.

The Turkish question has again come up in Parliament. On the 16th, Mr. Gladstone questioned the Ministers as to whether a passage in one of Lord Derby's despatches to Sir Henry Elliot meant that they still considered themselves bound by any treaty engagements to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish power and dominion, he, for his part, maintaining that England was absolved from all engagements to support or protect Turkey, owing to Turkey's failure to carry out the promises of reform made in 1856. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, in replying, denied that England was absolved from her engagements, but construed them as simply binding her not to draw the sword to constrain Turkey, while placing her under no obligation to help Turkey in her quarrels with other Powers; but he declined to give any pledges as to what the future course of the Ministry would be, and taunted the Opposition with their timidity in not backing up their questions with a motion. The debate was resumed on Tuesday in the House of Lords, when Lord Salisbury made his expected defence of himself and the Conference. He attributes the stubbornness of the Turks to their tremendous infatuation about the state of the Russian army, caused by the reports of irresponsible advisers, as we have suggested above.

THE DECISION OF THE COMMISSION.

THE Presidential contest may now be considered over, and, if it has not ended satisfactorily, all that can be said is that the nature of the controversy was such that a satisfactory ending to it was not possible. If the Commission had decided to "go behind the returns," to the extent asked for by the Democrats, although it might have given Mr. Tilden a clearer title to the place than the present finding can give Mr. Hayes, it would have prepared the way for endless complications at future elections, and perhaps for the conversion of the Presidential election into a farce. We should have had to prepare ourselves for "double returns" from two-thirds of the States and a fight in Congress over the vote of each State, which would have caused the count to last for a year, and would, every fourth year, have inflicted a season of complete paralysis on business.

The decision is unfortunate in the present case because, although it gives a sufficient title to the Presidency, it does not give the title for which the country looked. We have got a decision from the authority to which both sides referred the dispute that, under the existing law, the power which the Republican majority in Congress has several times exercised of going behind the electors' certificates does not properly belong to Congress, and that the manner of producing the certificates cannot be enquired into. This settles the present controversy as to the Presidency, but it does not decide who, within a reasonable field of enquiry, was truly elected, and consequently does not enable Mr. Hayes "to pass unchallenged to the Presidential chair." It leaves in doubt the question whether his majorities in two States were not taken from his opponent and transferred to him by a band of disreputable persons discharging the duties of canvassers. This, it must be confessed, is most regrettable, and would be so even if it were not the result of a strict party vote. It leaves the Democrats sore and angry as well as disappointed, and it certainly is not pleasant to many good Republicans to see "the great party" sneaking out of court after getting the indictment against it quashed on a technicality. Of course this is better than going to jail, but it is not a species of escape from jail that honorable men feel comfortable about or are inclined to chuckle over.

As regards the practical effect of the decision, it leaves Mr. Hayes free to do what he would not, in our opinion, have been free to do if the Republican Desperadoes had had him counted in by the Vice-President. He takes the place now without discredit, though he takes it as part of a solution which we all accept because it is a solution, and not because it is the kind of solution we hoped for. That the majority should have been a party majority is unfortunate, but it is absurd now to base charges of dishonesty on this circumstance. That party attachments were likely to create a bias was frankly recognized in the constitution of the Board; to say now that because both sides voted in the direction of party bias some one man must have been dishonest, is as absurd as the position of those impeachers of Andrew Johnson who held that any Republican Senator who did not vote guilty on some one article—they did not care which—must be corrupt. Men may well be irritated and disappointed by the judgment, but they ought not to become childish over it. Everybody knows that had any member voted against his party there would have been the same outcry from a different quarter. The services of Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold would have been called into use to illustrate his wickedness and baseness for many a day.

The circumstances under which Mr. Hayes takes the Presidency greatly deepen his responsibility. He has to shoulder one burden from which we had hoped that the Commission would deliver the successful candidate. His very success as an administrator will be regretted by many good men as likely to cheat people into forgetfulness of, or indifference to, the mode in which he has obtained his seat. This will be hard to bear, and is something which many a sensitive man would find intolerable, but it is as well as the other

unpleasantnesses of the position has now to be faced and to be lived through and lived down. He has no alternative but to serve, and to serve as ably as he can. Against this questioning of his title and this fear that his election may prove an evil precedent, he will be able to oppose the great opportunity presented to him of showing the country that the disorders, corruptions, and abuses of the last eight years are but sequelæ of the Civil War, which need not and will not permanently befoul the stream of our politics, and that even four years of honest and efficient government will not only cause people to forget the tricks of the Returning Boards, but make the repetition of those tricks impossible. He has it in his power, too, to accomplish a most beneficent revolution at the South by bringing the blacks and whites into natural and pleasant political relations, and helping to rid the mind of the poor negroes of the notion that they are able to carry on complicated governments of great commercial States by the aid of corrupt adventurers from other communities, and by drawing off the attention of the whites from the ancient and stultifying study of negro character to the loftier problems of national politics. Apropos of this, we must express the hope that General Grant will not suffer himself to be tempted by any of his following into recognizing either of the contending parties in South Carolina or Louisiana in the last week of his Administration. The duty of settling those imbroglios falls with the responsibility to Mr. Hayes, who will readily see that the decision of the Electoral Commission as to his own title settles nothing as to the title of Packard or Chamberlain. The Commission has simply refused to enquire whether the State Returning Boards have acted honestly or not, but has not decided that they *have* acted honestly. Enquiry into their performances will therefore not be closed to Mr. Hayes, and if he is satisfied that they have cheated in the return of the State officers, it will be his duty, as well as his right, to recognize as governors the persons who are in his opinion entitled to the places; and we must all hope that those persons will be competent to protect life and property, and put the criminal courts in motion for the purpose, and that the investigation of crimes and outrages will be performed by police magistrates, and not reserved, as hitherto, for Boards of Canvassers at the Presidential elections.

Finally, let us add that Mr. Hayes is receiving a great deal of help, ill though the wind be that brings it to him, from the "Oregon despatches." That correspondence of this character should be traced to the house of a Presidential candidate is an unprecedented scandal, and it is not mitigated by the fact, if fact it be, that Mr. Tilden knew nothing of the corrupt negotiations his "Zach," Mr. Pelton, was carrying on with the Oregon politicians. Mr. Tilden is nothing if not shrewd and watchful, and, whether he knew of Pelton's operations or not, we can conceive of no adequate excuse for his leaving it in the power of so foolish and unprincipled a person to compromise him so directly by sending from his own house offers of money to buy up governor and electors. Blunders of this kind are crimes, and the discovery of this one is doing a great deal to reconcile people to the decision of the Commission. They would not relish the prospect of seeing Colonel Pelton installed at the White House as a second Babcock.

On the other hand, one deplorable result of the affair is that it will diminish or efface the impression which the performances in Louisiana were at last beginning to make on the Republican conscience, hardened though it was by the war and prolonged contemplation of Democratic wickedness. The saddest feature, perhaps, in the late canvass was the desperate efforts which honorable and upright men made to shut their eyes to the doings of "Zach" and his confederates in their fear of Tilden and the South. These painful contortions were stopped by the action of the Returning Boards, and the work of repentance and purification was almost completed by the appearance of J. Madison Wells and his companions at Washington. We fear the Oregon despatches, over which the Desperadoes are so joyful, will arrest this work of grace, and lead many an anxious sinner to look back with a certain tenderness on the transgressions and shortcomings of last summer.

THE PARTY PASSION FOR INCOMPETENCY.

THE bill which has just passed the State Assembly prescribing the duties of the Superintendent of Public Works, who, in virtue of the late amendment to the Constitution, succeeds the old Canal Commissioners, has one section which is in many respects so remarkable and so hopeful a sign of the times that we cannot help quoting it in full:

"In case any officer or employee in the service of the State, under the provisions of this bill, shall use his power, position, or patronage for the promotion or defeat of partisan or party purposes, it shall be deemed good and sufficient cause for removal; and in case any superior officer, having authority, shall refuse or neglect to take cognizance thereof, and to remove therefor, the question of such violation may be tried and determined by any justice of the Supreme Court having jurisdiction in the county wherein such alleged violation occurred, upon the written charges made under oath by five substantial freeholders of the neighborhood; and in case the said justice shall sustain such charges, he shall certify that fact to the Superintendent of Public Works, or, in case of the hearing of charges against the latter, to the governor, who, upon the receipt of such certificate, shall remove such inculpated officer or employee. And no increase of the force upon the canals shall be made at any time within sixty days preceding any annual election for State officers, except when the Superintendent of Public Works shall certify that the needs of the public service make such increase necessary at that time, which certificate shall be immediately published when made in the official State journal."

The old elected Canal Commissioners were simply persons chosen by the party conventions for the distribution of the canal patronage among faithful workers of high and low degree, and in fact the canals and their revenues and expenditures were for many a year previous to the late exposures one of the great prizes for most parties in this State contended, and perhaps one of the most fertile sources of corruption ever opened under a free government. "The Canal Ring," as it was called—that is, a band of contractors in collusion with the commissioners and engineers—virtually ruled the State as to all matters touching its own interests, and the country population along the whole line, from the Lakes to the Hudson, were debauched by it into a sort of unconscious dishonesty in all their relations to the public. When we remember these things it is impossible to estimate too highly the change which has been made. What it will do for the management of the canals is in itself a great thing, but what it may do for the purification of New York State politics is a greater. This would be true even if it meant simply the concentration of responsibility in a single man, appointed by the governor and Senate instead of being elected, and holding office during good behavior instead of for a short term. Its good effects are made doubly sure by the section we have quoted, which not only forbids the use of the public works for partisan purposes, but puts it in the power of private persons who witness or suspect such use to have it examined and punished; and the mere fact that it has been possible to procure the enactment of such a provision from a New York legislature shows that the cause of civil-service reform is not in so hopeless a condition, or rather so backward a condition, as a good many politicians would like to persuade us.

But anybody who reads the section will naturally ask why its operation is confined to the management of the canals; why it is not extended to all public works; why it does not apply to parks, buildings, and, above all, to the service of municipalities? Why is it not made a punishable offence for mayors, comptrollers, and commissioners of all sorts to use their power over their subordinates, or to increase the number of their employees before election for partisan purposes? The objection to it in the case of the canals is that it is a roundabout way of cheating the taxpayer, and this is precisely the objection to it everywhere. The employment of laborers who are not wanted, or the employment of them with other motives than the exaction from them of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, or the dismissal of them for other reasons than want of use of them, or their incapacity or misconduct, is an offence against the people in every department of the administration,

both State and federal, and the difficulties of abolishing it are nearly the same in every department. Foremost among these is the feeling of the superior officers themselves that the safest thing for them to do is to make friends with the jobbers and politicians, and that the support of the public in resistance to them is not to be counted on with any certainty. On the other hand, the public does not give its support largely because it has no adequate means of doing so. All elective officers are supposed in theory to be responsible to the people, but the people have never been provided with any means of making this responsibility felt. The typical "bad man" in office rarely expects to serve for more than one term, and just as popular indignation has been thoroughly roused by his misdeeds he is prepared to retire with his booty into the recesses of private life. Attempts have been made by legislation to enable municipal taxpayers to assail unworthy officials in the courts in the midst of their public career, but it is easy to see that any general supervision of officers by individual taxpayers or small bodies of them might, if made to cover too wide a field, be converted into an instrument of factious obstruction or persecution, and it would be difficult to arrange for the introduction of any such check on malfeasance into the machinery of general government. But it is also true that the habit of using the civil service in aid of political parties will probably never be broken up until the officer is fortified or stimulated in his resistance to it by some power on the part of mere bystanders to call him to account. Mere newspaper exposure or denunciation will hardly suffice. A man is not troubled by having it made known to the world that he is an unscrupulous partisan; in fact, he is apt to fancy that a certificate of this kind will raise him in the estimation of the managers on whom his political fortunes are dependent. But he would be greatly troubled by the knowledge that his tricks with the civil service were watched by men outside of politics, and that these men had readier and simpler means of punishing them than "working" against him at the next convention, a task for which most of those who care anything about civil-service reform are totally unfitted.

Public attention has been somewhat withdrawn from this subject during the last three or four years, owing to the general hopelessness of accomplishing any change for the better under General Grant's Administration. We are now about to witness the commencement of a new régime, and it is to be hoped another attempt to deal with this monster evil of our politics. The extent to which one lights on it in every department of public affairs, in small as well as in great things, is something marvellous. One of our morning papers, not many weeks ago, instituted enquiries into the problem by which the mind of the Post-Office Department is just now agitated—the discovery of some means of indelibly defacing postage-stamps. It appears that the present mark is easily washed off, and all efforts to find a satisfactory substitute have thus far been useless. The reporter, after hearing all that was to be said about it, asked innocently whether they used the same stamping-ink in England and on the Continent that was used here, and learned that they did but had not the same difficulty about defacement—the reason being that the postmasters stamped more carefully and thoroughly; and the reason the American postmasters did not do so was that the Department had not the same control over them, and could not call them to account with the same rigidity for negligence. This is not surprising, inasmuch as the Postmaster-General does not select the postmasters, and if he removes one, which he cannot do except for some very serious offence, the power of filling the place belongs to the Senator or Representative. In other words, the best compound for defacing postage-stamps is the resumption of the appointing power by the President and heads of department.

In this city the records of the city courts are well arranged, well kept, and perfect, so that access to a paper is an easy task; the reason is that the judges appoint the clerks for competency and fidelity. In the Supreme Court, where the clerk is an elected officer, the records have been seriously tampered with, and it is by no means uncommon to find that papers

which anybody has any interest in abstracting—decrees of divorce, for instance—are gone. In Albany Mr. Bigelow, the present Secretary of State, in recently overhauling the State archives and providing them with a better custodian, has found papers cut out and made away with the mere titles of which would fill a page of the *Nation*, all owing to "rotation" and the bestowal of important trusts on shiftless, characterless, and ignorant adventurers who have armed themselves with some kind of political claim. The politicians, in fact, have been working at the national edifice with the minute and searching diligence of white ants. There is no corner or closet or piece of furniture too small or remote for their ravages. There is no duty to the public so lowly that they have not in some manner contrived to degrade or pervert it. They cannot bear to see any office filled by a man equal to its responsibilities, and, if they have to get even a sewer cleaned, will cozen, intrigue, and cabal until they can get the job for somebody who is rather too big to enter the sewer or too weak to use his tools effectively after he has entered it. In fact, they have a passion for incompetency, and if we continue to allow them to gratify it many years longer, the retention of our place in civilization will become difficult, if not impossible, for our civil-service abuses do strike at civilization itself.

DISRAELI'S SUCCESSORS.

LONDON, February 3, 1877.

SOME months ago I ventured to predict that the retirement of Mr. Disraeli from the House of Commons might be regarded by his administration and their supporters as "the first milestone on their downward road." If you will allow me I will here mention the grounds on which I based my prediction.

The life of a strong administration is like that of an individual. It commences with all the freshness and hope of youth. It makes mistakes, but these are the mistakes of youth and are easily forgiven. It soon passes into the dulness of middle age, and then shrivels up into decline and incapacity, and passes away, giving place to something young and vigorous, which will go through its four or five years and disappear like its predecessors. The present administration is getting into its decline. The spring of the first two sessions is out of it. The leading members at the head of the great departments of state begin to have that weary look which shows that their work has now become mechanical. Their very movements have lost the elasticity of two years ago, and, as the natural result of the sort of temper which is produced by overwork, rumors of loss of cordiality in their personal relations with each other are borne about official circles. Four years of office must produce jealousies where men are human. There is less of that sort of thing to be found in Tory than in Liberal administrations, or perhaps it is better concealed. But it is no secret that even in the present happy family of twelve which form the Cabinet, animosities are not entirely absent. Whether Lord Salisbury and his chief will meet as friends or not we cannot say; we shall know more about their relations in a few days. But of this we are assured, that Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot, who, rightly or wrongly, is believed to have been in the close confidence of the Prime Minister throughout the recent Conference, did not affect much cordiality in their later meetings, and the intimacy between the two ambassadorial families was not of the kindliest. The Chancellor of Exchequer, now the leader of the House of Commons, and his first lieutenant, the Minister for War, do not regard each other with affection. Whatever his colleagues may think on the subject, Mr. Gathorne Hardy has no mean opinion of his own debating powers, and probably, if he were asked the question, he would say that he was a more effective speaker than Sir Stafford Northcote. He is also an older man, and has sat longer in the House than Sir Stafford. But in spite of this he has been passed over and the leadership of the House has been assigned to his inferior. If, therefore, he ever aspired to the premiership of England, these aspirations he must smother. Unless Sir Stafford Northcote fails more conspicuously than his most intimate friends anticipate, he must be the next Tory prime minister. These reflections have not warmed the cockles of Mr. Hardy's heart towards his rival. At present Mr. Hardy is only sulky. While the more active spirits of the Cabinet have been flying about the country and addressing associations of "Conservative workingmen"—Frankensteins of Tory organization which, now they have conjured them up, they are bound to humor because they cannot allay them—Mr. Hardy has never left his

own fireside except to go gloomily to his office and demand more money for the War Department. There are smouldering flames pent up in that silent man's breast which, unless he is belied, will break forth before the administration is a session older.

The leaders of the Opposition, on the other hand, are rejuvenescent. Four years ago they were fagged with work, and worn out and quarrelsome. Now their spirits are revived; their energies are recruited; they begin to long for work again, and to repine over the loss of the best years of their lives in opposition when they see the work of the departments bungled, as they think, and the policy of the country misdirected by those who now guide her destinies. Lassitude and jealousy on one side; activity, a desire for work, and the friendliness of people who are playing a winning game, on the other—that looks like the beginning of the end.

So much within official circles. Outside, the great Demos has given unmistakable signs that her fickle affections have swung round. The wavering attitude of the Cabinet upon the Eastern question has vexed the country. A strong policy, such as Lord Beaconsfield desired, even if it were mistaken, would have inspired respect. Enthusiasm from at least a section of the country would have been excited if the Cabinet had braved the indignation meetings of the autumn and gone its own way irrespective of the threats and protests of excited multitudes. Lord Beaconsfield would probably have disregarded these unreasoning outbursts, but his Cabinet were frightened. They gave way before the mob. They changed their policy, and by so doing they lost the good-will of their friends without gaining the respect or gratitude of their enemies. And hence it is that the country has wheeled round and is returning Liberals for every Parliamentary seat that becomes vacant.

But there is another cause that is operating to bring about the truth of my prediction—the change of leadership in the House of Commons. Mr. Lincoln's saying as to the impolicy of swapping horses in the middle of the ford can be strikingly illustrated from the annals of English parliamentary life. It would not be difficult to show that on almost every occasion when the leading mind of an administration has been removed, the days of that administration are numbered. To take a couple of recent instances: Lord Palmerston died on the 18th of October, 1865; at the head of a compact majority. Lord Russell succeeded him as Prime Minister in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. The administration was driven from office eight months thereafter. Lord Derby, again, resigned the Premiership on the 25th of February, 1868. Mr. Disraeli succeeded, and the administration survived the change for eight months only. In both these cases the new chief was not inferior to the old, and yet he could not keep his administration together. On this occasion the swap has not been to the advantage of the administration. Mr. Disraeli, with all his faults and inconsistencies, was a man of genius, and as such he was lifted a good head and shoulders higher than any man who sat on his side of the House. Sir Stafford Northcote is the most commonplace of men. There is hardly an Irish adventurer in the House who has not a higher claim to be regarded as a man of genius than the present leader. He has merits, but they are not of a high order. These are plodding industry, real or affected candor, calculating civility, and an easy knack of adjusting means to ends with more astuteness than conviction, which may stand him in good stead at critical times. But these qualities, useful no doubt in a subordinate, are not the qualities of a leader of men. They do not inspire enthusiasm, or confidence, or obedience; some of them fail even to inspire respect. Long before the middle of August, unless Sir Stafford Northcote develops faculties the germs of which have hitherto been screened from sight, the discipline of the ministerial benches will be slackened, and the control of the House will be a thing of the future and the past. It is impossible that he can keep six hundred and fifty-eight middle-aged senators docile and amused throughout the dog-days.

But if Sir Stafford Northcote possessed all the virtues which he lacks and if his majority continued to obey him as they did his predecessor, even then his ministry would be overmatched in every debate on which they entered. They have not a single debater in their ranks. Mr. Hardy is their most fluent speaker, but he cannot grapple with an argument. He can declaim against any man, and he has a clear, pleasant voice which penetrates into the remotest corners of the House. He has always a string of Tory platitudes at command which have flowed freely from his lips during the last twenty years, and which never pall upon the intelligences of the country squires who sit behind him. But his mind is one of those which run away from hard discussion and shelter themselves in their own familiar phrases. Mr. Cross is no orator. He can state a prepared case clearly, and can explain the provisions of a bill; but he cannot controvert

an argument, and once driven off the rails laid down for him, he becomes nervous and unsteady. He is not clever on his legs. When Mr. Ward Hunt raises his portly form to speak, the House knows for certain that he will put his foot into it before he sits down. The first few sentences run glibly enough, but he soon says something indiscreet. Then he loses his head, and lashes out wildly to the right and to the left like a great sea-monster in distress. Lord John Manners probably has to rise to explain away his colleague's indiscretion. Lord John is a suave man who can make a polished after-dinner speech to a friendly audience, but he is no more capable of defending the ministerial policy if seriously attacked than an old-fashioned three-decker could defend itself against a modern iron-clad. He would be rammed on the first stroke. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who has recently joined the Cabinet, is a young man under forty. He has acted as Irish Secretary since 1874, and has done his work well. But he, again, is no debater. He can string dull sentences together, but, except a pleasant appearance, he does not possess a single oratorical gift. These are the members of the Cabinet in the Lower House. It is only by considering them one by one that we can rightly appreciate the enormous difference that the loss of Mr. Disraeli's genius makes. Among the other members of the Administration not in the Cabinet there are able, business-men like Mr. Smith and Mr. Bourke. These are both good department men, but neither of them can hold the House. There remain Sir Charles Adderley, a dull official; Mr. Sclater-Booth, whose presence in the Ministry only shows the dearth of men of capacity on the Tory side; and Viscount Sandon, whose acrid denominationalism and smug sententiousness irritate even the most amiable of his own supporters. There are also three young under-secretaries who occasionally rush into debates from which their elders shrink; but they do not add much to the wisdom of the House or the dignity of debate by reducing all things to the pleasing level of the society at Eton known by the familiar name of "Pop."

These men constitute the remnant of the Tory Ministry which the Earl of Beaconsfield has left behind him. Just consider whom and what they have to encounter. There is first the colossal genius of Mr. Gladstone, the most convincing of speakers, and the sweet eloquence of Mr. Bright. There is Mr. Lowe, with his ready, if somewhat cruel, logic, and the strong common sense and directness of purpose possessed by Lord Hartington. Mr. Goschen's trenchant argument is there, and Mr. Forster's burly shrewdness. Mr. Childers, too, opposes them with his trained debating talents and his mastery of detail, and the smooth vehemence of Mr. Stansfeld is available when it is wanted. These men were all in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. Outside it the Tory forces have to meet the classical invective of Sir William Harcourt, who now acts loyally with his party, and the forensic aptitude of Sir Henry James. Behind these again there is some solid sense in Mr. Shaw Lefevre's mind which can be produced, and there is the sharpened intelligence of Mr. Dodson, the wide reading and varied knowledge of Mr. Grant Duff, and the professional finish of Mr. Lyon Playfair's speeches, to be reckoned with by the members of the Treasury bench. And among the rank and file on the Liberal side of the House there is no lack of ready speakers and accomplished debaters, every one of whom, except perhaps some wavering Irishmen, will be eager to have an opportunity of letting off the pent-up steam of the recess at the earliest opportunity.

It wants but little wisdom to see that the Ministry must be steadily outdebated throughout the session. But debating does not turn out a ministry. It discredits a ministry, and tells in the end when the constituencies have to be consulted and asked whether they will support the old discredited ministry or a new, untried one. With the staunch majority which the Tories still possess, there is not much chance of their being outvoted during this session, and it is only voting that turns out a ministry. In the natural course of events, a dissolution need not take place before the commencement of 1880. But the process of disintegration going on within the House will not suffer events to run their natural course. The wisest and most experienced men predict that this Parliament may live two sessions more, and that the autumn of 1878 will bring constituencies and would-be representatives once more together.

Correspondence.

GEORGIA AMONG THE DEFAULTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article on defaulting Southern States (in last week's number) you name eight States which are at present defaulters in their obli-

tions. You have, however, omitted one which, though perfectly able to fulfil its obligations, refuses to acknowledge part of its debts legally created and mostly held by *bona-fide*, innocent investors in Europe, who having trusted to the good name of Georgia, the Empire State of the South, were in the most shameful manner cheated out of their investment. There are now held in Europe nearly three million dollars' worth of bonds issued by the Brunswick and Albany Railroad Company, and legally guaranteed by the State of Georgia, over the signatures of the Governor, Treasurer, and Secretary of State, the proceeds of which were applied to the construction of the B. & A. Railroad according to law; and though these bonds are not held by carpet-baggers but by *bona-fide* investors, having been purchased solely on the strength of the guaranty of the State of Georgia, the State refuses to fulfil its guaranty, and rather sees its good name defamed amongst European investors than meet an obligation which is so very small in amount that to pay it not even the taxes need to be increased, the entire amount in question being scarcely over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year.

Georgia is now considering and agitating the question of direct immigration from Europe, but any scheme for such a purpose, however well laid out, must prove unsuccessful so long as every farmer and workman in Europe on looking into his newspaper finds at the head of the list of repudiated American securities the bonds of the State of Georgia. S.

NEW YORK, February 17, 1877.

Notes.

A LIFE of the late Gerrit Smith has been undertaken by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who will be obliged for any suggestions or material that may be sent to his address, 50 West Thirty-sixth Street, N. Y. City.—G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready the fifteenth revised edition of 'Haydn's Dictionary of Dates,' brought down to September, 1876, with the usual American supplement; likewise the fifteenth edition, rewritten and extended, of 'The Best Reading,' and a new edition of Bastiat's 'Political Economy,' edited by David A. Wells.—Prof. J. D. Butler's address a year ago on "Pre-historic Wisconsin," delivered before the Historical Society of that State, has been printed and stitched as a circular along with a description, by the same authority, of a silver Dutch medal, commemorating the peace of Westphalia, which was ploughed up near the Mississippi in 1861. Good heliotype illustrations are added of specimens of the remarkable collection of copper implements in the cabinet of the Historical Society, and of the medal, which was unfortunately stolen from the Society in 1865.—The *Index* is the name of a monthly publication designed to classify the contents of the periodical literature of the United States and Great Britain, and the transactions and proceedings of learned societies, and to record the new publications of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany (New York: William, Erving). This is very imperfectly carried out in Nos. 1 and 2, and the editor shows himself anything but an adept in cataloguing. He has not even learned to reject the *a* and *the* of titles; and he is very prodigal of space for want of systematic abbreviations and references.—The *Geographical Magazine* for February furnishes a very useful map of the South-African Republics, which are now in so much commotion.—The Water-Color Exhibition this year offers two catalogues for sale, one of which is (for the first time) illustrated with autographic fac-similes of pen-drawings, often by the artists themselves, after some of the principal pieces in the exhibition. They are of course only miniature suggestions of the originals, but their use is well recognized, and they are a novelty only in this country. *Harper's Weekly* for February 24 gives a broadside of them.—The first "summer school" which we are able to announce for the coming season will be directed by Prof. Theo. B. Comstock, of Ithaca. A chartered steamer will leave Buffalo or Cleveland about July 5, and will skirt along the shores of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Superior, and possibly Georgian Bay, Green Bay, and Lake Michigan. The geology, zoölogy, and botany of the regions visited will be studied, dredging will be carried on, and lectures will be delivered. The number of students is limited to thirty; the length of the excursion will be from four to six weeks.—The Essex Institute will shortly publish a 'Brief History of the Art of Stenography, with a proposed New System of Phonetic Short-hand,' by Wm. P. Upham.—Hurd & Houghton announce a 'History of Cambridge, Mass.,' by Lucius R. Paige.—Another of Joel Munsell's reprints is to be 'Arnold's Campaign against Quebec,' by John Joseph Henry, one of the soldiers in the expedition.—The next volume of the series of 'Epochs of Modern History,' announced by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., is 'The Roman Triumvirates,'

by Dean Merivale.—We have received the first number of *Les Belles-Lettres*, an eclectic monthly, whose editor is M. Narcisse Cyr (Boston).—A new literary weekly journal, the *Times*, has been started by Mr. E. H. House at Tokio, for the consideration of all subjects which relate to Japan, with a view to the benefit of the nation. Mr. House is known both here and on the other side of the Pacific as a warm admirer of the Japanese, and as the historian of the Fornosa campaign.

—"Littell's *Living Age* (No. 1700) for January 13, 1877," writes a correspondent, "gives us a story entitled 'A Peasant Prometheus.' Translated for the *Living Age* from the French of Emile Souvestre." In vol. xxviii. of the *Museum* (January to June, 1836), published by E. Littell, of which the *Living Age* is the continuation, I believe, the same story is copied from the *Athenæum*, which credits it to a paper by M. Souvestre in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 'Industrie et Commerce de la Bretagne.' Its title in the *Museum* is 'The Breton Joiner.' If the translations vary as widely from the original as they do from each other, both are very free; but the story is equally well told. How many readers of to-day of the *Living Age* remember reading the story forty-one years ago in the *Museum*?"

—A history of America, in three volumes of rather more than 200 octavo pages each, has been published in the Norwegian language by the *Skandinaven* in Chicago, the leading Norse paper in the United States. The first volume (published in 1874) treats somewhat elaborately of the prehistoric races, of the Norse discovery of America in the tenth century, and of the expeditions of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then gives a history of the English, French, and Spanish colonizations ending with the year 1776. The second volume (published 1875) begins with the administration of Washington and ends with the inauguration of Lincoln. The third volume (published 1876) gives a history of the civil war and ends with the inauguration of Andrew Johnson. The work has been published as a gift to those subscribers of the *Skandinaven* who pay promptly in advance, and we learn that more than 10,000 copies have been distributed among the Norsemen in the Northwest. The author is David Monrad Schøyen, a graduate in law from the University of Norway, and now one of the editors of *Skandinaven*. The work is well written, in thorough sympathy with the republic, and both in these respects and in its mechanical execution reflects great credit on the author and the publishers. It is estimated that there are about 600,000 foreign and native-born Scandinavians in the United States, so that the distribution of a United States history among them has a politico-social importance. We heartily recommend it as an example worthy of being followed by newspaper publishers among other foreign nationalities in this country.

—Complete histories of the various foreign settlements in the United States, their social, religious, literary, and other characteristics, will be of great value to future historians in analyzing the national peculiarities of the American people and tracing the sources whence this or that element of strength or weakness flowed. Of the Swedish colony founded on the Delaware in 1638 we have a very excellent history, published in Stockholm in 1759 and written by Israel Acrelius, who was for a time provost of the Swedish churches in America and pastor at Christiana (the first place built on the Delaware). This work, translated into English by William M. Reynolds, D.D., was republished in 1874 in a handsome large-octavo volume of over 500 pp. by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. We are glad to notice that the publishers of *Skandinaven* in Chicago are soon to issue a similar history of the Norse settlements in the United States. It is to be written by David M. Schøyen, author of the United States history mentioned above, and will narrate the various causes that led to emigration, give biographical sketches of the leading men who piloted their countrymen to the West, and in general give a full account of their several settlements, their churches, schools, newspapers, books, business enterprises, of the part they have taken in the politics of the country, in the late war, etc. The work is to be published in the Norse tongue, but a hundred years hence an English translation may be found to be as interesting as Acrelius's 'History of New Sweden.'

—Thirty-five years ago, when Forbes published his 'Radiata of the Eastern Mediterranean,' with descriptions of animals dredged from the sea-bottom, he little knew what zoölogical treasures were to be collected by this method during the succeeding generation. Nevertheless, he was among the first to understand the importance of the dredge, and clearly to appreciate the necessity of pushing our knowledge of faunæ along the floor of the ocean till the lowest inhabited point was reached. Since his day nearly every marine scientific expedition has made some attempt at this sort of research; while private persons, such as McAndrew in England, Sars in Norway, and Stimpson and Pourtales in this country have added the

results of their labors. If we may trust preliminary accounts, the *Challenger* expedition, which began its work under Prof. Wyville Thomson in February, 1873, and which returned to England in 1876, has added more to our knowledge of deep-sea animals than all other similar expeditions put together. This good result is to be laid to the careful plan on which observations were conducted, as well as to the lessons which former expeditions had taught. A number of ocean stations—in all 354—were carefully determined. They were selected at proper points on certain courses; and, at each, eleven sorts of observations were made, such as depth, nature of sea-bottom, character of water and of the deep fauna, surface-current and surface-fauna. The animals were packed in jars and marked with the number of the station where they were collected. Proceeding in this methodical manner, the *Challenger* made several cross-sections of the Atlantic, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, went down to the Antarctic zone, passed Australia to visit the Indian Seas, crossed the Pacific Ocean to South America, and returned to England *via* Cape Horn. A voyage of 69,000 miles, occupying three laborious years, has been spent in getting together facts; and now begins their tabulation, a task that is likely to occupy a score of specialists for some years to come. The British Admiralty will publish the results, and will probably print two volumes giving a history of the voyage and a general view of its work, one volume of physics and chemistry, and six volumes of zoölogy—the whole abundantly illustrated and furnished with maps and diagrams. In dividing his material among specialists for publication, Sir Wyville Thomson has shown a wise generosity in not confining the work to his countrymen. Thus, a part of the sponges go to O. Schmidt; the radiolaria to Haeckel; the round echinoderms (sea-eggs) to Agassiz, and the ophiurans (brittle-stars) to Lyman. Two of the most important collections have crossed the Atlantic to be worked up at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy in Cambridge. Thomson himself will probably describe the crinoids (lily-stars) and some of the sponges; Allman, the hydrozoa; Busk, the polychaeta; McIntosh, the worms; Moseley, the polyps; Murray, the foraminifera; young Carpenter, the comatulæ; and Günther, the fishes. When all this work has been done, and well done, we shall know much more than we now do of the depths of the sea and of the relations of living and fossil marine animals.

—Death is still busy with our rear-admirals. Six have died since the beginning of the year, and five during the present month—Rear-Admiral Goldsborough having been the last. Of Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis, who died on the 18th inst., we shall speak somewhat fully next week. He was Superintendent of the Naval Observatory at Washington, and had just entered his 71st year.

—We have referred elsewhere to the plundering which has been going on since 1866 in the State archives at Albany. The list is much too long for our space, and at best we can give only a few excerpts from it; but we hope the daily papers will give it a wide publicity. The missing articles embrace Dutch MSS. and English MSS., the ravages in the latter having been by far the more extensive. Among the Dutch we may designate vol. viii., No. 642, Part of a sentence fining Henry Townsend for harboring Quakers; ix., 627, Letter of Governor Endecott, of Massachusetts, to Director Stuyvesant, asking for the surrender of the regicides Whalley and Goffe; xix., 77, Letter of William Beekman to the same on Indian affairs in Delaware. Among the English MSS. we remark vol. xxiii., No. 298, Report of Jacob Leisler on the work of the fortifications; xl., 148, Letter from Sir Edmund Andros to Governor Fletcher, with despatches from London; xliii., 68, Memorial of William Bradford, the printer, for pay; lxxx., 39, Letter from Governor Shirley to Lieutenant-Governor Delancey; lxxxii., 144, Declaration of war against the French; xcii., 80, Letter from General Gage to Lieutenant-Governor Colden; xc., 47, Proclamation of Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey; c., 25, Letter of Sir William Johnson to Governor Tryon; 51, Letter from Governor Hutchinson, of Boston, to the same, on the boundary question. We have named only documents which have not been printed, and but a very small part of these. In one case (lxix., 11) the original was taken away and a copy very kindly left. It would appear that not unfrequently documents have been cut out by the keeper of the records and lent to persons now unknown. In some instances these were returned; in many more, probably, they were not; others, doubtless, have gone into the hands of autograph-collectors and *virtuosi* who are not yet, perhaps, past detection. Mr. Bigelow, the present efficient Secretary of State, to whom we owe these discoveries, has prescribed for the Department of Historical Records the following regulations, which it is to be hoped will either prevent further vandalism or enable the authorities to trace and punish the perpetrators of it:

"1. Persons desiring to consult the historical records of this office will

make their application in writing to the Secretary of State, setting forth their full name, residence, address in Albany, the document they wish to consult, and a reference if required.

"2. The keeper of the historical records will require the written order of the Secretary of State from all persons desiring to consult the records in his charge, which he will record in a book, together with the time when such documents were consulted by the parties presenting such orders."

—As the constitution of Massachusetts now stands, the professors and instructors of Harvard College are disqualified from serving in the General Court of the State. Teachers of other colleges, soldiers, policemen, saloon-keepers, even the holders of profitable State contracts—learned or unlearned, rich or poor—all are, presumably, fit law-makers. The disabilities apply in a marked degree to the Harvard faculty. It should be noted to the credit of the State, however, that there is a likelihood of the removal of these disabilities. The Legislature at two successive sessions has done its part towards making the required change of the constitution, and, when the amendment is ratified by the people, as it surely will be when they come to vote upon it, Harvard professors will rank "before the law" with other citizens of the Commonwealth.

—We notice that the four-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into England by John Caxton is to be celebrated by an exhibition of early printed works at Stationers' Hall. A like exhibition in this country does not seem to us wholly impracticable. Already we have seen a few specimens of old books at the Metropolitan Museum, and there is a constant display of them in the cases of the Astor Library. To these the treasures of private libraries could doubtless be added under proper guarantees as to safety. The loan exhibition of pictures last summer proved as profitable as it was beneficial to the public taste and intelligence, and the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum would, we are sure, find their account in promoting a series of loan-collections in the various branches of art. They hardly need to be reminded that there are in this city many small collections, both of art and bric-à-brac, such as collections of lace, enamels, fans, etchings, and playing-cards, no one of which is full enough to be shown by itself, though each might serve as a nucleus in its class. Modern work should be included as well as antique—indeed, at the loan-exhibition of fans at South Kensington in 1870 some of the best specimens came from the dealers, who were only too glad of the opportunity to show their wares to advantage; and at the tapestry-show last winter in the Palais de l'Industrie, if we mistake not, the manufacturers exhibited side by side with the leading collectors. Objects of historic interest, from having been formerly in the possession of any notability, may be admitted, even if of inferior artistic merit. Unfortunately, the space at the disposition of the Museum for such exhibitions is restricted and likely to become more so on the arrival of the new Cesnola collection; but in the new building in Central Park this will not be the case, and pending the removal there the collections might be shown at the National Academy when it is not otherwise occupied. The experience of the past summer has shown that the two institutions can combine for their joint benefit without friction. If any one loan-collection, from its appeal to a limited circle of amateurs, should appear unlikely to be generally attractive, another collection, properly contrasting in subject, could be got together at the same time, and thus each would strengthen the other at no additional expense for exhibition or advertising.

—M. Anatole France, in a foot-note to an appreciative paper in the *Temps* on the greatest of Russian novelists, or, as some would have him, the greatest of living novelists, discusses the various spellings of his name. Of "Tourguénief" he says that it represents, though very inaccurately, the Russian pronunciation, but that "Tourguénéf" is the author's own transcription of his name into Roman characters, and he, the feuilletonist, therefore adopts it. We have before remarked that the abolitionist Nicholas, cousin of Ivan, who lived and died in Paris, signed himself "Tourgueneff." The form we have ourselves adopted, "Turgenev," giving the vowels their Italian or German value, corresponds well enough with either of the above authoritative forms, for which the French vowel-system was naturally employed.

—A recent number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains an interesting article on the Merchant Service of France, the causes of its decline, and the measures best adapted to restore it to its former importance. In 1866 France ranked third in the commercial navies of the world; in 1875 she had fallen to the sixth place. The writer aims to set forth the various causes which have combined to make the decrease of sailing-vessels greater in France than in any other maritime nation. In the first place the heavy import duties render the materials for ship-building much more expensive in France than in England, and, while labor is cheap, the number of skill-

ed workmen and improved machines is small. The use of iron, too, in the construction of vessels of large tonnage has discouraged the building of ships, since English builders have cheaper iron. French ship-owners are required by law to take their crews from the men on the maritime conscription lists, and a sailor once engaged for a voyage is entitled to full wages until the end, and to be brought or sent back to France, and in case of sickness to have all expenses for medical attendance or hospital care defrayed. Every ship-owner, moreover, in addition to the regular fees, pays a special tax of one franc per ton on his ships, which is increased, in the case of partners, for every member of the firm. Wharfage, which in other countries is levied yearly, in France is collected as often as a vessel enters port—a heavy burden for the small coasting vessels. As to remedies, many plans have been advanced by the various Boards of Commerce and by writers who favor protection or free-trade. On the 7th of June, 1876, a congress of the merchant service, composed of ship-owners, of delegates from the chambers of commerce, and a representative of the Society of Steam-transports, advised a return to a moderate system of protection, in order to place ship-building on the same footing with other French industries. M. Labesse is in favor of a system of subsidies, the funds for which would be supplied by levying beaconage on all foreign vessels trading in French ports. The free traders advocate the improvement of the ports, the lowering of railroad tariffs, the abolition of wharfage, and of those taxes which are felt most heavily by the ship-owners, and the establishment of companies of maritime credit; but unfortunately they have no suggestions to offer as to the way in which the state is to find the funds for these reforms.

—M. Fertiault's 'Amoureux du livre' (New York: F. W. Christern) would have been really good if it had contained less of the author's own writing. It opens with an agreeable preface by the Bibliophile Jacob, which one would like to have longer, though perhaps if the ideas had been drawn out to fill a hundred pages they would have been as flat as the tales which M. Fertiault calls "Fantaisies d'un bibliomane." It was not wise to begin with such a preface, which throws the rest into the shade. The "Sonnets d'un bibliophile" are a little better than the "Fantaisies." They treat of the various aspects of the passion for books; and, although there are not a few weak lines, there are some vigorous expressions, and some natural if not strong feeling, and, being sonnets, they are therefore short. The best part, however, is the "Bibliophiliana, ce qu'on a dit du livre," an anthology of the sayings of writers of all ages and countries on Books, both materially and intellectually considered. There are over four hundred authors, from Addison [*sic*] to Zaluski; but M. Fertiault says that he has not cited all that he has met with, and has not met with a hundredth part of all that has been written. But there is the well-remembered passage from the oration for Archias, "delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur," and Channing's "No matter though the prosperous of my own time will not enter my dwelling, if the Sacred Writers will enter and take up their abode under my roof, if Milton will cross my threshold to sing to me of Paradise, and Shakspeare to open to me the worlds of imagination and the workings of the human heart, and Franklin to enrich me with his practical wisdom" (which used to be in the readers and is not now, more's the pity), and extracts from Emerson, Ovid, Irving, Sterne, Lamb, and Scott, and a host of names less familiar to Englishmen. Prefixed to this list is a series of thirty couplets, stating in old French and antique type the duties of the book-lover, and ending

"Et, sans dol, rebouquineras
Jusques à ton dernier moment."

A previous precept:

"Enfin, surtout TULES LIRAS,
C'est mon plus haut commandement,"

would, if obeyed, give the public much more respect for bibliomaniacs, who are now regarded, and justly, as little superior to chinomaniacs and collectors of bric-à-brac. M. Fertiault will hardly overcome this unfavorable opinion. His Bibliophiliana shows that he has read his books, but he has not imbibed enough of their spirit to make his own work powerful or even interesting. Books treating of books have always shown a slight tendency to be dull. Richard de Buri shares the heaviness of his age; Dibdin is now simply unreadable; Disraeli is not very enlivening. Janin alone in writing "du livre" lacks none of his accustomed sparkle. It may be that the subject is too limited, and that the authors have to pad; but it is probably rather because they aim at too sustained a style; the enthusiasm is affected; the raptures are strained. To the book-hunter, perhaps, it may seem natural and right to spend days on the Paris quays in the cold bise—"sub Jove frigido"—in pursuit of a *bouquin*, or even, like Don Vincente, to murder a dozen men merely to get possession of some marvel of

rarity. But to the common reader, who fancies there is something more serious to be found in life than rare editions or unique copies, all these ecstasies at an Aldus or an Elzevir, a binding by Le Gascon or a margin broader by a millimetre than any one else possesses, seem a little forced.

—The third volume of the *Italia*, edited by Karl Hillebrand, appeared just before the close of the last year, and fully sustains the high reputation earned by the previous numbers. Indeed, the present volume is of even greater general interest than the last two. The first paper, by Franz Boll and Tommaso-Crudeli, discusses the reform of the Italian universities, which, until lately, were at once too numerous and too provincial. The changes introduced by the Government consisted in dividing the universities into two classes, and concentrating on the eight first-class ones at Turin, Pavia, Padua, Bologna, Pisa, Rome, Naples, and Palermo the larger part of the yearly appropriations. The provincial narrowness of these institutions has been corrected by the appointment of professors through examinations open to all comers, and, finally, the standard of scholarship has been raised by subjecting the candidates for degrees to a state examination. Among much valuable information, we learn that of the fifteen different ministers of public instruction from 1859–1876 no less than ten were formerly university professors. Of more restricted interest are the two articles by Fontanelli and Pareto on Italian mining legislation, and Italian railroads. The former article discusses, among other things, the laws regulating the labor of children in mines, and explodes the horrible stories told of the treatment of this class in the sulphur-mines of Sicily. The question of the purchase of the railroads by the state is now agitating the country, and Pareto shows that the Government by its heavy taxes and scanty aid is, to a certain extent, responsible for the wretched financial condition of most of the roads. Paolo Levy, in a paper on the mental nourishment of the Italian people ("Ueber die geistige Nahrung des italienischen Volkes"), offers a mass of valuable statistics concerning the number and class of books, papers, etc., published and circulated in Italy. N. Caix, the distinguished philologist, discusses the old but still living question, Is the Italian language Tuscan? He decides the question in the negative, a conclusion long ago reached, we imagine, by impartial scholars. An interesting account of Rome as the capital of Italy from 1871–1876 is given by Carlo Levi, who describes the moving from Florence, the settlement of the Government in its new quarters, the changes which have taken place in the city, the excavations, etc. It is not an altogether bright picture. We commend the article on Florentine art of the present day to those Americans who have had their busts made in Florence, or who have purchased mosaic tables, or copies of celebrated pictures in the Pitti or Uffizi. The writer, Adolph Bayersdorf, says our money has corrupted Florentine art, and that, "like children and savages, we take a skilful imitation for art itself"; and, again, apropos of mosaic-makers, he remarks that they delight with their bad art "the Indian taste of the American traveller." After this we feel that some apology is due the Italians for the shabby way in which we treated their art exhibit at the Centennial. It was poor, but we had no idea before that we were responsible for it. The remainder of the number is made up of an article on Philipp Joseph von Refues (a German, who was instrumental in awakening in his country an interest in Italy during the early part of this century), metrical translations from the German and Italian, a political review by the editor, and copious notices of late Italian books. The metrical translations are excellent, and consist of versions by Paul Heyse of five of Leopardi's poems, and of seven chapters of Heine's 'Atta Troll' by G. Chiarini.

TROUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES.*

NO one of the Romance languages has undergone so many vicissitudes as the Provençal. From the courtly tongue of the south of Europe it declined into a patois, and became practically a dead modern language. Its older literature remained for centuries a sealed book to scholars, although it had profoundly influenced the early lyrical poetry of Italy, Germany, the north of France and the south of Spain. The decline of Provençal literature in the XIIIth century was due not merely, as is generally stated, to the destruction of the national sentiment by the Albigensian war, but also to the decline of the spirit of chivalry, of which it was the most brilliant exponent. There have been two curious revivals of Provençal literature, both based on an undoubted political feeling, although in the first revival this was studiously concealed. In the year 1323 seven citizens of Toulouse formed the society afterwards known as the *Consistori de la gaja sciensa*, which gave annual prizes for the best poems of various

kinds. The influence of this society on Spanish literature in Catalonia, Aragon, and at the court of John II. of Castile is well known. It was, however, a fruitless attempt to revive the former literary feeling, all the conditions for the success of which were lacking, and it is not surprising that it produced but few results in Provence itself, although the *Consistori* still exists, with some modifications, and awards its golden violet and silver eglantine. Of much greater interest, from a popular standpoint, is the revival effected during the present century by the society of the *Felibre*, founded in 1854 by Roumanille, and among whose most distinguished members are Mistral and Aubanel.

The work which has brought this school prominently before the public is Mistral's 'Mirèio,' which was translated in 1872 by Miss Preston, the author of the book before us. The favorable reception of this work led the translator to continue her studies in this field, and she has embodied the results of them in a pleasant series of papers on Mistral's 'Calendau,' Theodore Aubanel, Jacques Jasmin, the 'Songs of the Troubadours,' and the 'Arthuriad.' These articles, a number of which have already appeared in the *Atlantic*, are illustrated by copious metrical translations from the old and modern Provençal, which, as far as the latter is concerned, may convey a good idea of the original. The two chapters on the 'Songs of the Troubadours,' however, contain so many inaccuracies, and are the result of such insufficient study, that they give a very incorrect impression of the older Provençal literature. It has been the misfortune of most writers on this subject to be struck at once by the romantic side of their task, and to treat it as some curious product of a half fabulous age. This is quite excusable in those whose knowledge is gained from Millot and Nostradamus, but the principles of modern criticism have been applied to this field, and, thanks to Diez, Bartsch, Meyer, and others, the groundwork of a scientific history of Provençal literature has been securely laid. Miss Preston seems to be familiar only with Sismondi, Adler's Fauriel (containing only about one-half of the original work), and the texts in Raynouard, the 'Parnasse Occitanien,' and Bartsch's 'Chrestomathie Provençale.' With that most indispensable book, Diez's 'Leben und Werke der Troubadours' (Zwickau, 1829), she does not seem to be acquainted. Its use would have prevented a number of mistakes, and rendered certain many of her conjectures. For instance, the Arthur mentioned on p. 208 is Arthur of Brittany (see Diez, p. 165 n.); on p. 217 Miss Preston says she has not been able to establish the identity of the "English lord" mentioned in the poem, whereas a reference to Diez, p. 264, shows that it is William IV. of Orange, the poet's patron. In speaking of Guiraut de Bornel, Miss Preston thinks the statement in his biography, "tot l'ivern estava a scola et aprendia," indicates a *poetical* school, but it does not; see Diez, 'Poesie der Troubadours' (Zwickau, 1826, p. 23).

The author's qualifications as a critic may be judged by what she says of Sismondi's superficial remarks on Provençal versification, p. 152: "There never has been a more brilliant analysis of what may be called the technique of the troubadour poetry than Sismondi's in his 'Literature of the South of Europe,' . . . and whoever would study that versification as an art ought to bestow the most careful attention on Sismondi's first four chapters." Under the influence of this author Miss Preston thinks that terminal rhyme may have been of Oriental origin, and on p. 153 she speaks of the Romance language, evidently with Raynouard's long-ago exploded theory in her mind. This ignorance of the results of modern scholarship leads her into some strange mistakes; thus, on page 173, she quotes "the old manuscript 'Lives of the Troubadours'" by Carmentière (as Sismondi gives it; it should be Hermentère), and although she qualifies as "rather apocryphal" Nostradamus' 'Lives of the Provençal Poets,' she does not appear to know that this worthy has been completely exposed by Bartsch and Meyer (see *Jahrb. für rom. und eng. Lit.*, vol. xiii., pp. 1, 121, and 'Les derniers Troubadours de la Provence,' Paris, 1871, pp. 134, 203). The latter writer, after showing conclusively the bad faith and ignorance of Nostradamus, exclaims: "Après cela, il faut que l'histoire de la littérature provençale soit débarrassée de ce faussaire imbécile." We would also warn the readers of Guillemin de Cabestaing's tragic end not to accept too eagerly this story, "in spite of the absence of all conflicting testimony," and refer the translator to Hüffer's monograph on the poet (Berlin, 1869, pp. 28, 29).

Passing now to the subject of the metrical translations from the old Provençal, we regret that we cannot speak very highly of them. The translator says, p. 161, "that she has preserved at all hazards the measure and movement of the originals, the lines of widely varying length, the long-sustained and strangely-distributed rhymes." This statement is not exact, although her versions generally reproduce closely enough the form of the original. On p. 165, however, she fails to give the rhyme continued from

* 'Troubadours and Trouvères, New and Old. By Harriet W. Preston.' Boston: Roberts Bros. 1876.

stanza to stanza ; on p. 171 she carries it through two stanzas only ; on p. 174 she alters the rhyme of the eighth and ninth lines ; on p. 184, in the original the last word of the stanza serves as the first rhyme-word of the next, but Miss Preston has overlooked this, and again, on p. 229, does not reproduce the continued rhyme of the original. As to the contents, we cannot but feel that the translator has failed to catch the spirit of her originals. Indeed, she herself says "her renderings are not always close—strictly speaking, some of these versions, at least, should rather be called paraphrases." This is the difficulty ; her versions are diffuse paraphrases, full of modern turns and sentiment, and dramatic expressions foreign to the originals, as on p. 182, "The traitor in the dust bid crawl" ; p. 226, "T is o'er ; he's gone," and such phrases as, p. 228 :

"Sleepest or wakest, lady of my vows ?
Oh ! sleep no more, but lift thy quiet brows."

There is, however, one of her versions which merits the severest criticism. We refer to Guiraut de Bornell's *alba*, p. 227, one of the most famous and beautiful poems in the whole range of the literature. The *alba*, as is well known, represents the lover with his mistress, while a vigilant friend outside keeps watch and warns him when the dawn appears. In the *alba* under consideration the sentry himself sings the first six stanzas, in which he bids his fair companion (*bel companho*, masculine) awake and away. The happy lover answers in the seventh stanza. Miss Preston, for reasons of her own, has omitted the sentry and makes the lover outside address the poem to his mistress within ! This is not paraphrase, it is travesty. The translator, in addition, does not seem to have understood the language of the original. In the sixth stanza the sentry exclaims : "Fair friend, out at the steps (entrance to the house), you begged me not to be drowsy," etc. This Miss Preston translates :

"From thy balcony, lady, yesternight,
Didst thou me to this vigil invite !"

We could not imagine where the word *balcony* came from until we turned to Fauriel, Adler's translation, p. 414, and found, "My fair companion, from yon high balcony you did conjure me not to yield to slumber." It is needless to say that the word in the original, *peiros*, is the French *perron* (Dutch *stoop*), and it is strange that Fauriel should not have understood it. A very good English translation of the above *alba* may be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xxxix., p. 249.

The two chapters on the Troubadours are very free from misprints. We have only noticed two or three—p. 226, *Dans un vergier en fuelha* should be *En un vergier sotz folha*, and p. 229, *un cavalier* should be *us cavaliers*. The concluding article is devoted to an examination of the 'Idyls of the King,' compared with its French and English prototypes. Here also we find emphatic statements which need qualification. For instance, students of early mediæval literature do not know for certain that the Normans marched to victory at the battle of Hastings to the unimaginable tune of the "Chanson de Roland" ; a reference to any critical edition of the poem will show that the matter is far from certain. Miss Preston's concluding remarks about the morality of this cycle are very sensible. It is an interesting fact which she might have noticed that the character of the Arthurian cycle prevented it from ever becoming popular out of France and England (we use the word popular in the sense of *volkstümlich*) : In Spain, for example, we know of but two ballads on the subject of Launcelot, and one on Tristram, which three constitute, if we are not mistaken, all the Spanish ballads relating to this cycle. In Germany and Italy it was a favorite one among the knights and ladies from the time of the unfortunate Francesca da Rimini, but there is nothing to show that it was ever popular among the masses.

Our space precludes our noticing several points on which we cannot agree with Miss Preston—for instance, on the relation between the modern system of prosody and the Latin hymnology of the middle ages. Their relation, it strikes us, is that of cognate, and in no sense that of derivative. The whole subject has been thoroughly discussed long before Dean Trench, who merely repeated the views of other scholars. If Miss Preston ever carries out her idea of writing a book on the subject, we commend to her Fuchs's valuable work, 'Die romanischen Sprachen' (Halle, 1849), for all that relates to rhyme, etc., in the Romance languages. In conclusion, it seems to us the faults in Miss Preston's work are the result of insufficient study and an imperfect acquaintance with the bibliography of her subject. She possesses much literary taste and considerable facility in versification, and has before her, in this field, a successful future if she will take as her motto those lines of Ariosto :

"Forse ch'ancor con più solerti studi
Poi ridurrò questo lavor perfetto."

MOLINARI'S LETTERS ON THE UNITED STATES.*

M. DE MOLINARI, a well-known political and economical writer attached to the *Journal des Débats*, addressed last summer to that sheet a series of letters descriptive of a rapid tour through the United States. He has just gathered these letters into a volume in which American readers will find a good deal of entertainment and a certain amount of instruction. M. de Molinari, in his capacity of French journalist, is of course lively and witty ; but his vivacity is always in excellent taste. He is moreover extremely observant, and he often renders his impressions with much felicity. He had apparently the advantage of coming to America without strong preconceptions in any direction ; he was not pledged to find democratic institutions purely delightful, nor had he it on his conscience to lay in a stock of invidious comfort for oppressed Europeans. We have had in America too many observers of each of these categories. M. de Molinari's conclusions seem disinterested and liberal, especially when we remember that they were addressed to a journal which is not remarkable (save when M. Laboulaye writes in it) for a deferential consideration of American affairs. They are, in the gross, very much the reflections with which sensible Americans themselves point the moral of their contemporary history. M. de Molinari's weak point appears to have been that he had not time or inclination to look beneath the external surface of American manners, and that he was but scantily acquainted with the language of the people whom he had undertaken to examine. He usually writes his English words faultily—it is startling, for instance, to see a gentleman who has passed three months in America talking of "pilgrims fathers"—and he confesses himself unqualified for conversation. He reproaches us with our ignorance of foreign tongues ; but we doubt whether even the American sentiment of the facility of things is likely to produce a volume upon French institutions by a Transatlantic traveller unfamiliar with the language which M. de Molinari writes so well. We hasten to add, however, that the author has made a great many happy guesses, and has been guilty of fewer serious errors than might have been expected. He says somewhere that every people has certainly its quantum of national vanity, but that that of the Americans towers far above all others. Granting the truth of this assertion, we must yet say that we have in this country this symptom of modesty, that we are always rather surprised when an entertaining book is written about us. Addicted as we are to lamenting the absence of "local color" within our borders, we are astonished to see a foreigner find so many salient points and so much characteristic detail.

M. de Molinari was present at the opening ceremonies of the Centennial Exhibition, to which he devotes a letter ; and he devotes a letter also to the Exhibition itself, by which he seems to have been duly impressed. But we are at a loss to imagine to what class of the population he alludes when he affirms, after observing the multitude at Philadelphia, that the taste for button-hole decorations "is perhaps still more pronounced" among us than in Europe. The only orders we can think of are those of the rosebud and the pink. M. de Molinari has some observations of New York at midsummer, and, considering the circumstances, speaks of this city with extreme kindness. He goes to Coney Island, witnesses the phenomenon of "flirtation" between young persons of opposite sexes, and comments upon it with less imaginative wealth than his countrymen, having a chance at the subject, have sometimes shown. In the train on the way to Baltimore he makes these extremely just reflections :

"One is struck, moreover, with the real politeness of American manners, in spite of the want of ceremony in habits and behavior. All the indications that I am obliged to ask—in what an English, ah heaven !—are given me with perfect courtesy. One perceives immediately that there exists in this country, as a rule, neither an aristocracy nor a populace ; one is afflicted nowhere with the exhibition of grossness or bad morals, . . . but the absence of refinement and elegance in the manners is not less striking. The contact of the superior class has raised the level of the masses ; but perhaps the contact of the masses has, on the other hand, lowered the level of the superior class. Manners form thus a sort of something middling, equally distant from extreme coarseness and extreme refinement."

At Washington, having occasion to apply at the Capitol for two or three Congressional Reports, M. de Molinari is overcome by the matter-of-course way in which the employee presents them to him out of hand, and, without even asking his name, offers to have them made into a parcel free of expense :

"It was impossible to believe ! . . . We leave at last this hospitable Capitol, in which the arrangements for parliamentary comfort are only surpassed by the politeness of the employees of every order, and the sin-

* 'Lettres sur les Etats-Unis et le Canada.' Par M. G. de Molinari. Paris : Hachette ; New York : F. W. Christern. 1876.

gular desire to be agreeable to the public which they manifest upon every occasion. The world turned upside down !”

The author looks into Canada, where he is agreeably impressed with the respectable, if not the particularly brilliant, character of the French population, on whose behalf he makes an appeal to the sympathies of the mother-country—an appeal which, we are afraid, will fall upon perfectly deaf ears. He laments the uninstructed and extremely provincial state of culture of the French Canadians, as compared with their English fellow-citizens, and asks why France should not resume—of course without any political afterthought—a “tutelary part” corresponding, among the French population, to that of England. Why should not the French banks have branches at Quebec, as the English banks have them at Montreal? M. de Molinari repeats these interrogatories when he becomes acquainted with the solid remnant of the French establishment in Louisiana. But we are afraid that he himself gives the answer. “It is certain that we do not suspect the existence of this living branch of the old French root.” The French do not suspect the existence of it, and do not care to do so. We doubt that it is within the power of human ingenuity to quicken their consciousness on this point.

M. de Molinari visits Lake George and the “ravishing Hotel Fort William Henry,” and spends a day at Saratoga, where, though at midnight his bed was not made up, nor his boots blacked, he generously pronounces the Grand Union Hotel “a colossal manufactory of comfort, and one of the most characteristic creations of American genius.” He makes a rapid visit to the South, and is greatly struck with the desolate appearance of many localities; but he finds the Southern whites very “braves gens,” and lends a favoring—perhaps a too favoring—ear to their version of their sufferings. He reproduces the Southern account of the situation in a long speech, in which slavery is painted in rose-color and the North is very roughly handled; but he adds that he does not find these arguments wholly satisfactory, inasmuch as before the war it used to be unlawful to teach blacks to read and as Northerners were apt to be tarred and feathered. He despairs of the negroes, thinks apparently that there may have been a good deal in slavery after all, and tells a singular tale of Sherman’s army (“which renewed the exploits of the landsknechts and black bands of the Middle Ages”) having “violated the tombs in the cemeteries to rob the dead of the jewels with which it is the pious but imprudent custom to bury them.” With all respect to the propriety of the author’s sympathy for the hard fate of the Southern States, we suspect that the inhabitants in this part of the country “got round” him more successfully than they did elsewhere. We hear of a “delicious miss” at Savannah, who has “eyes as blue as corn-flowers, fine and delicate features, a complexion of dead whiteness, an opulent golden mane, and that indefinable something feminine which is lacking to her Northern sisters, brought up with boys.”

Finding the country in the midst of its Presidential campaign, the author of course made many reflections upon American politics. He gives a sufficiently correct account of each of the platforms, but declares that he has no faith in good results coming from either of them:

“I greatly fear that neither Tilden nor Hayes is capable of reforming a state of things which arises from the vicious attitude (*l’assiette vicieuse*) and the flagrant defects of American institutions. And as neither the politicians nor the passive multitude of the citizens appear to me disposed to seek and recognize the true sources of the evil, the natural course of things can only aggravate this critical situation. Must I say all? I cannot resist the fear that, in the course of a few years, the crisis will terminate, European fashion, in the dictatorship of a ‘General’ who will undertake, with the support of the Republican party, to bring back a certain order into this disorganized democracy.”

M. de Molinari repairs to Cambridge in search of a university “libre et libérale,” and finds this ideal realized in Harvard College. He gives of this institution a flattering—we will not say a flattered—portrait. He visits, of course, the Library, “of which the *personnel* is composed in great part of young misses. Observe that this library is almost for the exclusive use of the students of the University. But the young misses of Cambridge *sont des personnes savantes et sages*; they have studied Latin, ay, and Greek too, and I am assured that they have no passion for anything but the Catalogue. It is true that this catalogue is a marvel of method and clearness.” And then the author describes the little drawers of the Harvard Library, which, deservedly, are becoming famous the world over. The last pages of M. de Molinari’s volume are devoted to various public institutions in New York and to a summing-up of his impressions. He draws a liberal picture of the great things that have been achieved in America—of the energy and audacity which have built up the material prosperity of the country. As we look at this picture “we are penetrated with admiration; for never has so colossal an effort been accomplished, and never have results so prodigious been obtained by human industry. The levees of the Missis-

sippi alone have exacted more work than the dykes of Holland [we may perhaps question the exactitude of this statement], and the network of railways in the United States is almost as extensive as that of Europe.” But M. de Molinari observes that social and intellectual culture has remained much behind—we make excellent pianos but no musicians—and that political morality is further behind still. Upon our political abuses, upon the unworthy character of our professional politicians, and the scandalous nature of much of our political machinery, he makes all those reflections of which even extreme familiarity has not diminished the pertinence. But in speaking of our political machinery he becomes somewhat fantastical. The fallibility of the spectator who must run as he reads is here amusingly evident. Flag-raising and torch-light processions have gone to M. de Molinari’s head and disordered his judgment. He regards these frolicsome phenomena as the prime agency in the electoral process, and the chief instrument by which the wicked politicians beguile the easily-bamboozled people into working their will. The gravity with which he unfolds this charge, which forms the last and apparently the principal clause in his indictment of American politics, is really startling:

“The orators at the meetings talk in the midst of garlands of Chinese lanterns, their faces illumined by projections of electric light; the booming of the big drum and the clash of copper, at a rate to rouse the dead, mark time to their speeches. Besides, these orators are well-dressed and polished gentlemen. . . . And this is how the American elections have finished by resembling the practical jokes of a carnival or the parade of a company of mountebanks. This is how, to my ineffable stupefaction, I saw the election of the future chief of one of the most powerful and civilized nations of the earth prepared with the same apparatus which serves at fairs to attract the crowd to the Siren of the Tropics or the Albinos of Madagascar.”

And he considers that the first lesson to be drawn from “the reverse of the medal of the great republic” is that “it is not sufficient to go to our electoral reunions costumed as Troubadours and Turks to ameliorate seriously the composition of our political class.” Let those whom the shoe pinches take notice, and let the American elector in general take care how he suffers the Troubadours and Turks to twist him around their fingers.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.*

LAUD was throughout his career the university don in power. In his virtues and in his faults observers acquainted with modern Oxford or Cambridge can trace with ease the familiar merits and vices of a clerical head of a college. Laud still argues in the university pulpit, still admonishes undergraduates at “collections,” still manages the business of the bursary, still bullies, snubs, and overbears the half-admiring Fellows of many a common room. The true interest of Laud lies not in his acts as a minister, for his statesmanship was, as even Dean Hook admits, contemptible; nor in any originality of mind, for his character was essentially poor and commonplace; but in the fact that in him a critic finds a familiar acquaintance, and cannot but feel some pleasure in observing the result of the experiment tried but once in English history of giving the guidance of the country into the hands of a man fitted by nature, training, and circumstances to rule a college. It must be at once admitted that Laud had the merits of a clerical don. He was not the “ridiculous old bigot” of Macaulay’s essay. In many respects he was free from the bigotry of his time. For the prejudices of vulgar ignorance or popular enthusiasm Laud cherished what may be described as professional contempt. When he commenced his course at Oxford, Calvinism was the prevailing creed, and when Laud entered the arena as an anti-Calvinistic controversialist, he displayed at any rate independence of judgment, and, tried by modern standards, would be considered less bigoted than his opponents. He seems to have possessed, indeed, precisely that kind of controversial ability which is fostered by collegiate training. There are always to be found at the universities men who, though only occasionally (as in the case of Archbishop Whately) known to the outer world, are famed within the circle of their acquaintance for their astonishing quickness in perceiving, and dexterity in exposing, errors and prejudices from which they happen themselves to be free. Such a man was Laud. The Calvinists, whom he first assailed, found him no doubt a formidable foe, for he was exactly the person to strike hard at the weak points of a creed the strength of which he never understood or tried to understand. The Jesuit, with whom he joined battle in later life, no doubt also found that he had to deal with an adversary skilful in the thrusts and parries of theological polemics. Of Laud’s refutation of Fisher we know nothing more than is told us by Dean Hook, but we are

* *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. Vol. VI. New Series. London: Bentley & Son.

quite prepared to believe that it is an able defence of Anglicanism, in so far as the weak points of one form of belief can be defended by pointing out the still greater weakness of another. That kind of faith which is the result not of well-grounded conviction in the truth of one's own dogmatic position, but rather of keen insight into the weak points of competing creeds, is often enough found to flourish in English university common-rooms.

It is not a very attractive or inspiring form of faith, but it is in its way sincere, and there seems no reason to doubt that Laud sincerely condemned the popular fallacies of Calvinism and the historical errors of Romanism. For he possessed, and in this, too, he was true to the best quality of a don's character, if not learning yet a genuine care for learning and an esteem for learned men. When to this is added Laud's affection for his college, we have a pretty fair account of his virtues. A sharp controversialist, an admirer of learning, a man zealous for the prosperity of his college, and a Fellow imbued with that love of order and propriety which, if not attractive, is not unbecoming in a schoolmaster or a tutor, he was exactly fitted to be president of St. John's. The misfortune for himself and for his country was that his own faults and favoring circumstances raised him to a higher and far less suitable position. For Dean Hook, though wishing to put the best construction he can on the career of a man whom Anglicans must perforce make into a "martyr," wants the skill and is absolutely incapable of the dishonesty needed to conceal the fact that Laud had all the faults of a very commonplace head of a college. Of sympathy or charity for others he seems to have been absolutely incapable. A certain narrowness of mind combined with meanness of character may occasionally be found in the clerical dignitaries who hold sway at the universities, and these qualities were certainly not wanting in Laud. He has been termed a "busy, bustling divine," and the description well hits off one aspect of his life. He was always on the lookout for advancement; and in an age when advancement depended upon patronage, to look out for advancement meant to look out for a patron. Laud, like many busy, bustling divines before and after his time, does not appear to have been scrupulous as to the kind of patron he chose. One transaction betrays the whole of the man's character. He married Lady Penelope Devereux, the divorced wife of Lord Rich, to the Earl of Devonshire. "Laud," writes his biographer with most creditable candor, "must have been aware that when he performed the marriage ceremony he was guilty of an illegal act. Nothing can justify conduct which betrayed weakness in a character of which weakness was not the predominant fault, but in which there was ever a strict adherence to law and principle." Whether the term "illegal" be strictly accurate or not we cannot assert. What is certain is, that Laud, at the wish of a patron, violated all his own principles. He wrote, it is urged in defence, a fine penitential prayer, and made the anniversary of his fault a day of recurring penance.

This transaction, however, cannot be taken alone. It throws an unpleasant light on Laud's intimate connection with Buckingham. The duke was as worthless a minister as any one who has ever held power in England. The favorite of James and of Charles was certainly not the man whom a divine and a bishop would naturally choose for an associate. Yet to Buckingham Laud attached himself firmly, and gained thereby the advantages which result from powerful patronage. We do not doubt that Laud really became attached to the duke, nor do we suppose that Laud's desire for worldly success implied religious hypocrisy. What may with truth be said is that throughout his life the archbishop displayed a tough coarseness of moral fibre which, though not inconsistent with freedom from hypocrisy, is certainly more fitted to promote success in this world than to be the basis of a saintly or religious character. The associate of Buckingham and Strafford was hardly in a position to conciliate by the weight of his character opponents repelled by his doctrines and disgusted by the harshness of his manner, the coldness of his heart, and the pettiness of his intellect. The picture of the archbishop drawn by May is, as pointed out by Hallam, perhaps the fairest summary of his character:

"The archbishop . . . was a man vigilant enough, of an active, or rather a restless, mind, more ambitious to undertake than politic to carry on, of a disposition too fierce and cruel for his coat, which, notwithstanding, he was so far from concealing in a subtle way that he increased the envy of it by insolence. He had few private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousness, intemperance, nor incontinence, and, in a word, a man not altogether so bad in his personal character as unfit for the state of England."

It is this essential "unfitness" for the government of England on the part not only of Laud, but of the class of men of whom Laud is the type, which merits peculiar attention. A man who plays a prominent part in the life of an English university is always a man of some force of charac-

ter. He is often a person of considerable intellectual acuteness, and his training qualifies him to deal with persons who look up to him as a teacher, but need not be treated as equals. It is, it may be suspected, the necessity of constantly assuming the attitude of a teacher which more than any other circumstance disqualifies a leader of men at the university to become a leader in public life. Every step of Laud's career, at any rate, betrays the peculiar weaknesses of a clergyman and a don. He attempted, for instance, to exclude from promotion all Puritan divines. Now, to realize what this attempt meant, we must suppose a modern archbishop to recommend that no clergyman should, if possible, be promoted who did not belong, say, to the class of extreme ritualists. The effect of such a policy, if carried out, would, even in the XIXth century, probably be to shake the Church of England to its foundations. But the same policy in the time of Charles the First meant something much more serious than we can easily realize by any comparison drawn from modern times. The church and the clergy played a far greater part in the England of the XVIIth century than they play in any modern state. Politics and theology were, moreover, hopelessly blended together. Laud's simple scheme for promoting those whom he considered sound divines was nothing less than an attempt to exclude from promotion every clergyman whom the people of England respected or trusted, whilst promoting the men whom the people regarded with the profoundest suspicion; an attempt combined with the endeavor to exclude from influence in the church the most powerful political party in the nation. Laud's changes in ritual are open to the same observations. Grant, for the sake of argument, that they might all be legally justified, still the fact remains that the archbishop was in effect an innovator. Among a people enthusiastic for Protestantism he introduced changes which either meant nothing, or really meant a movement if not necessarily towards Rome, certainly against Protestantism.

The crucial instance by which Laud's policy may be tested is, after all, the policy pursued by Charles towards Scotland. The exact degree of Laud's personal responsibility for the form of worship drawn up is really irrelevant. He certainly agreed in and counselled what was really nothing less than a direct attack on Scotch Presbyterianism. Dean Hook fails to realize what to most of his readers must seem the true character of Laud's Scotch policy. The dean, in the first place, never appreciates the fact that Scotland was an independent kingdom, and that Laud in his dealings with Scotland outraged every feeling of national independence. But the dean further is, from his own ecclesiastical views, absolutely incapacitated from viewing Laud's conduct in the light in which it must inevitably be viewed by the mass of English Protestants. "He is accused," writes the dean, "of unchurching the seats of human foundation—Calvinism, Presbyterianism, and others. But it is a fact, whether he asserted it or denied it, that they were unchurching." From the dean's point of view this, no doubt, is a perfect defence of Laud. To persons not Anglicans it seems not so much an apology as a statement of the precise point at issue between Laud and the English nation. The archbishop was not consciously tending towards Rome, though the Pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat, and the Puritans who believed him to be in heart a Catholic, judged the tendency of his course more truly than he himself. But he was determined to have no alliance with Protestantism, whilst the fixed determination of the English people was to ally themselves heart and soul with their fellow-Protestants. The eulogists of Laud would certainly make a better case if they dropped special pleas as to the legality of his particular steps, and admit his opposition to the religious convictions of the English nation. He might then stand forward as the hero and victim of an attempted ecclesiastical reaction, and reach intellectually the level of Strafford.

But we doubt whether such an admission would not do at once less and more than justice to Laud. It would be quite in keeping with his character for him to have reduced great questions, even in his own mind, to matters of mere ecclesiastical order and discipline. He had, it may be granted, a real respect for the law when it enabled him to crop the ears of Puritans, and could not realize that acts might be illegal which favored the power of the crown and the church. If he was not a bigot, he certainly was not the "saint or patriot" of Wordsworth's poem. When Protestantism and Catholicism were engaged in the life-and-death struggle of the Thirty Years' War, he probably believed that England could be kept to the *via media* admired by Anglicanism by means of the same sort of discipline (rather more severely administered) by which a college is kept in order. One knows not whether to admire or smile at the care for propriety which made him anxious, even when approaching his end, that an archbishop should at least die by the axe, and not by the halter. The trait, at any rate, exhibits to perfection that stern desire for the preservation of proprieties always to be found deep seated in the souls of clericals and dons.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1877.

The Week.

THE objections made last week by Mr. Springer to the vote of one of the Nevada electors broke down, as a mistake had been made as to the nature of the disqualifying office held by him, and no further hindrance to the count occurred till Oregon was reached, when, there being two sets of returns, the case went to the Commission, and was argued for the Democrats chiefly by Judge Hoadly, who had furnished the original opinion on which Governor Grover acted. On Friday, Mr. Thurman being ill and confined to his house, the Commission proceeded to his bedside, and decided the matter there. Propositions to the effect that Watts was ineligible, and therefore only two electors were appointed, were voted down by eight to seven, while one declaring that the Cronin certificate did not contain or certify the constitutional vote of the State was unanimously adopted. The Republican certificate was adopted by the usual vote of eight to seven. The "brief ground" of the decision is that under the laws of Oregon the Secretary of State alone had authority to canvass the vote, and that the Governor's certificate was of no consequence; that the fact that Watts was a postmaster at the time of his election "is rendered immaterial by his resignation both as postmaster and elector, and his subsequent appointment to fill the vacancy so made by the Electoral College." The decision in the Oregon case was the signal for a new Democratic caucus, a rally on the part of the filibusters, the appearance on the scene of two bills of Mr. D. D. Field to provide for a new election and for a contest in the courts, and threats by the Republicans that if the count was not allowed to proceed it should be finished by the Senate and by Mr. Ferry. But the debate on the Oregon decision took place on Saturday, and though a recess till Monday was carried after an objection to one of the Pennsylvania votes, the proceedings, when the two Houses came together again on that day, were more rapid, and the South Carolina case was soon reached. Owing to the illness of Mr. Thurman, Mr. Kernan had been meantime appointed in his place on the Commission. The Commission devoted Tuesday to South Carolina, meeting probably for the last time and to decide what was really a factitious dispute, as even the Democrats could not deny that the State vote had been given to Hayes. The Tilden returns were in fact rejected unanimously.

Next week the present Congress will have ceased to exist. Whatever character it has had has been given it by the House, and looking back at what the House has done, it must be said that it compares favorably with its predecessors. Elected as it was by a sudden and unexpected surge of popular hostility to the Administration, by a party which had expected its candidates to be defeated, it was hardly likely to contain a large body of distinguished representatives, and, in fact, being made up to a great extent of raw and unknown men, was exactly the sort of House of which it would have been fair to expect ignorant legislation and extreme venality. Containing, too, an enormous body of "ex-rebels," men only lately disfranchised for having taken part in war against the Government, it might have been expected to show a great deal of blind partisanship. Yet it has passed fewer jobs than any Congress since the war, and has made the first attempt since that period to curtail the acknowledged extravagance of the Government, while the Southern wing of the House has displayed more moderation and calmness than any other part of it. It has brought forward two Speakers, the first of whom was chiefly remarkable for the purity of his cha-

acter and his fairness; and the second of whom, having before his selection a doubtful reputation as a politician, has manifested thus far an impartiality which has at least placed him above the suspicion of offering his rulings for sale. Much fault has been found with the investigations instituted by the House, but they have certainly differed from most enquiries which preceded them in resulting in a few of the most important cases in unanimous non-partisan reports, and if they have revealed a shocking amount of jobbery, they have also given the reformers of the future hitherto unattainable information as to the nature and extent of the disease they are called upon to cure. Finally, the present House has produced a considerable number of able men, whose moderation and love of justice as displayed in their preparation of the Electoral Bill, and whose good faith, not only in submitting themselves, but in forcing their followers to submit, to the decisions of the Tribunal, after a contest which all of their own party and a large part of the other believed to have been decided by fraud, will entitle them to the gratitude of the country as long as it lasts.

On the other side of the picture, the House has exhibited a masterly ignorance on all subjects connected with finance, and that petty spirit of unenlightened economy which generally leads to more waste than it prevents. The objection to the Holmans of our political system is not that they strike at lavish expenditure, but that they do not know enough to distinguish between what expenditure is wasteful and what is not. They generally attack official salaries and appropriations for scientific purposes. In the present case, we believe, they have gone even further, and, in order to make things have an economical look, have refused, in at least one very important instance, to appropriate money to pay the judgments of courts legally rendered. This is all wrong; but if the candid historian is asked to exhibit Republican horror over it, he will probably decline, on the ground that in that case he would also have to give a Democratic groan over the correlative Republican practice of appropriating money to pay claims which, had they ever been brought into court at all, would have been turned out as fraudulent jobs.

We believe that neither party in Congress is particularly desirous to have an extra session, but at this writing the state of the appropriation bills is such that an extra session seems almost necessary. The Forty-fifth Congress will show a marked contrast to the present body, and the Senate particularly, which has suffered so much deterioration by the accession of Southern Republicans, will experience a change for the better. Of the new Senators, Hill of Georgia, Beck of Kentucky, Lamar of Mississippi, Blaine and Hoar are promoted from the House, and bring with them reputations already formed and a more than average share of legislative ability. Harris of Tennessee was a member of the House before secession, and Kirkwood of Iowa was Senator ten years ago. Judge Davis has yet to make a name in his new field, but perhaps is entitled to rank first in importance among the new-comers. The Southern element is not wanting in "brigadiers" or in ex-Confederate Congressmen. Mr. Bailey, Mr. Harris's colleague, is not cast in the same fire-eating mould, and will be useful in the automatic reconstruction of the South which will go on during the next decade. Until the Louisiana and South Carolina vacancies are definitively filled, it is uncertain what the Republican preponderance will be. It cannot exceed ten, and it is likely to fall short of that. Judge Davis will, we apprehend, be oftener found voting with the Republicans than against them; but generally we shall be disappointed if party lines hold fast against the policy which Mr. Hayes will manifest, if we are not mistaken, first by the selection of his Cabinet, and afterwards by his attitude towards the South and the civil service.

Of course when the appropriation bills suffer for want of attention all minor measures must bide their time. Among those which the Forty-fourth Congress will not have the credit of passing, it now seems evident that the brief bill introduced on January 31 by Mr. Garfield, "to provide for the more thorough investigation of accidents upon railroads," will be one. This bill was without objection read a first and second time, and referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals, with authority to report at any time. It has been printed in the *Record*, together with a letter from Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., who drafted it. It directs the President to appoint a board of three commissioners, army engineers, "to enquire into the number, causes, and means of prevention of accidents on railroads in the United States, the number of persons killed or injured thereby, and the most approved means of preventing the occurrence of the same." They are to make a general report annually to the Secretary of the Treasury, and such special reports from time to time as the investigation of unusual accidents may seem to call for. Mr. Adams explains that this board is modelled after the Inspectors of the British Board of Trade, but he doubts the expediency or legality of investing it with authority to exact reports of accidents or returns from railroad corporations, in spite of the urgent need of complete and trustworthy statistics of the safety of railroad travel in this country. The power may be conceded in time, he thinks, but the main thing is to turn the business of enquiry over to experts, to take it out of the hands of coroners' juries or of the interested corporations, and to ensure a public exposure of the causes of accidents and a public fixing of the blame where it belongs. He cites the experience of himself and colleagues, the Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts. They have no executive powers whatever, but they indirectly exert great influence upon the companies by their recommendations, or by open censure where it is necessary, and they easily procure legislation to back up their views. No doubt State if not national legislation would likewise be affected whenever the proposed board should have occasion to suggest remedies in apportioning blame. When the bill reappears in the Forty-fifth Congress its success can hardly be questionable. It creates no new office, does not interfere with State rights, and answers an obvious need.

Another useful and important measure whose chances are ruined for this session is the bill to provide for the further distribution of the money received under the Geneva award. The amount of this money is, in round numbers, nine and a half millions, and the object of the bill was to send the whole matter to the courts for final settlement. To further it an examination has been made to see what has been the practice of the Government in former cases in dealing with money received under awards from foreign governments. It turns out that the practice has always been to commit the whole subject to some legally constituted body, leaving to them the entire decision of the law and the facts. Under the Convention of November 13, 1826, \$1,200,000 was paid to the United States by England, which was handed over to Commissioners to distribute "among the claimants according to their respective rights." In 1830 Denmark paid \$650,000, and by a number of successive conventions the United States received sums of money at various dates, from France (1831), from the two Sicilies (1832), from Spain (1834), from Peru (1841), from Brazil (1849), from China (1855), and in every one of these cases it appears, 1st, that the United States had the right to distribute the money as it pleased, this right generally being given in express terms; 2d, that the Government exercised this right invariably by distributing the money "according to the provisions of the conventions, and the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations"; 3d, that the conventions contained no provisions for their distribution, so that this phrase only meant a distribution among those whose claims were extinguished by the conventions, guided by the ordinary rules of law. It appears that in the *Alabama* case—a much stronger case than any of the above, because in it

the claims have been accurately defined by a previously appointed commission—this well-settled practice has been departed from, to substitute for it the novel and extraordinary machinery which has resulted finally in a refusal to pay claimants whose demands have been decided to be legally valid, and a proposition to hand the money over to those who have no claim whatever.

The evidence taken before the House Sub-Committee as to the despatch of "troops" to Petersburg, Va., before the election gives a fair idea of the careless, not to say reckless, way in which the army was used during the canvass. It appears that a major and twenty-six men were sent to the place at the instance of the United States Marshal, Randall, who, however, was also—and here was the great mischief and scandal of the affair—the Chairman of the Republican Executive Committee. In other words, the working Republican politicians, from "Zach" down, had the use of the army and navy either for physical interference or moral influence on their side of the struggle. Of the five persons whose names are given by the President in his message to Congress as the makers of the affidavits on which his course in despatching the troops was based, only one was a resident of Petersburg, and he now swears that he never swore that there was any sign of lawlessness in the city. The last breach of the peace in it of any note was an ordinary drunken row in May, before the canvass began, in which only one person was injured. The election was perfectly peaceful, and nobody seems to know now why the troops were sent. Let us hope we have seen the last of this vicious and reckless use of the public force.

In the midst of his packing up, President Grant has submitted to an interview with the agent of the Associated Press, and has reiterated more explicitly than heretofore that he does not mean to recognize either of the rival governors in Louisiana or South Carolina. The only recognition that would be of any service to Packard or Chamberlain would be to place the Federal troops at their disposal, and the President thinks "the entire people are tired of the military being employed to sustain a State Government. If a Republican State Government cannot sustain itself, then it will have to give way. If a remedy is required, let Congress, and not the President, provide it." Our retiring chief magistrate, however, would hardly be in character if he were to leave so sound a political testament without a flaw in it. When the agent went on to ask him what his reasons were for prohibiting the South Carolina militia from celebrating Washington's birthday, he said that "the men who were going to parade were nothing except armed political bands," the very rifle-clubs, in short, whom he had ordered to disband in the fall, and who had only made a pretence of disbanding. His proclamation was still in force, and he might as well use it to prevent a riot as to prevent violence at the polls or in the counting of votes. He did not allege that any State or Federal officer in South Carolina had requested this action, or had expressed any apprehensions of a riot, or had furnished any proof that the celebration would differ in any respect from those which have taken place annually in the State; in fact, all concern about his constitutional powers in the premises seems to have vanished after he once "got in" with his troops under cover of Chamberlain's call for Federal support. So thoroughly has he been imbued with a sense of his function as "Protector," that only once, we believe, has he ever been surprised into admitting that he went too far; and that was when he allowed De Trobriand to turn out members of the Louisiana Legislature. The South Carolinians, it remains to be said, were greatly excited by the prohibition, but submitted in view of the nearness of the 4th of March. Hampton counselled them to do so in terms which emphasized the contrast between the "Old Man" and Washington as constitutional rulers.

The last scandal in Reform politics is the nomination of Mr. Lewis Payne as United States Marshal for this district, to succeed Mr. Oliver Fiske. Mr. Fiske's commission does not expire till March 18, but it is understood to be desirable for the friends of Mr.

Conkling to have possession of the office before that, and so the President has been persuaded to appoint a successor just as he is going out of office. Mr. Payne appears to be selected as having been an active Cornell man during the State campaign of last year, while Mr. Fiske is supported by such Republicans as Messrs. Choate, Scudder, and Carter, representing the anti-Conkling wing of the party. It will be recollected that Conkling was totally defeated at Cincinnati, and Cornell at Saratoga, last year, and yet they go on making slates and fixing appointments just as if nothing had happened, while the Reform wing subsides into an attitude of dignified protest. Marshal Fiske's case will perhaps be one of the first in which Mr. Hayes will be called on to show what he means by Civil-Service Reform.

The agreement of both parties not to compel the production of Mr. Tilden's bank account, nor the accounts of the Republican campaign committee, has been repudiated by Mr. Tilden in a letter to Senator Kernan, in which he indignantly denies that his bank account contains anything that needs concealment. He declares that there is no item in it relating to Oregon; that he never authorized any expenditure in relation to the election in that State "or the resulting controversies," nor any "promise or obligation or negotiation" on the subject. He says that he is perfectly willing to testify, but that "as to this arrangement now reported" he has only to say that he "can accept decorum and decency," but "not a fictitious equivalent for a mantle of secrecy to anybody else." Probably the country also "can accept decorum and decency," and will care less than the parties immediately concerned whether it is a "fictitious equivalent" or what it is, provided these wretched scandals can only be brought to an end.

The force and the evils of partisanship have just been manifested in Philadelphia on occasion of the municipal election. Our readers will remember how few Republicans last November were willing to scratch the ticket or vote with the Democrats for the sake of defeating a notorious corruptionist who had made himself the regular candidate for sheriff. In the contest for mayor which ended last week the Democrats did not formally appear on the scene, inasmuch as they made no nomination, but supported Mr. Joseph L. Caven, a reform Republican of standing and ability. He had behind him the comparatively small body of Republicans who have been resisting for many years the extravagance and frauds of the city government, and to whom the city will be indebted for its relief from rings as vile as ever plundered New York should success ultimately crown their efforts. The vote was lighter than last fall, and apparently the Democrats did not muster their full strength, or if they did, then Mayor Stokley's re-election was chiefly endangered by the absentees of his own party. He won by less than three thousand majority, but he won, and in the canvass of 1880 it will be in order for the reformers to show by how many millions more the city debt has been increased. Already under this official in four years the floating debt has grown from nearly two to more than eleven millions. One of the most amusing as well as bewildering features of this contest was the endorsement of Mayor Stokley by some of the most eminent citizens, whose names were appended by the columnful to a certificate of his character, composed with a sub-tropical warmth of feeling and of diction, and enumerating among the candidate's many virtues the low death-rate of the city during the Centennial season. Eminent Republicans were not wanting on the other side, but they did not advertise themselves so imposingly, and we have no means of knowing exactly who among the Philadelphians were able to steel themselves at once against the appeal to Centennial sentiment and to party fealty.

The week in Wall Street was again notable for the decline in the prices of stocks and bonds other than those of the United States, and for a general demoralization in regard to railroad securities, which at times verged closely on panic. Before last week the sales were almost entirely for the account of speculators, but within the past six days a great deal of stock has been

sold by investors who at last have taken fright. It is perhaps not strange that they have done so. The heaviest decline of the week was in Delaware and Hudson Canal Co. and the Vanderbilt stocks, to wit, New York Central, Lake Shore, and Western Union Telegraph. The Delaware and Hudson lost nearly all the advance of the preceding week, and proceedings were again begun in the courts to compel the company to show cause why a receiver should not be appointed. There is no warrant for believing that this movement is anything but a stock-jobbing trick, or that the company is unsound. The Vanderbilt stocks were singled out for attack, and the greatest success was made in selling down New York Central, on the pretext that the company has not earned dividends paid in the last year, that the annual dividends are to be reduced from 8 per cent. to 6 per cent. per annum, and that there is to be such contention over the will of the late "Commodore" as will take the property, temporarily at least, out of the control of William H. Vanderbilt. The first charge was explicitly denied; the second has not been noticed; and the third is rendered comparatively harmless by the fact that the Commodore long before his death transferred to his son William H. the larger part of the securities designed for him, so that even if the will is fought over, these cannot be the subject of contest. The Vanderbilt management, whatever may be the value of the property of the various companies—whether greater or less than represented—justly suffers from the policy of concealing all important information concerning the companies from the shareholders. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar ranged during the week between \$0.9489 and \$0.9546. Silver fell to 56d. in London, and the gold value of a 412½-grain dollar would have been at the close of the week \$0.9358.

The general results of the French census, taken at the close of the last year, have not yet been published, and are looked for with great interest. The future of the country, not only as regards Germany but as a European power, has an immediate dependence on what is called the movement of its population as shown by its vital statistics. Thus, France began the year 1870 with a surplus of 84,206 births over all deaths, but, owing to the war with Prussia and the Commune, the next two years were charged with an excess of deaths amounting to 548,283, and at the end of 1874 there was still a balance of 17,422 to be overcome. In 1875, of course, this was completely wiped out, but the disturbance of the census caused by the frightful destruction of males has not yet ceased. Their number is reckoned at 500,000, and it has still to be made up. In 1869, and again in 1873, from 105 to 106 males died to every 100 females; in the three years, 1870-72, the proportion was 112, 120, and 107 to 100. Nor is nature seen to be making an effort to supply the deficit, for still in France as in most civilized countries 105 boys are born to every 100 girls. The total population of France in 1873 was 36,260,923, against 36,855,178 in 1869, and naturally the births were fewer—946,364 against 948,526; but the percentage had slightly increased—2.61 births to every 100 inhabitants against 2.57—and the gain was chiefly in the country. The births in 1874 were 953,652, being 171,943 in excess of the deaths; the marriages, 303,113, were fewer than in 1873 (321,238) and even in 1869 (303,482). The tendency in 1873 was to an increase of marriages in the rural districts. From 1825 to 1868, inclusive, there were on an average 7.42 illegitimate births to every 100; in 1869 the percentage was 7.48, in 1873 it was 7.46. The Department of the Seine has naturally here a bad pre-eminence, more than a quarter of its births being illegitimate (25.78 in 1869, 25.21 in 1873). The cities outside of this department show 10.89 per cent.; the rural population, 4.27. In all, there were 70,600 of these castaways in 1873, and 43,896, or 62 per cent., fell to public charity in default of any clue to their parentage. Great changes must yet take place in education and the general diffusion of intelligence and sounder morals, and probably also in the division of property by inheritance, before France can exhibit a rapid and wholesome gain in population.

THE PROVISION FOR FUTURE PRESIDENTIAL DISPUTES.

NOW that the Presidential controversy is over, it is none too soon to think of the means to be adopted to prevent any recurrence of the great danger through which we have just passed. The crisis has brought home to us in a most impressive way the fact that the Presidency has become so huge an affair that our own judicial resources will not enable us to dispute over it without great peril. It is, in other words, so great a prize that it would be almost impossible for us, probably before very long would become wholly impossible, to erect judging machinery strong and steadfast enough to try the title to it. That we have no tribunal now in existence adequate to such work has been made abundantly plain by the history of the Electoral Commission. That Commission was, we think, an excellent contrivance for the emergency it was designed to meet, and it has settled the pending controversy as satisfactorily, perhaps, as it was possible to settle it, but it has settled it with so much wear and tear, and with such serious straining of the machinery, as clearly to render it unfit for further use. Every one must see that if a similar crisis were to occur it would be impossible to meet it in the same way. The defeated party would not agree to try the experiment again. Moreover, the settlement has been made with some damage to the Supreme Court—not grave damage, perhaps, but grave enough to make it clear that we could not safely resort to it again in a like case. This is, of course, to be regretted, but it does not furnish a reason for wishing we had not resorted to it on this occasion. There are emergencies in the history of every government when everything must be sacrificed to the preservation of people's faith in their institutions, and when the loss of reverence for or confidence in particular men has to be treated like the loss of life sustained in a just and necessary war—as deplorable but inevitable. If its participation in the late adjudication has diminished the prestige of the Supreme Court, all that can be said is that it was a small price to pay for the adjustment of so great a difficulty. The Supreme Court can recover its prestige much more rapidly than the country could recover from the shock of having a President installed by partisan violence, or the degradation of seeing two *soi-disant* Presidents bidding against each other for the support of the militia and the tax-payers.

We must now in quiet times prepare carefully for the recurrence of Presidential disputes. There are two ways of doing this, to both of which we must have recourse. One is to diminish as far as possible the weight and dimensions of all possible disputes on this subject; and the other is to diminish as much as possible the number of contingencies which can give rise to such disputes. The Presidency is clearly, as it was presented to the two Houses of Congress last November, too big to be, as commercial men say, "handled" by the legislature, or by the lawyers, or by anybody. It is a sort of prize for which the world has until our time always been willing to fight, and has considered cheaply won by almost any amount of bloodshed, and from contention about which the leading nations of the earth have tried to escape by the (from the rationalistic point of view) absurd device of hereditary rule. Nothing earthly has the same effect on the imagination. To secure even the remotest chance of the highest executive office, or even a small share in getting it for some one, and thus establishing even the most trifling claim on his gratitude, the wisest and best of men will forsake every other business or occupation, and put life, fortune, and often reputation in peril. Under a system like ours, which places it in the arena to be striven for every four years by the votes of a nation of 40,000,000, soon to be a nation of 100,000,000, it is absolutely essential to safety that it should be stripped of everything which increases the excitement of this contention, and makes the prize more attractive without increasing the efficiency of the office. Foremost among the things which do this is the arbitrary control of the Civil Service now possessed by the President and Senate. To have sixty thousand office-holders dependent for their bread, or for a portion of their income, or even for such social consideration as the office brings them, on the result of a Presidential election, is, as we

have just seen, to increase greatly the heat and fury of the contest, to enlarge the part of unscrupulousness and recklessness in the conduct of it, to stimulate the disposition to corrupt means of decision, and to destroy the spirit of accommodation and conciliation necessary to the peaceful settlement of any dispute that may arise out of it. In truth, a Presidential election carried on under such conditions becomes something which in case of miscarriage no court or tribunal can manage, and which must necessarily and more and more every year, as the country grows larger and the number of officers multiplies, increase the probability of resort to revolutionary courses to gain or retain power.

As regards the means of keeping down the number of contingencies likely to lead to disputes about the count, it is impossible for those who regard, as we do, the refusal of Congress to go "behind the face of the returns" as the less of two necessary evils, to deny that the recent formal decision to that effect is likely to stimulate greatly the fraudulent activity of dishonest politicians who get hold of the electoral machinery in the various States. Now that they know that if they put the proper "face" on their returns, and prevent enquiry or exposure by the State courts before the meeting of the Electoral College, they have nothing to fear at Washington afterwards, the temptation to doctor the State vote will of course be increased. An act of Congress prescribes, for obvious reasons, the holding of the Presidential election on the same day in all the States. The object of this rule is of course to prevent any one State waiting for the result in other States, and then voting so as to turn the scale in case of a close contest. It is easy to see that to permit any one State to lag behind the others in sending in its vote would prove a prolific source of corruption. But the prohibition is completely evaded by the simple expedient of creating a Returning Board with "judicial functions." With such a body in existence, the Presidential election does not really take place on the day the people vote, but on the day the Board decides what votes are valid; and this latter day, as we have seen in the case of Florida and Louisiana, is pretty sure to be the very day on which the electors meet, so that there shall be neither time nor opportunity to go "behind the returns." The Electoral Commission has decided that after that day neither the State legislature nor the State courts nor Congress can enquire into the regularity of the process by which they were produced, so that whenever the majority in any State wish to make the State vote weigh heavily in a Presidential contest, and give it strong claims on the victorious candidate, they have only, as the law now stands, to arm their canvassers with "judicial functions" and keep them figuring and deliberating for thirty days after the election.

Various modes of meeting the difficulty—that is, of preventing State dishonesty in the election of the President, without saddling Congress with the duty of creating or supervising the State electoral machinery—have been suggested, and the subject is now likely to receive more discussion than ever. The remedy which has, perhaps, met with most favor is the sweeping away of the State machinery altogether, and the election of the President by the direct popular vote of the whole Union. We need hardly point out that this does not get rid of the Returning Board difficulty; on the contrary, it would increase it. As matters stand, the influence which the Wellses and Kenners can exert in the Presidential contest is strictly limited. They can throw a certain proportion of the votes of the entire Electoral College, but no more. Let them cheat much or cheat little, figure up a majority of 100,000 or 1,000, the result is the same. But suppose that the larger they made their State majority the more weight they would have in determining the result, it is easy to see that it would not be long before the minorities of some States would totally disappear, and the whole voting population, and perhaps as many more as might seem necessary, would be thrown in to swell the national majority. Down in the South, where the managers would control a great body of political ignorance and subserviency, we may be sure that they would not confine themselves to "voting" as many negroes as the State contained; they would vote as many as

the canvassers might think desirable, and States like Georgia, instead of producing a majority of 80,000, would produce one of 200,000 if need were, and no power on earth could examine its composition.

These objections, too, furnish the principle on which the remedy must be based—namely, that it must restrict the area in which possible fraud can be carried out, and limit its effect on the general result. The best embodiment of this is undoubtedly to be found in the plan suggested by Mr. R. H. Dana, jr., in the *North American Review*, viz., the election of electors by Congressional districts; or rather—supposing the electors to be abolished—the division of the votes of Congressional districts of each State between the Presidential candidates so that each, instead of receiving the entire vote of the State in which his party had a popular majority, would be credited with one vote of the State for each district he carried. Under this system the electors might very profitably be dispensed with. At present they serve no useful purpose, and they furnish, as we have recently seen, an occasion of much sin and sorrow. They can do no good in the existing or any probable state of public opinion which might not be done by a well-contrived machine, while they exert, and will hereafter exert more than ever, an exciting influence on the guilty and restless spirits of Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot.

GENERAL GRANT'S POLITICAL CAREER.

NO satirist of the Administration now expiring can ever hope to compete with President Grant himself. His loyalty to his "friends" is proverbial, but his treachery to his apologists has, during the past eight years, been simply shocking. A curious perversity has made him disappoint every reasonable expectation which they based upon his promises, and confute every defence of his character for integrity and statesmanship which they laboriously constructed. He took office with a significant declaration that he would have no "policy" distinct from the will of the country, and in less than a year he was lobbying to secure the ratification of the treaty negotiated by Babcock with Bazé without the authority, or even knowledge, of the State Department; and, when defeated, he was so far from promptly dismissing the project of annexing San Domingo that in his latest message he has recurred to it with a kind of mulish fondness. Almost his earliest act was to intercept the pardons which President Johnson had just sent out to convicted whiskey-thieves; and it is now probable that among his very last will be the release, beyond the chance of President Hayes's interference, of the only "guilty man" of the Bristow convictions whose "escape" has not already been provided for. He shortly afterwards invented a new solution of the Indian question by means of missionaries whose calling would be a guaranty of their official purity, and then he displaced a Methodist minister appointed by Secretary Cox on the recommendation of the Missionary Board, in favor of a protégé of "Zach" Chandler's, also a Methodist minister, but who had fallen into disgrace with his own Society and been discharged from its employ and gone into politics. After this, and after he had got rid of Secretary Cox in the interest of McGarrahan's discredited claim, he appointed the Civil Service Commission in the spring of 1871 and adopted its regulations in December, and stood by Casey in the spring of 1872 after his exposure by a Congressional committee, and renewed his appointment in the spring of 1873, and accepted Mr. Curtis's resignation next month, and invited Harrington while under indictment to one of his receptions in 1874, and meantime presented his brother Orvil with the living of four lucrative post-traderships, and ended by making "Zach" Chandler Secretary of the Interior and allowing him to be chairman of the Republican Executive Committee for the Presidential campaign of 1876.

As regards the South, he made a reputation for moderation by the saying "Let us have peace," and in the fall of 1870 began to remove all Missouri officeholders in sympathy with the Schurz movement for the obliteration of war-lines in Missouri. He gave vitality to the Durell-Kellogg usurpation in 1873. In 1875 he lobbied against the

acceptance of a majority report to the House sustaining the then government of Arkansas, and gravely proposed in a message to subvert this government and give it to the *de-jure* executive of his own finding. After all this he has within the past few weeks been satirizing himself by refusing to recognize Packard or Chamberlain, by admitting the possibility of Packard's not having been duly elected, and by some entirely tranquil remarks on the prospect that the revolution which he began to oppose in the case of Missouri, and has ever since been resisting with all his power and patronage, will soon be complete at the South. He is not even indignant that Chamberlain, a straight Returning-Board governor, is but the ghost of authority in South Carolina, and can only enjoy the empty honor till the fourth of March. At least he describes the situation there so dispassionately that his remarks must seem to the unhappy governor whom he is about to leave in the lurch little better than malicious pleasantry. He says:

"In South Carolina the contest has assumed such a phase that the whole army of the United States would be inadequate to enforce the authority of Governor Chamberlain. The people of that State have resolved not to resort to violence, but have adopted a mode of resistance much more formidable and effective than armed demonstration. They have refused to pay their State taxes, and it would be useless to sell out their property, as no one would buy it, and unless Chamberlain can compel the collection of taxes it will be utterly useless for him to expect to maintain his authority for any length of time. This state of affairs must inevitably result in the abandonment of all efforts by Governor Chamberlain to maintain himself in the exercise of the gubernatorial authority of the State of South Carolina."

There is little doubt that these and similar recent utterances concerning the balance of parties at the South have increased Grant's reputation for sagacity among those who have always wanted to believe him an able civilian. They are, of course, only a confession of the utter failure of his Southern policy; and his clear-sightedness now may be considered the result either of a mortifying experience, or of the fact that he is almost out of the game and has the advantage commonly ascribed to the looker-on. Be this as it may, he is evidently impressed with the fact that there is something which the whole army of the United States cannot accomplish. Nothing could, indeed, be more impressive to a mind whose capacity for politics, in the highest sense of that term, has a purely military limitation. When the vulgar police rôle of enforcing the laws and keeping the peace with troops has been exhausted, what resource is there left? How shall we meet the "Mississippi plan" or the tax-payers' plan if there are no breaches of the peace and if the national authority be not disputed? Evidently there is nothing to be done but to let the sham give way to the reality; to let those keep who have the power; to witness with rejoicing, if we must, the retreat of the carpet-baggers *pari passu* with the withdrawal of the Federal forces; and to see without regret, if we can, the blacks deprived of a supremacy as corrupting to themselves as it was dangerous to society at large.

There would be a certain vanity in any printed commentary on General Grant's civil career, if it stood alone and was all the career he had to show. Looked at by itself, it is the effort of a very ignorant, easily-led man, averse to any society in which he would be made to feel his intellectual inferiority, and incapable of the persistent pursuit of any policy, yet too self-willed to take good advice or remain long under its influence. But then, in discussing this civil career, one has somehow to reconcile it with his military career, and to account, if one can, for the fact that so little trace is found in the former of the qualities which made the latter so great a success. The modesty, good sense, good feeling, and self-distrust which are brought out so strongly both in the letters published by Sherman and in the account given by that officer of his relations with the General have been strangely wanting in the President. The keen and able judgment of men, in which all the best officers of the army in the field found such constant support and recognition, was succeeded at the White House by a positive distrust of ability and high character, and curious faith in shiftless toadies and

adventurers. That one who succeeded in war should fail in civil affairs is neither novel nor surprising. It is not difficult, it is true, to convert a great soldier into an able despot, but we believe there is no case on record in which success in the field has fitted a man for the harness of constitutional government. The government for which military training and achievement are a good preparation is one in which the administration is carried on by decrees, such as that which Cæsar and Napoleon set up, in which, as the Roman jurists said, "the pleasure of the chief of the state has the force of law." For the exercise of power within limits and under criticism no great general, we believe, has ever shown himself fitted. The problems of war are, after all, simple, and their solution depends almost as much on a perfect condition of the nerves, and on the possibility of bringing the faculties to bear on each day's duties without over-sensibility either to moral responsibility or physical horrors, as on the strength or range of the faculties themselves. The quickness in feeling the drift of opinion, and the skill in weighing the exact force of moral disapproval and in allowing for it in calculating the result, which go so far to make a statesman, are either useless in a general or would ruin him. In General Grant's case the evil effects of camp-life were aggravated by the gross flattery and subservience of his civilian followers. There was everything in his early life, more than most men have, to make him humble and self-distrustful. His fame as a soldier would probably not have overcome his natural modesty if he had been left to suppose, as he did suppose at the close of the war, that the civil affairs of a great state, no less than strategy, needed experience and natural aptitude for their conduct. Everything was done that could be done by the press and the politicians to rid him of any such idea. He was taught to believe that any man who served in the war knew more about government than any man who stayed at home, and that the soldier who received Lee's sword had nothing to learn in any field of human activity. His very silence, which was probably the result of a small range of social experience and of scantiness of knowledge on all the current topics of the time—of entire ignorance, indeed, of the intellectual and political life of modern society—was set down as one of the signs of a deep-seated and far-reaching sagacity; and the commonplaces, such as "Let us have peace," by which a soldier tired of talk would dispose of a subject he had not thought about and felt little interest in, were quoted like passages from Job or from Burke. It is not wonderful that under these circumstances he passed rapidly from self-depreciation to a self-confidence that was always overweening and sometimes insolent, and that he at last got into the way of thinking that his approval or friendship was sufficient to qualify any obscure adventurer or poor rascal for the highest offices in the state. In other words, the party has been more to blame for his failure than he, and the best atonement the country can now make to him for dragging him into politics is to forget the years in which he figured as the friend of Shepherd and Murtagh, and remember only the glorious days in which, after much tribulation, the North found in him the truest embodiment of the unconquerable will, the courage never to submit or yield, by which, after all, great wars are in the last resort brought to a successful issue, and without which both genius and valor are idle.

A LAST LOOK AT THE COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1877.

THE Louisiana decision, in the opinion of all but fifty or sixty extreme Democrats, principally Northern and Western men, practically brings to an end the Presidential contest. The Oregon case, different as it is in its legal aspect, is politically the same as that in the other two disputed States, and, as the decisions of the Tribunal have thus far been always political, there seems every reason to believe that Oregon will be counted for Hayes. Looking back at the work accomplished in the Supreme Court Chamber, the retrospect must be admitted to be disappointing. It cannot be said that the Commission did what it was not intended to do, but it has certainly done what it was not expected to do, and in a manner not at all intended. When, at the time of the passage of the

Electoral Bill, the extreme Republicans and the extreme Democrats denounced the measure as being certain to result in a decision of all questions submitted to the Commission by a partisan majority of one, the advocates of the bill invariably replied that it was an imputation upon the sincerity of the judges of the Supreme Court to suggest that such a result was possible. That five judges of the highest court of the country could possibly divide in this way on a dozen or fifteen disputed questions of fact and law was out of the question. The general theory prevalent at the time of the passage of the bill was that the judges would give the law to the lay members of the Commission, and that this law would have no more political color than the law laid down in the Ku-klux cases, or any of the other suits involving politics which have arisen since the war. Even those who took the lowest view of the subject, and disclaimed all belief in any one's impartiality, maintained that for purely selfish reasons the judges would use every effort to give unanimous decisions; that their professional reputation was at stake; that it made no difference to them, with their high station and secure tenure, whether Tilden or Hayes was to come in, but an enormous difference whether the judgments of the Supreme Court were again, as in the days of Taney and the Dred Scott decision, to be held up to one-half the country as objects of scorn and ridicule. As it has turned out, however, the extremists were right. The contest has been decided, as they predicted it would be, by a majority vote, and a strict party vote, and, whether rightly or wrongly, the three Republican judges are denounced through half the country as aiders and abettors of a gigantic fraud.

The disappointment which everybody must feel at the manner in which the result has been reached was shared probably to the greatest extent by those who listened to the proceedings in the Supreme Court room, and who knew what took place in the secret sessions of the Tribunal. When the Commissioners retired to consider the Florida case elaborate opinions were either read or delivered from notes by each one of them, which it is much to be hoped will some day be printed, as those of the majority do undoubtedly contain the grounds of the decision, which may be looked for in vain in the Commission's report. In the Louisiana case, however, which was considered by many lawyers to be a much stronger case for the Democrats than the other, there were only half a dozen opinions given, the majority of the judges not committing themselves to any distinct view of the law and the facts. Had the Commission complied with the real meaning of the Electoral Bill and stated the grounds of their decision, a very interesting question might possibly be settled—how Judge Bradley reconciled his decision as to ineligible electors in the Florida case with that in the Louisiana case. In the first he voted, it will be remembered, to admit evidence as to the ineligibility of an elector at the date of his appointment as elector (November 7); thus by implication deciding that if the evidence showed ineligibility at that date the vote could not be counted. In the second, however, in which there was a clear case of ineligibility at the date of appointment, he decided that it made no difference whether an elector was ineligible at the time of his appointment, provided he resigned his disqualifying office before the day on which he cast his vote; that by so resigning he purged himself of his ineligibility, and could then by resigning his office as elector create a vacancy, which might be filled by his own reappointment. This may be sound law, and so shrewd a lawyer as Judge Bradley would not be likely to decide it so without grounds, but no grounds being given it looks on the face of the matter as if both decisions could not be right; and as if the second, involving as it does the possible consequence that every single nominee for elector may be a member of Congress, a senator, a postmaster, or a Treasury clerk, was a virtual nullification of the Constitutional prohibition. This decision, unexplained as it is, has given rise to more scoffing and jeering among lawyers than any in the whole case, and was the foundation of the joke current in Washington at the time of the report on the Louisiana case, that Mr. Bayard had moved a resolution in the secret session of the Tribunal that no person "holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector," and that this clause of the Constitution was voted down by eight to seven.

Putting the matter as mildly as possible, the repeated political divisions of the five judges were depressing. During the discussion of the Louisiana case a question arose as to whether two hours or three should be allowed to counsel on each side during a certain part of the argument. There was no principle involved; but it was obvious that the Republican members preferred the shorter time. The counsel engaged took little part in the discussion. When it was brought to a vote the presiding judge announced that the two-hours rule had been adopted; but probably the record of the proceedings does not make any mention of the fact that as the Commissioners,

called upon to vote, answered yea or nay, and it appeared that they were as usual eight to seven, a "movement," which was more like a titter than anything else, ran through the room at the decision of the Court.

There appears to have been a disposition on the part of the majority of the tribunal to adhere throughout to the principle of *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and not only to give as few reasons for what they did as possible, but to prevent any future enquiry into their reasons. It would have been perfectly easy, by the employment of a stenographer, to have had an accurate record of all the deliberations of the Commission, which might hereafter have proved of great value to the students of contested election cases; and though it is not customary for courts to allow anybody to be present at their private consultations, there was reason in this case for a departure from the rule, both in the magnitude of the questions involved and in the importance of the discussions being understood and acquiesced in by the whole country. It is not generally known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the Commission voted down a proposition to employ a stenographer, and though the vote was not eight to seven, it was mainly supported by the Republicans. Again, in the Louisiana case, there was actually no opportunity for its proper consideration, nor sufficient time to examine the authorities cited in counsels' briefs. It would be interesting not only for lawyers, but for the public at large, to know how Judge Miller reconciled his vote as to the legal authority of the Returning Board to act with a decision rendered in the case of *Schenck vs. Peay*, and reported in 1 Woolworth's Circuit Court Reports. In that case he was on the bench, and decided that a board composed of three members, all of whom had been legally appointed but one of whom had not qualified, had no legal existence, and that titles given by it were void. This decision was cited to Judge Miller during one of the private sessions, but he gave no explanation of the grounds on which he reconciled the two; and now, unfortunately, we shall never be able to find out. The case of *Schenck vs. Peay* stands, and the case of the disputed Presidential count stands, but he will be a very clever jurist who shall manage to extract a *ratio decidendi* from them.

If the party divisions of the Tribunal and difficulty of ascertaining what were the grounds of its decisions sapped the case of a great deal of its interest, other causes detracted from the interest of the argument of counsel. Taking all the arguments in the Florida and Louisiana cases together, a stranger who heard them would be apt to form a rather unfavorable impression of the bar of the country. Here were assembled in one courtroom and pitted against each other the best and most noted lawyers in the United States, and yet they made on the whole little more than a respectable appearance. When the Florida argument began it seemed as if this were to be a real *cause célèbre*, but when the Louisiana argument was over, the whole thing seemed like an undigested legal mass, without parties to the action, without an issue, and without any means of distinguishing the law and the facts. No doubt a great deal of this was due to the shortness of the time and to the want of method in the proceedings of the Tribunal. In the Florida case there was no visible distinction made between law and facts at all. Everything was argued together, and at the end it was impossible for counsel to know what sort of proof had been offered by the objectors, what rules of evidence had been adopted, or what evidence had been excluded. The Tribunal permitted a long argument with regard to Louisiana on the admissibility of evidence of fraud; but if the Florida arguments meant anything, they meant that the Democrats intended to show fraud in that State, and this having been decided against them, what was the object of going over the ground again in another State? In most cases a lawyer knows beforehand what precise points he has to meet at any given stage, and if he is surprised, generally has time given to prepare himself; but in this case it was almost impossible to tell in advance what shape the issue would take, and once or twice lawyers suddenly found themselves obliged to address the court at length on some point which ten minutes before had been allotted to other counsel to argue. Mr. Merrick, who made one of the best speeches in the Florida case, was, I believe, in this plight.

But, taking all this into consideration, the arguments still left a good deal to be desired. There was no deficiency of legal ability, the case was thoroughly fought over at every point; but there was something lacking in almost all the arguments. They were in what might be called a raw state. They had little or no beauty of finish or form, and so were deficient in what gives forensic oratory its chief charm. It is not necessary to go back to ancient Rome for a model of classical style; in fact, it is not necessary to go further than Massachusetts for an example. It would not be difficult to have picked out of the generation of lawyers headed by Webster and Choate a dozen men whose arguments in such a case as this,

besides having the merit of solidity, would have had the perfection which an artistic form can alone give. It has always been in the past the ambition of every great arguer of cases to unify and vitalize his other mental possessions by this final charm, and no one knows better than they do that the durability of their professional reputation will be in strict proportion to their success. Of course, the artistic sense in a legal argument may show itself in a variety of forms. It may take the form of a perfectly lucid and logical exposition, as in the remarkable arguments of the late Judge Curtis, which almost produced the effect of being a final decision of the case by a perfectly unbiassed judge, rather than a statement of his own side; it may take the form of vehement analytic demolition of his antagonist, as in Mr. O'Connor's arguments; it may take a variety of other forms; but when it is conspicuous by its absence, there is a sense of something wanting in the legal presentation of any case which is painful. Whatever may be the explanation, high finish was not the "note" of most of the addresses made before the Tribunal.

The disappointment in the case, as a case, I do not give as a feeling of one or two persons, but as one shared, I think, by most lawyers who heard it. It was really a test of the actual condition of the bar, its material, and its fitness to reply to a sudden demand upon its resources, such as has not been applied before in the history of the country; and most lawyers who watched the proceedings must involuntarily have asked themselves whether the bar would have stood the test better thirty or forty years ago, or whether on the whole the case was really as ably managed by the distinguished counsel in charge as it ever would have been.

Optimists would answer this question in one way, pessimists in another; but without any undue depreciation of the legal glories of the present day, it is probably fair to say that professionally the case would have been a better case throughout a generation ago. We have chosen in this country to try an experiment with the profession which could not be tried with any profession or in any country successfully. We have steadily subjected judges to the influence of politics by teaching them to beg their seats on the bench from party caucuses and conventions; by packing courts to secure favorable decisions; by breaking down all the barriers to admission; by using even the Federal judiciary throughout half the country to keep in power the party to which the judges owe their appointments. It is idle to suppose that this system produces no results beyond the particular judges whom it immediately affects. It has remote effects too, and to any one who takes a speculative interest in the remote effects of such social and administrative changes, many curious subjects of reflection might be suggested. If these changes have not on the whole altered the relative positions of bench and bar, where did an eminent lawyer like Mr. Jeremiah Black acquire the impression that the true way to enforce an argument was to browbeat and intimidate the court? Before the poison of patronage had begun to have its effect on the judiciary, would five judges of the Supreme Court have divided on the question of the executive succession politically, or would they have made every effort, and even sacrifice, to arrive at a unanimous and non-partisan decision? Before the profession became a trade, would such arguments as Mr. Matt. Carpenter's, strong as it undoubtedly was, command the respect they now do? If there were extant a high professional standard of honor, would Judge Davis have been the only lawyer out of those originally suggested as Commissioners to decline to serve? Finally, if legal education and drill were what they once were, could legal oratory, in point of form and finish, be as poor as most of that brought out before the Tribunal?

THE LATE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY.

GERMANY, February 3, 1877.

THE result of the elections for the next Reichstag has started a lively discussion over one of the fundamental principles on which the political structure of the Empire rests. The National-Liberals are still the strongest party in the House, but they have lost 21 seats—127 against 148 in the last session; the *Fortschrittspartei* has lost eight seats—30 against 38. The two liberal parties, together with the "Fraction Loewe-Berger," occupying a middle ground between them, will have 170 votes, lacking 28 to constitute a majority. Nevertheless, it is expected that the character of the Reichstag will, in the main, be the same as during the last session, for on all the leading questions in which an understanding is brought about between the Liberals and the Government, the latter will be sufficiently supported by the moderate Conservatives and the *Deutsche Reichspartei* to command a majority. The Government is even likely to find its position somewhat strengthened, as the Conservatives have gained 15 to 20 seats, though it remains to be seen whether it will be possible to bring these more

or less discordant elements into a party organization. The Ultramontanes have pretty much held their own, gaining, perhaps, one or two seats (98 or 99 to 97), with some chance of getting one or two more, as some elections have been very close and might be successfully contested. The number of the Social-Democrats has been increased to 13, while 15 are required to bring in a motion.

These figures, however, do not furnish a true picture of the actual situation. In order to get that one has to go back to the popular vote, and this clearly proves that the Liberals will have to exert all their strength to keep the internal policy of the Empire on the track hitherto pursued. On the one hand, there is a formidable increase of all the elements which, from different reasons, are dissatisfied with the existing order of things, and, on the other, the consciousness of this fact has driven a great many to seek shelter in the Government fold. We have the peculiar spectacle that, while those who have command of the ship are cautiously trying to slacken her speed, black and red radicalism is fast making headway, and, to a great extent, on the same course and even in close alliance. But that is not all. This alliance is easily explained by the old adage, Extremes meet; but how are we to account for the fact that those who live next door to each other have, in many cases, preferred to support their deadliest enemies in an underhand way rather than lend a helping hand to their neighbors, though there was nothing to be either gained or lost directly for themselves? Let me explain.

The *Fortschrittpartei* has stabbed itself to the very vitals by its late unmeasured denunciations of the National-Liberals for having concluded a compromise with the Bundesrath on the *Justizgesetze*. According to the proclamations of its leaders in Berlin, they were quite sure that their unbending opposition to the illiberal notions and narrow-minded prejudices of the governments—especially with regard to the liberty of the press—would draw off a great many votes from the National-Liberals to themselves. The first result of the elections proved how utterly mistaken they were. Nowhere did they find themselves stronger than they had been, while in many districts, which had thus far been their uncontested domain, no election was effected (neither of the candidates having a majority of all the votes cast), and some of them they even lost at once. Yet, in spite of this popular verdict against their uncompromising attitude, they generally did not urge their followers to vote for their liberal cousins of a less Cantonian stamp, where these had to undergo a second contest with one of the common adversaries. Their committees mostly resolved that they would refrain from acting as a party in these cases, leaving it to the individual judgment of every member of the party to vote for the National-Liberal or his opponent, no matter whether he was a Conservative, Ultramontane, or Social-Democrat. How many of the seats lost by the National-Liberals have to be put to the account of this manoeuvre it is impossible to tell; but there is no doubt that it has given the *Fortschrittpartei* a fair claim on the gratitude of the anti-Liberals.

As it is only six, or at the most ten, years since our political life as a nation began, one ought, perhaps, not to be astonished to find a considerable part of the Liberals so little imbued with the spirit of what Bismarck calls "political policy." What is stranger is, that some of the governments have acted upon the same principles as the *Fortschrittpartei*. In Würtemberg the influence of the Government has been exerted in a very decided manner to throw overboard the candidates of the Liberals, but not in the interest of either of the other organized parties. It wanted to replace them by Würtembergers of its own selection, without any very anxious regard as to the rest of their party propensities. In other words, it was bent upon weakening the National-Liberal party in the Reichstag, without, however, manifesting a direct and decided hostility to all the nationalizing tendencies. The royal Government of Saxony has chosen to pursue an extremer and more open course. Already, after the visit of the Emperor at Leipzig last summer, strange rumors were floating through the air. Thus, for instance, a very high official thought fit to express in the theatre, in an audible voice, the opinion that the enthusiasm with which the Emperor was received by the population, and the grand festivities prepared for him by the city, were "a blow in our face." And now some of the highest Government officials, as well as papers under the direct influence of the Government, have furthered the interests even of Social-Democrats against National-Liberals in a manner which can hardly any longer be called underhanded. On the other side, it is reported that the final success of a Social-Democrat in the very capital has made a deep impression upon the King. Though he is, perhaps, more jealous of his sovereignty than the King of Bavaria, he had too large a personal share in the successes of the late war to enjoy very much the sight of the ship steering that way.

Still greater has been the fright of the Berlin *bourgeois*. There the *Fortschrittpartei* was so firmly seated that the other parties hardly thought it worth while to move at all. And now the Social-Democrats have appeared on the stage with tremendous strength, actually carrying one district, and polling such heavy minorities in several others that the *bourgeois* must bestir himself well if he does not wish to be nailed to the counter three years hence. And nowhere have the Social-Democrats—who now proclaim themselves openly and with great emphasis a "revolutionary party"—suffered any diminution of their strength, though one or two districts which they formerly held have been wrested from them by lashing up all the rest of the population to the utmost exertions.

The same cannot be said of the Ultramontanes. In Bavaria they have polled a very light vote; some make it out to be 80,000 or 90,000 less than at the last elections. One must not, however, think that they have gone over to some other party. The internal dissensions among the Ultramontanes have assumed there such a bitterness that the whole strength of the party could not possibly be brought forth. But though the two sets of infallibles are just now pulling each other's hair with such a will that the one rather rejoices over the bad success of the other, we must not hastily expect to see the crack widen into a chasm. They after all only differ about the means, and not about the end; and if their quarrels should begin really to endanger the party, there would come a *quos ego* from Rome, and it would probably be heeded. If we refuse to be deceived by appearances in Bavaria, we must confess that the party has thus far not lost an inch of ground; so far as mere numbers are concerned, it may even report progress. Yet this increase of numbers probably does not indicate a lasting increase of real strength. There are a large number of political non-descripts who do not deeply sympathize with the Ultramontanes, and yet are sick of the *Culturkampf*. Any breeze is strong enough to waft them from one side to the other, and this time there have been many little agencies at work to make them alight on the wrong side. First among these stands the ingeniousness with which the majority of the Liberal press tries to make proselytes, not by convincing, but by calling names and kicking. The progress we have made in this respect is wonderful. No longer need we shun a comparison with the choicest and spiciest productions of the campaign muse of the United States. Besides, the "hard times" have been a powerful lever in the hands not only of the Social-Democrats but also of the Ultramontanes. Here they have operated with general promises—an article, be it said to the honor of the Liberals, in which they deal even more cautiously than the Conservatives; there they have ogled with the Protectionists; and in the second elections, or *Stichwahlen*, they have cordially shaken hands with the Social-Democrats. In some districts purely local grievances have served them as crutches, and in others Protestant Ultramontanism—by the way, a slowly-spreading disease—has joined hands with them. Taking all these momentary influences into account, I think one is justified in assuming that, as I said before, the Ultramontanes have about held their own.

On the whole, the patriot of either of the liberal parties has little reason to be satisfied with the result of the elections, while the Conservatives, though themselves in the ascendant, have more to complain over than to rejoice in. The worst as well as the best thing in all this, however, is that the reflecting and candid men of all parties agree that the result of the elections is far from indicating the true position of the people towards the great national questions. Those who are consciously striving to undo what has thus far been done towards the political nationalization of Germany, or to render the Empire dependent on Rome and the clergy, are now, as they have been heretofore, so small a minority that there would be no reason whatever to be afraid of them. They are a danger only because they draw an immense mass after them which has not the slightest idea where it is led. How this is to be remedied nobody is as yet prepared to say; but from all quarters not interested in the *status quo* comes the emphatic declaration that it must be remedied, and that soon. To do away with universal suffrage; to retain universal suffrage, but to weigh the votes as well as count them, by dividing the electors, according to property and intelligence, into six classes, giving those of the lowest class one vote and those of the highest six; to supplant the direct election by an indirect one; to lengthen the life of the Reichstag from three to five or seven years—these and many other similar propositions are thrown out. It will be time to report on them when the excitement of the moment has subsided and public opinion has begun to settle down into some clearly-definable currents. To American readers it may, however, be of special interest that, so far as my knowledge goes, nobody has as yet thought of minority representation.

Correspondence.

CAN HAYES ACCEPT WITHOUT DISGRACE?

[A highly respectable Democrat writes to us as follows:

"I think that your paper is all wrong in saying that R. B. Hayes can take the Presidency without disgrace under the decision of the Commission; X—[a fierce Republican] thinks with me. The *quo-warranto* proceedings in Florida before the Republican court, and the mandamus proceedings, make it perfectly plain what the facts of the vote were. There was no allegation of intimidation to becloud the matter. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the decision of the Commission is fair and honest, and the Democrats are bound morally by it, I claim that honest and decent people have the right, if the Democrats have not, to warn off Hayes from a position to which he has no moral right.

"Where is the flaw in this argument? If you talk with Republicans, they always wander off to Louisiana bulldozing or Oregon bribery. The discussion of either of these points beclouds the fact that Florida alone is conclusive as to the *real* result of the election; and about Florida there can be no doubt. Mr. Lucius Tuckerman (who has been in Florida all winter) told me that he deplored the decision of the Commission, as there could be no doubt of the facts in Florida. Now, because the Commission has no power to look into these facts, and Congress has no power to do so, the moral obligation is no less on Mr. Hayes and the decent members of his party not to take advantage of so plain a case of fraud. The case is much clearer than are (even yet) the allegations of fraud in New York in 1868, since they rest entirely on moral evidence, while in Florida the facts were proved in court. If the Republicans had really believed their charges of fraud in 1868, they could have gone before any of the Republican judges and taken proceeding by *quo warranto* against Hoffman. Suppose they had done this, and had proved their case, would the Democrats have had a moral right to the vote of the State in the Electoral College? Would any decent man have consented to be elected by such a vote? I cannot believe it.

"Now this seems to me to be exactly the Florida case, *mutato nomine*, and I am at a loss to understand why everybody does not see it in that light.

"I hope there will be a new election. The newspapers pretend that Democratic business men don't want a new election. That is a mistake. It is also a mistake to pretend that Democrats are crazy to put Tilden into office, and will be content with nothing which does not accomplish that object. The truth is they care very little whether Tilden or Hayes is to be the next President, but they do care for an honest and fair decision of the question, and they don't believe they have had that yet—not believing that the decision of the Commission is an honest decision. I don't know a single Democrat who believes it to be honest.

"If we had a new election, we should be sure of Florida this time, and probably get several Northern States in addition to those we had last fall. At any rate, there would hardly be a chance for so close a question as there was last time, and anything is better than a President elected by fraud, as more than half of the citizens of the United States would believe Hayes to be—and believe it on the best of evidence.—Yours,
R. B. M."

Our answer is that when you set up a court of arbitration and submit all questions to it—that is, not only what are your rights but what is the proper mode of ascertaining your rights—you are estopped from calling upon your adversary to disregard the decision because it is in his favor, and do "substantial justice" out of his own head. This would convert all arbitration and all peaceful modes of deciding controversies into a farce, and might, as in the *Alabama* case, result in downright dishonesty. The dispute submitted to the Electoral Commission was not that of Hayes and Tilden, but that of the two great parties which took part in the election, and they did not agree to leave it to either Tilden's or Hayes's sense of honor, but to the opinions, however formed, of the fifteen members. It has decided that Congress has no right to go behind the returns, and that the person whose election is certified in a certain way is the lawful President. If Congress has no right to go behind the returns, *à fortiori* Hayes has not; and if we have a right to ask Hayes after this decision to see for himself whether he was lawfully elected, and act accordingly, we should have the right to ask all candidates for the Presidency hereafter to do the same thing, and we should find ourselves in the very scrape from which the Commission has delivered us, and the result of no election would ever be ascertained until the candidates had conscientiously examined the procedure in each State, to see if it was regular and honest. Before the Commission was formed Hayes had a responsibility from which the judgment has delivered him. To have taken an office awarded him by the Louisiana Returning Board and the count of the President of the Senate under the dictation of the Republican Desperadoes, and in the teeth of the protest of the other

party, would have been an act of brigandage; to take it when the court to which all parties agreed to leave the dispute has decided that he may take it, is simply to say that he has no power to revise this decision. What our correspondent wishes to do is really to appeal from the Commission to Hayes, but reserving the right, in case Hayes confirms the judgment of the court below, to take another appeal to the "conscience of mankind," or "Eternal Justice," or some other of those vague tribunals before which the Sentimentalists practise.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

HARPER & BROS. send us the bound volumes of their standard periodicals for the past year—the *Monthly* (vols. 52, 53), the *Weekly* (vol. 20), and the *Bazar* (vol. 9). The *Monthly* for this period acquires distinction by 'Daniel Deronda' and the admirable Centennial papers. The *Weekly* is also remarkable for its Centennial illustrations, and for its political it is sure to be in request a hundred years hence if not sooner; but of the latter we must candidly say that their value will come with time—Mr. Frederick Saunders's 'Our National Jubilee' (New York: E. B. Treat) is a compilation of Fourth of July orations delivered last year in the several States of the Union. For being read at one sitting it is hardly to be recommended, but it is not without interest, though not exactly "as a commemorative record of the most brilliant bursts of oratory." "As a permanent treasury of historic data and valuable statistical information," we should have supposed it worthy of an index.—The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1875 has been printed, and makes the usual interesting exhibit of the important work of this scientific agency. Among the various papers in the appendix by far the largest is Dr. Charles C. Abbott's on the Stone Age in New Jersey. It is an exhaustive essay, filling 135 solid pages of text, and being illustrated by 223 wood-cuts of flint and other Indian implements.—Some recent statistics of the Boston Public Library show, by dividing annual expenditures by issues, that the delivery of a book costs ten and a half cents. Taking the shortest time for which a book may be kept out—one week—it appears that the library is not more expensive than the common circulating library which lets books by the day.—On Thursday the citizens of Philadelphia did honor to themselves by formally endowing the John Welsh Centennial Professorship of History and Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. The dedication of a tablet "in grateful commemoration" of Mr. Welsh's unselfish devotion to the Centennial management formed part of the exercises. The endowment fund is \$50,000. Designed as a personal testimonial, without limitation or condition, this sum was accepted by Mr. Welsh only for the benefit of the University.—Mrs. W. S. Robinson, Malden, Mass., solicits subscriptions to the work she is about to publish on her own account—selected writings of her late husband ("Warrington"). The price will be \$2 50.—Hurd & Houghton have in press a new volume by Mr. John Burroughs, entitled 'Birds and Poets, with other Papers.'—R. Worthington, New York, announces the 'Birds of Canada,' by Henry A. Vennor, of the Dominion Geological Survey. The volume will be quarto size, uniform with Audubon's 'Birds of America,' and will contain thirty full-page photographic illustrations of Canadian birds of prey—we presume after nature—by Mr. Notman, the well-known photographer of Montreal. The letter-press will be popular reading.—Lee & Shepard have nearly ready Mr. T. W. Higginson's 'Young Folks' Book of American Explorers,' in which the stories are told in the words of the explorers themselves or of their quaint English translators. It will be a very welcome volume. Mr. Higginson's 'Young Folks' History of the United States' has been translated into German.—'Song Victories, of the Moody and Sankey Hymns' is announced by D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.—A 'History of Belfast, Maine' (1770-1875), by Joseph Williamson, will be published by Loring, Short & Harmon, Portland.—Harper & Bros. will republish in this country Capt. Cameron's 'Across Africa,' and Mr. Smiles's 'Life of a Scotch Naturalist' (Thomas Edward). They have also in press 'Peru,' by Mr. E. George Squier.—The *Literary World*, Boston, whose editor, Mr. S. R. Crocker, has lately succumbed to over-work, has been purchased by Messrs. Edward Abbott and Edward H. Hames, of the Boston *Congregationalist*. It will continue to be a monthly journal of twenty pages.—Mr. Karl Hillebrand has of late been publishing articles in various German journals on recent French history. These now appear, from a note in the January *Deutsche Rundschau*, to have been chapters from a soon to be expected 'History of France from the July

Revolution to the Fall of Napoleon III.'—a work which Mr. Hillebrand's admirers will of course look forward to with unusual interest.

—The friendly intention of Mr. John R. Tait's "Reminiscences of a Poet-Painter" in the March *Lippincott's* is not to be questioned; and since it is not, it is curious to notice how far the reminiscences fall short of being memorabilia, and how much more shadowy they make the reputation of the subject of them. Mr. Tait is too honest, or too good a critic, or both, to ignore the limitations of the late Mr. Buchanan Read, both as a poet and as an artist; and he makes us feel that neither art nor letters suffered an irreparable loss by his death. Mr. Read was, in fact, a self-made man whose early vicissitudes were singular without being in the least heroic; and who suffered all his life long from the lack of discipline which might have made him thorough if not great, and raised his standard of excellence even at the expense of his own estimate of his capacity. He was an agreeable companion, doubtless, but he was not the strong character about which biography loves to linger, and Mr. Tait constantly wanders from him to speak of Florence or Paris, or some other *milieu* in which his friend temporarily found himself. If this is necessary in the limits of a magazine article, the inference is unavoidable that the theme will not bear beating out. Mr. Tait ends, however, by proposing that some memorial of him should be erected in Cincinnati or in Philadelphia, but he does not make it clear that this should be the act of the cities which "may equally claim and be proud of him," rather than of "the friends who knew and loved him personally."

—Among other contributions to the same number we may mention "Place aux Dames," of which the beginning is sure to interest. The original idea of the piece is easily taken, and one follows with amused curiosity the author's unromantic development of some of the Shaksperian characters. The upshot of Romeo and Juliet, and of Portia and Bassanio, is very funny. At the point where Shylock buys up the spendthrift Bassanio's notes, and becomes finally master of Belmont, the play (if we may so call it) reaches its height of vivacity and wit. Then Ophelia enters with her everlasting "Ham," and the interest at once droops without being revived by Lady Macbeth, and an utter fall is reached at the mention of Shakspeare, to whom the ladies join in inditing a letter which is certainly of doubtful taste. The introduction of genuine quotations along with parodies of Shakspeare would excite more merriment if the play were performed instead of read. The illustrated article in the forefront of the magazine is nothing less than a serious *bona-fide* abridgment of the Peruvian romances of our old and exploded friend Paul Marcoy. Since it is now some years since this chevalier's true character was made known, it is high time that he was relegated to the category of clever inventors of travellers' tales; and in the interest both of science and of literature the following protest, which comes to us from Mr. E. G. Squier, is perhaps none too strong. Mr. Squier writes:

"I cannot suppose that any of our publishers wish to give currency to impostures in any form, or that they would knowingly do so. I feel entire freedom, therefore, in warning them against the productions, especially the illustrations, put forward by a Frenchman named, or rather styling himself, 'Paul Marcoy,' which have appeared in various forms in this country for several years past, and which have just now cropped out again. Every illustration published by him relating to Peru, with not over half a dozen exceptions, is an absolute and disgusting fabrication or caricature. The text is little better. At least, the illustrations are such as would be designed by a Parisian artist from crude descriptions. This impostor has already been denounced in a paper by Prof. Raimondi, of Lima (who has made a scientific survey of Peru occupying over twenty years), in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and by Señor Don Manuel A. Fuentes in his work on Lima. In the whole circle of modern literature there has not been perpetrated a more scandalous outrage on truth, in text or in illustration, than is contained in the publications of St. Orie, alias Marcoy, on Peru. I have photographs of many of the scenes, objects, and places he professes to depict which will support fully all that I have said."

—The *Portfolio* for February is decidedly rich in etchings, the copy from Rembrandt's head of William III. as a child, in the Althorp gallery, being every way interesting, and M. Debaines's large study from a water-color by David Cox looking exquisitely fluent, tremulous, and breezy in style. The heliograph by Durand of an engraving by Israhel van Meekenen is admirable, and suitably illustrates Prof. Colvin's intelligent article on Dürer's predecessors and teachers. Other papers, by Messrs. Hamerton and Simcox, are in the usual high tone of the periodical, though a recipe for eating out designs on bright zinc by means of nitric acid, and thus preparing a sort of bastard monumental brass, may be thought by some a little *infra dig.* The "art" is practised to some extent in this country, usually by uneasy persons of the dilettante sort.

—The contribution of etchings to the exhibition at the Academy by two

of our artists only—L. M. Yale and A. W. Warren—though creditable to them individually, indicates a rather meagre following for the art. Some Philadelphia etchers, notably Messrs. P. Moran and Stephen J. Ferris, have been rather longer in the field, and have won recognition in various ways. The latter artist has recently completed a likeness in aquafortis of Velasquez, and, before that, a development of a motive of Fortuny's "L'Anti-chambre." His style is brilliant and colored, though a little timid, and he turns out a delicate, painting-like piece of characterization whenever he covers a plate. The return this month to Europe of Sr. Castellani will be worth to Mr. Ferris a very high compliment, for the Italian connoisseur has promised to send back to this artist the remaining fragment of the velvet pall which covered the bier of Fortuny at the ceremony of his interment. The original cloth, described as being "large as a room," was cut into fifty pieces by Sr. Castellani, who had organized the demonstration; each piece was stamped with a seal and given to a friend of Fortuny, except the fragment now intended for Mr. Ferris. The latter artist having prepared an ideal cartoon in *fusain*, representing Fortuny lying in state, had the fortune to recall so vividly the aspect of his subject that Sr. Castellani distinguished it as the best delineation of the scene in existence. This drawing is now in the possession of Mr. Coates, the publisher, and the testimonial to its value, in the form of the relic alluded to, may be soon expected.

—The annual report of the President of Harvard College for 1875-6 is little more than a record of steadily-increasing influence and prosperity. In the fourteen years between 1862 and 1876 it appears that the income of the University nearly trebled, its property doubled, its land in Cambridge nearly doubled, and its buildings increased from eighteen to twenty six. The number of students has of course kept pace with this material development, having more than doubled in thirty years. In the college proper the number was in 1846-7 only 272, while it is now 821. The professional schools show a more intermittent progress, the Law School having now only 187 students, against 132 in 1846-7, and the Medical School having 226 against 159. This comparative want of vigor Mr. Eliot attributes to the unwholesome competition of mushroom schools which have sprung up all over the country during the last thirty years, and the increasing laxity of the rules of admission to the learned professions, which of course have tended to the injury of schools that endeavor to maintain a high standard, and offer a dangerous temptation even to the best schools to adapt their requirements to the prevailing demand for hasty and inadequate preparation. In 1870-1 both the law and medical schools raised their standard of residence and of instruction, and so temporarily diminished the number of students; but it is gratifying to learn that the "strong reaction" outside which has set in in favor of strict rules of admission to these learned professions, and the position shown by courts and legislatures to demand of candidates reasonable preparation, have turned the current in the opposite direction, so that for the last four years there has been a steady gain of numbers in both schools. Though the standard in the Law School has been greatly advanced there is still room for improvement, and it will be some time before it reaches the level proposed by Judge Story in 1829-30. In the annual catalogue of that year it was announced that the course for graduates of colleges would be three years; for non-graduates, five. This standard lasted for five years, and from the time of its abandonment "the school gradually declined by a series of small descents until in 1869-70 all persons who had been eighteen months in the school were entitled to the degree of Bachelor of Laws, without examination or enquiry of any sort into their attainments." Mr. Eliot adds that "the rapid rise of the school from this humiliating position during the past seven years gives strong assurance that in due time it will return substantially to Judge Story's original position."

—Mr. Eliot discusses the Scholarship question at some length. The amount of money annually paid by the University to young men of merit, who require aid in their education, has reached the sum of \$42,903.23, and he points out that the administration of this useful charity is full of difficulties. The University must act "without the safeguard of that mutual natural affection which, in most cases, makes harmless the dependence of a son upon his parents," and "it cannot get that hold upon its beneficiaries which parents have whose children know that their own advantages have been procured for them by their parents' thoughtfulness, labor, and self-denial," yet it "ought to avoid impairing the self-respect and self-reliance of the youth whom it assists, and it should never hold up money as an appropriate reward for scholarship." But if the money had not the effect of impairing self-respect and self-reliance it would seem reasonable to expect a large part, say a half or a third, of the

money advanced to poor scholars to be repaid within a few years after the beneficiaries leave the University. As a matter of fact such repayments are "decidedly rare, and always have been rare." The branch of education in which the beneficiary method has been most fully tried is the clerical, this profession, both in the Protestant and Catholic churches, being "mainly recruited from the class of persons who accept charitable aid in getting their education." The conditions of receiving this aid from the Protestant "education societies," besides proof of poverty, are some such certificate as that the applicant is of "hopeful piety," or that he is "called of God to the work of the ministry," coupled with a declaration that he seriously intends to devote his life to the Christian ministry—a declaration of a purpose which, as it is taken from boys of sixteen, may and very often does change, leaving the person who has made it and who is unable to repay the advances made him in a very pitiable plight. The actual state of the clerical profession does not, Mr. Eliot thinks, encourage the extension of the beneficiary method to other departments. The general drift of his remarks seems to be that great care ought to be exercised in the use of money for this purpose, and that the difference between "prizes" given outright for distinguished scholarship and advances made simply to relieve temporary necessity should be steadily held in view.

—Among the curiosities of the report we may call attention to a singular illustration of the milder manners which seem to have been spreading in this as in other colleges during the past few years. Everybody who has kept the run of college affairs since the war has noticed that externally, at least, there has been a remarkable decline in the spirit of riot and lawlessness, which irresistibly impelled undergraduates of spirit to have fights, obstruct the regular movement of horse-cars with impediments constructed *ad hoc*, to lock up and nail in professors, to relieve themselves of the disagreeable nuisance caused by the morning bell, by freezing it, to break the windows of freshmen, and, above all, to dream of a time when a tar-barrel should be once again lighted on the top of the main building in the college yard to confound and startle the wretched faculty. The prevalence of this spirit led in times past chiefly to a great breakage of glass and furniture, and the damage caused in this way was made up to the college by a charge entered in term-bills as "special repairs by general average," and was paid by all students alike, the innocent as well as the guilty. And now it seems that of late years the amount of damage done in this way has so much diminished, and the sum collected under the above bills has become so small, that the corporation has directed the charge to be discontinued, "preferring that in the few cases where a thoughtless or ill-bred student damages college property and does not repair the injury himself the cost of repairing it should be borne by the college treasury." It is safe to say that the promulgation of this rule in times much later even than the colonial days, so proverbial in college tradition for rakish excess, would have led to a serious leak in the income of the University.

—The fifth volume of the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) does not fall behind its predecessors in articles of scientific weight or literary interest. Among the most valuable are "Canon," by Dr. Davidson; "Capillary Action," by Prof. Maxwell; "Cartesianism," by Prof. Caird; "Caspian Sea," by Dr. Carpenter; "Catacombs," richly illustrated, by Canon Venables; "Celtic Literature," by Prof. Sullivan; "China," by Prof. Douglas; and "Chronology," by W. L. R. Cates. "Chemistry," the joint production of three eminent writers, is a book embracing 120 quarto pages. The minor articles are, as in the preceding volumes, of greatly unequal value, some being very elaborate and others (like "Charles X." of Sweden) quite inadequate. "Charles Albert," in which the connected events of one year, 1848—the rising in Sicily, the expulsion of the Austrians from Milan, etc.—are described as taking place in 1847 and "during the next year," is unworthy of a place in so excellent a publication. "Caucasus" bewilders the reader with its varied and mostly un-English spellings, including such barbarous ones as "Dschufa" (p. 255) for Jufa, which finds its parallel in "Kainardschi" (p. 234) for Kainarji. Some renderings of Hebrew words are also bad, such as "Cohemoth" and "Asaria" for Kohemoth and Azariah (p. 3). "Chronology," the comprehensive work of a most competent writer, is not free from slips. The words "Weisburg," "Dec. 21," "Szikszö," and "Mohr," near the close of the year 1848, are all more or less incorrect. Among the titles the entire omission of which strikes us in our cursory glance over the volume are Chigi, Chimborazo, and Chivalry. For Capital Punishment we may perhaps look under some subsequent rubric.

—In the late Admiral Charles Henry Davis the navy has lost one who was remarkable for being at the same time an active naval officer, devoted

to his profession, and a distinguished promoter of science in his country. He was born in Massachusetts in 1807, and entered Harvard College in 1821; but he soon showed a leaning toward a more active life than that of a student, and at the end of two years left college and entered the navy as a midshipman. The first ten years of his naval life were spent in the usual cruises of a young officer, and made him better known for the generosity and impulsiveness of his disposition than for a promise of becoming eminent in the intellectual world. But he now resumed his mathematical and classical studies, a strong impulse toward the former being given by his acquaintance with Professor Peirce, whom he was always proud to claim as his teacher. In 1842 he was appointed to duty on the Coast Survey, and at once began a series of observations and researches which made him known as one of the most accomplished hydrographers the Government service has produced. His field of duty was principally on the coast between New York and Boston, where, among many other things, he located the well-known shoals which bear his name. The results of his researches during the seven years of his connection with the Coast Survey were embodied in a series of papers relating to the action of tidal and other currents in harbors, the Gulf Stream, and other allied subjects, which appeared in the Memoirs of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, and the Coast-Survey reports. He now very naturally became a member of the more important commissions for improving the harbors of the coast, whether under the General or State Governments. He continued to be frequently employed in duties of a hydrographic character up to the time of his death, his last service of the kind being as member of the commission organized last autumn to report what navy-yards could be dispensed with. In 1849 Congress provided for the preparation of an American nautical almanac, and Lieutenant Davis was at once charged with the work. The office was established at Cambridge, because it was more easy to command the mathematical skill and the published material for such a work at the seat of Harvard University than elsewhere. The policy adopted in the newly-formed office, though not in all respects to be permanently imitated as a piece of administrative machinery, was such as to make it a more efficient promoter of mathematical astronomy in this country than any organization we have ever had. Young men of talent were looked for from all quarters, were employed without regard to personal or political influence, were paid according to their efficiency, and were encouraged to engage in any branch of mathematical or astronomical research which would tend to improve the almanac. In the work of the office there was a freedom from discipline and restraint which, though it might work badly under other circumstances, was very favorable to the development of a school of mathematicians. Besides men like Peirce and Walker, who had attained eminence before becoming connected with his office, the names of President Runkle, Professors Winlock and Newcomb, Chauncey Wright and William Ferrel may be cited as representatives of the men who were first brought out through their connection with the *Nautical Almanac*.

—With the exception of a cruise in the Pacific which took him away for three years, Davis remained in charge of the *Almanac* until the outbreak of the rebellion. His hydrographic knowledge was then too valuable to be dispensed with in organizing the blockade of the Southern ports and the plans of naval attack. He was fleet-captain of the expedition which under Dupont fought the battle of Port Royal, and gave the Government the first foothold which it gained in South Carolina after the fall of Sumter. In 1862 he succeeded Foote in command of the Mississippi flotilla. In two severe battles and several smaller ones he completed the destruction of the rebel naval power on the Mississippi and its tributaries, captured Memphis and met Farragut at Vicksburg. In 1863 he received the thanks of Congress for his military services, was promoted to the grade of Rear-Admiral, and made chief of the new Bureau of Navigation in the Navy Department, which had been organized on his recommendation. In 1865 he was made Superintendent of the Naval Observatory, but two years afterward was detached and placed in command of the Brazilian Squadron. Here the Paraguayan war involved him in a dispute with the diplomatic authorities, represented by Mr. James Watson Webb, in which he was subjected to much criticism by the press and in Congress. But he was fully sustained by the naval authorities, who best understood the restrictions under which he was compelled to act. In 1874 he was once more appointed Superintendent of the Observatory and took an active part in fitting out the expeditions to observe the transit of Venus. This office he still filled at the time of his death. Notwithstanding the active and prominent life which Admiral Davis led, and his energy and dash as a naval commander, his tastes, especially in his later years, were much more those of the refined gentleman of literary leisure than of the active man of the world. He

was little inclined to mingle in general society, but rather sought that of the cultivated few whose tastes were congenial with his own. His relations with the men of science who were his official subordinates were singularly free from those complaints, jealousies, and distrusts which so often arise when military men are placed in charge of works of a purely scientific character. This arose from an entire absence of every trace of jealousy in his nature, combined with an admiration of intellectual superiority in others which led him to concede everything to it. He combined independence of character with Christian courtesy in a way that made him a model to the young men by whom he was surrounded. No human being who ever came into his presence was too lowly to be addressed with the most kindly courtesy, and when arrogance or impertinence became insufferable no respect for position or influence gloved the hand which dealt the blow.

—The cable brings us news of the death, at the age of fifty-six, of Herr Mosenthal, the German dramatist. Born in Carlsruhe, he settled when young in Vienna, and there was produced in 1850 "Deborah," his first play, to be followed in 1856 by his "Sonnenwendhof," his "Deutsche Komödianten" in 1863, his "Isabella Orsini" in 1869, and in 1873 his "Madelein Morel." Shortly after the first performance of "Deborah" he was appointed Archivist of the Ministry of Public Instruction. As a playwright his work showed real literary power as well as a thorough understanding of the requirements of the modern theatre, and for a quarter of a century he was the leading dramatist of Austria. His principal successes we have mentioned, and of his few failures it is not now necessary to speak. "Sunny Vale Farm" has been performed in London, and "Madelein Morel," adapted by Mr. Augustin Daly, was produced here in New York four years ago. But none of his later works ever rivalled the success of his first. "Deborah" has been set as an opera; it has been translated into Danish, Hungarian, and Bohemian; Madame Ristori achieved one of her greatest triumphs in the part of the deserted Jewish maiden, and by her performance of the same character in an American adaptation known as "Leah," Miss Bateman first made good her claim to a foremost place among the actresses of the day.

—Mosenthal's death preceded by less than a week that of a veteran English dramatist, Mr. John Oxenford, who for more than forty years had been writing for the stage. One of his earliest pieces, 'Twice Killed,' translated into French and set to music by Grisar as 'Bon soir, M. Pantalou,' had the unusual luck of being rendered back into English by one unacquainted with its origin. His knowledge of foreign literatures was full, and his translations both in prose and verse were facile. Perhaps the best of his literary work was his translation of the 'Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann.' Mr. Longfellow in his 'Poems of Places' has made use of his versions of Béranger, than whom there is hardly a more difficult poet to translate. His dramatic work when original rarely rose above the ordinary level; by far the larger part of it was "adaptation," generally from the French, at which he was very skilful. A foreign drama rather gained in vigor than lost at his hands; his 'Porter's Knot,' for instance, is a better play than the 'Crochets du Père Martin' whence it is derived. Most of his many adaptations were probably commissions from managers, who could hardly have chosen a safer hand. The writer thus employed was also the dramatic critic of the *Times*. This post is seemingly incompatible with copious dramatic authorship, especially to order, but Mr. Oxenford did not find it so, and it is to his credit that he was never directly accused of venality. He was only too prone by nature to dwell on whatever favorable features a performance might present. Thoroughly acquainted with the history of the drama and with the annals of the stage, entirely competent for the powerful position he held, a word from him, had he chosen to speak it, would have gone far to repress the wretched overgrowth of burlesque and sensation which in his time cumbered every theatre in England. But he did not choose, and the stage was left to work out its own redemption. When the good work at last began, when more harmonious acting and dramas of a more elevated aim were again to be seen in England, Mr. Oxenford ceased to be the critic of the *Times*. His successor, without a tithe of his special knowledge, is fortunately free from any trace of misplaced "geniality."

SIMPLIFIED WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MR. JACKSON'S pamphlet is divided into nine sections, of which the first has for caption "The Defects of the Present Systems [of weight and measure], and the Necessity for their Simplification." We hardly need to be

reminded of the very obvious deficiencies of our systems of weight, etc., and this appears to have been the view of the author, who has devoted this short section chiefly to dividing the world at large into several categories, discriminated according to their attitude towards any plans of reform. It is rightly taken for granted that no one will deny the expediency of some changes.

The second section deals with the defects and advantages of the French metrical system, which the author pronounces to be "the most unpractical system of weights and measures that has perhaps ever been invented," and one which "required the most theoretical, sentimental, and revolutionary of nations to adopt it." Let it be noted in passing that Mr. Jackson, writing for an English audience, could not have characterized this system by three adjectives more fatal to its pretensions. The "unpractical" nature of the metric scheme is shown by the fact that the "Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Belgians (who have formally adopted this system) cannot refrain from using their own measures as well." Holland and the Canton Vaud can alone be said to have made it the unique system of the land. This the Dutch have been able to do by retaining the ancient names while adopting the new measures; the Canton Vaud is subject to constant inconveniences in its intercourse with the other cantons, which have formally, though not practically, adopted the system. Russia, Germany, England, and America are plainly not favorable to it. Its advantage is that its terminology is a kind of "*lingua franca*" among scientific men, as the French language was at one time the language of diplomats." A point which the author does not make is that its currency is thus greatest among a class which does not require it. An example of this may be taken from thermometry. During Auwers' investigation of the parallax of 61 *Cygni* at Königsberg, three thermometers were used—a Celsius, a Réaumur, and a Fahrenheit. The very difference between these scales served as a check against error to the astronomer, while for any ordinary purpose such a multiplication of scales would be bewildering. Mr. Jackson maintains that even for the masses the metric system is no more than "a pleasing snare." The metre is a rather long yard of 3.2809 feet, and had its length assigned to it from the belief that it was one-tenth-millionth of the quadrant of the earth. Subsequent investigations have shown that it is not so, and therefore it is no longer "a natural standard," but must be looked at simply as an inconvenient and revolutionary yard. The decimal subdivision and multiplication is of the highest value, but many of these multiples and sub-multiples "are rather names than measures." "Who requires the decimètre, the decamètre, hectomètre, or myriamètre?" Furthermore, the decimal division can be applied to any unit of length as well as to the metre, and that unit may be chosen from among the standards which use has shown to be *convenient* and which have been made familiar through long service.

The French measures of surface are even worse off, as but one of them agrees with one of another nation. Of the measures of capacity, the litre is the only one of practical value, and the only one in general use. Similarly in weights, "the gramme is too large for the delicate purposes for which we employ grains, and the kilogramme is about double the pound of any other nation." Even in France the half-kilogramme is the weight in common use; and throughout the interior the old measures of land are in use to this day. "The attempt to decimalize the right angle by dividing it into 100 *grades* instead of 90 degrees, may be considered as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the system"; and, although this is not a necessary part of the metric system, the expressions of the author can be defended. The practical proof of this is that the centesimal tables of Borda, where the quadrant is so divided, are now completely out of use, while the capital tables of Bremiker (5 and 4 place), where the *degree* is divided decimally, are coming rapidly into vogue. The true idea seized by Bremiker is that the *unit* is to be determined by convenience, but that when once chosen it must, if possible, be divided decimally. We say "if possible," meaning by this that *convenient* submultiples, even if not decimals, must not be destroyed. The tenth of a foot, for example, can never replace the English inch, except for a few special applications in levelling, etc. *Convenience*, as proved by use, is the first test for a unit. Among American coins the eagle, the dollar, and the twenty-cent piece, although decimalized multiples and sub-multiples, are artificial, not real, units. This choice of units which experience has shown to be convenient, is one of the points upon which Mr. Jackson chiefly, and we think rightly, insists. The admirable features of the metric system are its uniformity, its decimal divisions, and the mutual dependence of its various parts. The peculiarly French demand for something "logical" (so humorously treated by Richard Wagner in his essay on "Le Freischütz") has resulted, according to the views here

* Simplified Weights and Measures, on a Natural System applicable to most Civilized Nations. By Lewis d'A. Jackson. London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon. 1876. 8vo, pp. 47.

laid down, in the creation of a scheme which is abstractly perfect, but really visionary.

The succeeding sections treat of the "Inadvisability of any sweeping changes," and of the "Objects to be kept in view in remodelling our system of weights and measures," and contain useful and instructive comparative "Tables of weights and measures of all nations." These, if made fuller, would have enhanced the value of the work as a book of reference, although they are full enough for the argument.

The most important section of the book is devoted to the exposition of "a rational system of simplifying British weights and measures." The author proposes to take as a basis a *mile*,* which is not to be the old London mile of 5,000 feet, nor yet the statute mile (since 1824) of 5,280 feet, but a *mile* common to all nations—the geographical mile.† Divide this into 6,000 new feet = 2,000 yards, etc. Each of these feet and yards will be only about one per cent. greater than the foot and yard. The square *mile* is to be divided into 900 acres, the *acre* differing by about three per cent. from the acre. The *cubic foot* is increased four per cent. The *cubic foot* of water is divided into five gallons, each three-tenths larger than the gallon, and the *gallon* is divided into ten pints, which vary but four per cent. from the pint. The new *pound* is the weight of a *pint*, the *grain* is the weight of a *minim* of distilled water. The *ounce* differs four per cent. from the former ounce. "None of these small measures can lead to an overdose of medicine through a mistake"—an important point in the transition period. "It is to be noticed that the proposed new measures of length, surface, and capacity vary only one, two, three, and four per cent. from the old ones." The *pound* and *ton* are changed by the greatest percentages.

The system thus proposed is a convenient one throughout if we take the *foot* as the unit of length (and the square *foot* or *yard* as that of surface), instead of taking the *mile*, as the author proposes, and it is decimalized wherever possible. The *mile* in this system should be considered simply as a multiple which is convenient and common to all nations, but the foot and yard are, and will remain, the English standards of length. The chief changes in the proposed system are in the measures of capacity and of weight, where they are of least account. Whatever may be thought of this system (which the author shows to be readily applicable to the measures of Germany, Austria, etc.), it seems clear that its fundamental idea is right. The present standards of length in England and America are practically convenient and quite as much "natural" standards as the metre. Their length in terms of the earth's quadrant is equally well known (through the labors of the English Ordnance Survey, the Coast Survey, etc.) Any change should preserve these, adding to them useful multiples and sub-multiples on a decimal system, and these multiples should vary as little as possible from existing measures.

Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., first Senator in Congress from Connecticut, and President of Columbia College, New York. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven. (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876. 8vo, pp. 218.)—Dr. Beardsley has followed up his life of Dr. Samuel Johnson (see the *Nation*, No. 450) with that of his still more distinguished son. Like its predecessor, this book will be found a valuable contribution to the history of the period; and it is one of the few books which might reasonably be complained of as being too brief. In many passages there is some obscurity resulting from over-compression, and in some cases we feel sure that the author might, if he had chosen, have added interesting and valuable information. For example, the nature of the Mohegan claim (p. 35), in relation to which Mr. Johnson was sent to England as agent of the colony, is not made at all clear; some analysis of the case on both sides and the grounds on which it was decided would have been very desirable. Numerous extracts are given from Mr. Johnson's correspondence and diary during the period of his agency. There is an interesting anecdote (p. 42) about Charles Townshend, Lord Chatham's leader in the House of Commons (1767), whom Mr. Grenville succeeded in taunting in Parliament into a declaration that he dared and would tax America:

"Next morning," relates Johnson in his narrative, "I knew from an American and member of Parliament—a friend of Townshend, with whom he and others had supped—that at supper he said, 'I have done a very foolish thing to-night, which Mr. Grenville's impetuosity has driven me into, to promise to tax America. I love America and don't wish to harass

them; but cannot you, gentlemen, tell me of some paltry tax to impose by which I can get out of this scrape, and stop the mouths of these wrangling disputants?' " And so the tax upon tea was afterwards levied as being least calculated to be disagreeable to the American people."

Dr. Beardsley appears to be somewhat in error here; Townshend's bill included paints, glass, etc., as well as tea; it was Lord North, in 1770, who abolished all the taxes but that on tea.

Dr. Johnson—he received the degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford in 1766—was not in favor of resistance to Great Britain. He knew the strength of England and the weakness of America, and believed that "they might," to use his own words, uttered in the calm of his declining years, "have made an amicable arrangement with Great Britain, and continued with her until they would of course become independent, and, like ripe fruit, have fallen from the tree without any concussion or expenditure of blood and treasure" (p. 85). Nevertheless he did not, like his friends Ingersoll, Smith, and others, become a Tory, but remained neutral, living in retirement at Stratford except when forced by circumstances into publicity. His fruitless mission of peace from the General Assembly of Connecticut to Gen. Gage, after the battle of Lexington, is related here from his own notes (p. 109). We will refer also to a pathetic letter (p. 137) from Silas Deane, at this time (1789) in disgrace and exile in London. When the war was over, the people of Connecticut were wise enough to see that a difference of judgment upon a past issue—even one so vital as independence—was no disqualification for the labors of peace and constitutional life. Dr. Johnson was made a delegate to Congress the very next year, 1784, and continued to serve in this capacity until 1787, when he was made a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, to which document his name is signed; he was the first Senator from his native State, and remained in the Senate until the removal of Congress to Philadelphia rendered his membership incompatible with his presidency of Columbia College, to which he had been appointed in 1787. In the Constitutional Convention it was he, we are told (p. 127), who first proposed the one irrevocable provision of the Constitution—that by which the States are equally represented in the Senate; the compromise which carried the Convention over the most perilous crisis in its history.

We find on p. 166 a letter to Dr. Noah Webster in reply to an enquiry as to the pronunciation of *nature*; it was written in 1807:

"At the time I went to England, in 1766, we pronounced the word in this country, you mention, as if it was spelt *nater*; when I arrived in England I found it was universally pronounced *nature*, with the full sound of the *u*, and I heard nothing of the *ch* pronunciation until the latter part of my residence in that country, when I first heard it at the theatre, at the time when Powell, Holland, etc., were the principal actors, after Mr. Garrick had almost retired; and I perceived that it was adopted by some of the younger barristers and members of Parliament, but had not become common. Mr. Sheridan, who had been the preceptor of Mr. Wedderburne, and many other eminent speakers at that time, began to be considered in a great degree the standard of pronounciators. How he has determined it you will see by his dictionary."

Dr. Johnson died in 1819 at the age of ninety-two.

The She King; or, The Book of Ancient Poetry, translated into English verse, with Essays and Notes. By James Legge, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. (London: Trübner & Co. 1876. Pp. 431.)—Those of our readers who take an interest in Oriental literature have, doubtless, become well acquainted with the name of James Legge, the recently-appointed Professor of Chinese at Oxford, who had resided in Malacca and Hongkong since 1839 as a missionary, and there brought out his careful translations of the Chinese classics. Of the nine works included under this designation, Dr. Legge has published seven with the text, forming as many large octavo volumes. When the remaining two are finished we shall be in possession of the best version of the series extant in any language. In order to render his labors accessible to general readers he has re-edited three volumes without the Chinese text and exegetical notes, of which the present is the third, and the most interesting by far of the whole to the general reader.

It differs from the two which precede it, however, in that the translation has been entirely recast, and, instead of the bald and prosaic version in the larger volume, we have the odes in an easier-flowing dress, which invites our perusal and will reward our study. A comparison of the two fully proves this to have been the wisest course, if the author wished to make his readers acquainted with the character of this most ancient of Chinese poetical writings and to interest them in the themes and times to which they relate. In his introduction Dr. Legge says:

"When I had resolved to publish the present volume I had no hesitation in deciding that the rendering of every piece should be a faithful

* For shortness, we write the new measures in *italics*, the old in Roman letters.
† The geographical mile intended by the author and generally understood by men of science is one-sixtieth of a degree of longitude on the equator, measured on Bessel's theoretical spheroid, and is equal to 6086.4275 English feet. Unfortunately, this term is ambiguously used, being frequently applied to the nautical mile, etc. Some of our best books are not free from this error.

metrical version of the original. I thought at first of republishing, side by side with each piece, the prose translation in my larger work; but this plan was abandoned, as it would have made the book larger than was desirable, and would have only distracted the attention of the majority of the readers for whom it was intended. They may rest assured, however, that they have here no paraphrase, but the poems of the Chinese writers presented to them faithfully, with as little introduction of ideas of my own or of my helpers as it was possible to attain to. . . . The versification, no doubt, might have been executed better than I and my coadjutors have succeeded in doing; but our labors will, I hope, satisfy my readers that these ancient Chinese poems have, as a whole, not a little poetical merit. At any rate, they have those poems, and not others made by paraphrase from them. If the dress be English, the voice is always Chinese; while much may be learned from them of the mind and manners of feudal China."

This extract furnishes just the information which can guide the scholar, who desires to learn something of the ancient literature of the Chinese, to select this volume as one of the most valuable. The 'She King' has exerted an influence upon the mind of China, during the twenty-five centuries since it was revised and issued by Confucius, which cannot be estimated without a full examination of the history and literature of the people. These 305 odes, which comprise the whole collection, are committed to memory by myriads of students up to the present day, and the thoughts and expressions contained therein have permeated their ideas and writings from age to age perhaps more than the Psalms of David have our own. The best authorities among the Chinese give a range of over a thousand years (from B.C. 1719 to 580) for their production, and they are thus identified with the feudal times of the nation, and were probably culled 'out of thousands of similar ballads and songs now lost. One who compares them with the relics of Grecian and Hebrew poetry will, of course, be disappointed in their limited range of thought and sublimity of diction; but if they did not come to us from an entirely independent source, where should we have the grounds for any comparison at all of such different phases and products of the human mind? This is the very difficulty the Chinese themselves have so long, and do still, labor under—that they have no means of comparing the literature of Western nations with their own; and we feel indebted to diligent students like Dr. Legge, who furnish us with authentic means of learning what the best products of Chinese genius are.

The limits of this notice forbid our introducing more than one example of an early ode, whose date is placed at about B.C. 1100. Its subject-matter will perhaps suggest to some readers Morris's poem, beginning, "Woodman, spare that tree!" The title is 'The Kan tang, narrative. The love of the people for the memory of the Duke of Shaou makes them love the trees beneath which he rested':

"O fell not that sweet pear-tree!
See how its branches spread.
Spoil not its shade,
For Shaou's chief laid
Beneath it his weary head.

"O clip not that sweet pear-tree!
Each twig and leaflet spare.
'Tis sacred now,
Since the lord of Shaou,
When weary, rested him there.

"O touch not that sweet pear-tree!
Bend not a twig of it now,
There long ago,
As the stories show,
'Oft halted the chief of Shaou."

Knight's American Mechanical Dictionary. A description of tools, instruments, machines, processes, and engineering; history of inventions; general technological vocabulary; and digest of mechanical appliances in science and the arts. By Edward H. Knight, Civil and Mechanical Engineer. Illustrated with upwards of 6,000 engravings. Vol. III. Pan-Zym. (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1876.)—At nearly the three-thousandth page this important work comes to an end. We have already, in speaking of the previous volumes, expressed our opinion of Mr. Knight's undertaking, but we are glad to make the completion of it an opportunity for repeating with emphasis the praise which we bestowed upon it in the beginning. In fact, there is in this final volume even an ampler measure both of text and illustrations than we had reason to expect, showing that the conscientious thoroughness of the editor and the liberality of the publishers have held out to the end. Altogether the 'Mechanical Dictionary' must be reckoned among the trophies of the Universal Yankee's Centennial year. Among the leading topics of the present volume we may allude to Paper, Printing, Railway, Reaper, Sewing-machine; Steam, Steamboat, Steam-boiler, and the whole category to Steam-hammer and Steam-plough; Wood, Wood-working tools and machines. Under Printing we have, on p. 1792, a handy table showing the cost of one ream and of 100 sheets of paper at various weights per ream and cost per pound; and so, likewise, under Steam is given, p. 2320, a table of the elastic force, temperature, volume, and

density of steam under various temperatures and pressures. Under Sewing-machine we have a classified list of machines and attachments patented in this country from Feb. 21, 1842, to Mar. 9, 1875—a list covering eleven pages of fine print in triple columns. Along with this a full-page plate shows to the eye not less than 68 machine stitches. Other interesting articles are Telephone, not quite brought down to the date of Mr. Bell's latest marvellous experiments, but giving a history of the steps leading towards it; Torpedo; Tunnel; Ventilation, with a sectional view of the Senate wing of the Capitol at Washington, showing the pressure and exhaust ventilating apparatus; Washing-machine; Water-metre, etc. The Howe truss, made famous by the Ashtabula disaster, is pictured under Truss-bridge and Wooden-bridge. Some of the cuts representing Shoe-making machines are extremely interesting. Type-setting machines to the number of more than 70 are enumerated, and are a melancholy exhibit of labor not yet fully, much less fairly, rewarded.

A feature of this Dictionary which we formerly pointed out as of great utility—namely, the alphabetical list of things and names pertaining to a given art or industry, which is subjoined to the generic term and serves as an index to the details or as a reminder of a forgotten technical name—is very prominent in this volume. We may refer for examples of this to the articles Photography, Railway engineering and plant, Ship-building, Steam-engine, Vehicle, Weapons and accoutrements, Wheel, and especially Wood. To follow out one of these lists would be no mean education for the craft selected. We conclude by saying that this Dictionary, whose usefulness is appreciated in the Patent Office, is itself an adjunct of our patent system which can hardly fail to bear fruit in our inventive soil.

Goethe's West-Eastern Divan. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by John Weiss. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877.)—It always requires some hardihood to attempt to put into English Goethe's lyrical poems, and the 'West-östlicher Divan' seems as unpromising as any. In the first place, this collection contains few of his best poems, admirable as many of them are, and then the Eastern flavor which pervades the greater number, although it is not given undue prominence, is yet sufficiently marked to make the work of translation, which was sure to be hard, even harder. One is safe in saying that only those who wanted to study Goethe thoroughly would read the whole of the 'Divan,' while any one who took such a degree of interest in him would probably know enough German to read his poetry in the original. But granting that there are readers who prefer to turn to a translation, Mr. Weiss assures them they will find that he has preserved "the structure of each verse, the strict number and sequence of them, the whole system of rhyming." Outwardly this is true, yet the grace and beauty of the original have almost wholly vanished. Where Goethe used a simple, lucid phrase, the translator too often renders it by some painfully literal, grating English line which is almost unintelligible. Who, for instance, can find this clear?

"Who can tell of her fulfilling!
Bottom of such depth who knows?
She, self-felt, with song o'erspilling,
Self-made to the mouth it goes.

"Among all ye poetesses
Equal to her is not one;
When she sings, myself she blesses,
Yourselves ye sing and love alone."

The faulty grammar of the first line of the second stanza is a trifle in comparison with the general obscurity. Another example, taken from the beautiful poem beginning, "Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen," will show how unsatisfactorily the smoothness of the original is given in the translation, which here has only the roughness of a literal version without the accuracy. The German runs thus:

"Die Bewegung deiner Flügel
Weckt im Busen stilles Schnen;
Blumen, Auen, Wald und Hügel
Stehn bei deinem Hauch in Thränen.

"Sag' ihm, aber sag's bescheiden!
Seine Liebe sey mein Leben:
Freudiges Gefühl von beiden
Wird mir seine Nähe geben."

Mr. Weiss renders this as follows:

"In the breast a quiet longing
Wakes at motion of thy wing,
Tears on flower, hill, and meadow
In thy breath are gathering.

"Say to him, but say it lowly,
That his love is all my life;
Joyous touch of both he gives me
When his nearness ends their strife."

It is unnecessary to give more examples of the faults which fill the

book. The minor errors are few in number. The word *Mücke* is wrongly translated *turban* on p. 19, and twice is to be found the word *cooses*:

"With the dust it plays and cooses," p. 130;

and,

"List how man with angel cooses," p. 191.

The introduction and notes are interesting, although marred by more than one instance of Mr. Weiss's peculiar rhetoric.

Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. Edited by James Donald, F.R.G.S. (London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers; New York: R. Worthington. 1876.)—This is not quite the book a philologist would expect from the title. It is not a special etymological dictionary like Wedgwood, for example, or Müller; it is essentially a pronouncing and defining school dictionary. But it gives the derivation of each word concisely, much after the manner of White and Riddle's Latin Dictionary, or Liddell and Scott's Greek, and it has tables of prefixes and affixes, so that it gives as much etymology as is needed by school-boys. The vocabulary includes all common English words, the obsolete words of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and Milton, and a large number of scientific terms and phrases. The pronunciation is clearly given by repeating each word in phonetic spelling. The derivations are reliable as representing the latest investigations, including, to be sure, an occasional fancy from Wedgwood. It is clearly but compactly-printed, so as to make a book of convenient size and small price. On the whole it is a thoroughly good piece of work on the part of editor, printers, and publishers. The

makers of our American dictionaries should look to their laurels—Webster and Worcester are growing old.

* Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Abbott (E.) and Mansfield (E. D.), Primer of Greek Accidence.....	(Livingtons)
Alexander (Mrs.), Heritage of Langdale.....	(Herry Holt & Co.) \$1 25
Amory (T. C.), Transfer of Erin.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Bezold (Dr. E.), Gesetzgebung des Deutschen Reiches, Vol. II., Part III., swd.....	(E. Steiger)
Beckwith (A.), Majolica and Fayence.....	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Chambers's Encyclopedia of English Literature, 3d ed., 2 vols.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Cohn (Prof. G.), Vertheuerung des Lebensunterhaltes, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Contanseau (L.), Pocket Dictionary of French and English, new ed.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. I.....	(Robt. Clarke & Co.) 3 00
Dugdale (R. L.), "The Jukes," swd.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Erckmann Chatrian (M.), Friend Fritz.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 25
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Heyer (Dr. F.), Canossa and Venedig, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Horton (S. D.), Silver and Gold in the Problem of Resumption, new ed.....	(Robt. Clarke & Co.) 1 50
Horwicz (A.), Wesen und Aufgabe der Philosophie, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Kirchner (Dr. F.), Reform des Religions-Unterrichts, swd.....	(Porter & Coates) 1 00
Loffie (W. J.), Plea for Art in the House.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 3 50
Longman (F. W.), Pocket Dictionary of German and English.....	(Macmillan & Co.)
Martin (F.), Statesman's Year-Book for 1877.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Memoirs of Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman, swd.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Meyer (A. B.), Die Minahassa auf Celebes, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Nöggerath (G. A.), Die Achat-Industrie im Fürstenthum Birkenfeld, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Perry (Prof. A. N.), Introduction to Political Economy.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Pomeroy (J. N.), The Code of Remedial Justice Reviewed and Criticised, swd.....	(Albany)
Stanley (Rev. A. P.), Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, new ed.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Stillman (W. J.), Herzegovina and the late Uprising.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Stokes (Prof.), Absorption of Light and the Colors of Natural Bodies, swd.....	(Macmillan & Co.)
Stricker (Dr. W.), Goethe und Frankfurt-am-Main, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Troelen (E.), Lessing's Nathan der Weise, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)

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Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1876, ...	2,172,260 07
Total amount of Marine Premiums, ...	\$7,101,457 73

No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire disconnected with Marine Risks.	
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1876, to 31st December, 1876, ...	\$5,061,095 12
Losses paid during the same period, ...	\$1,865,193 49
Returns of Premiums and Expenses, ...	\$1,038,410 35

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City, Bank, and other Stocks, ... 1,779,300 00
Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise, ... 267,000 00
Real Estate and Bonds and Mortgages, ...
Interest, and sundry Notes and Claims due the Company, estimated at 402,350 10
Premium Notes and Bills receivable, ... 1,812,504 38
Cash in Bank, ... 365,012 74
Total Amount of Assets, ... \$15,694,867 31

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1877.

The Week.

THE Democratic filibusters kept up their fight against the Electoral count till the end, although it was known a week ago that their efforts would be unavailing. When the State of Vermont was reached, an attempt was made to introduce a paper purporting to be a second return and so get the State referred to the Commission, but this, of course, failed. They then determined to object to Virginia and West Virginia, but no Senator would sign the objections. Finally, after scenes of great excitement, the proceedings were closed by the counting of the vote of Wisconsin and the announcement, at 4.10 A.M. on Friday, by Mr. Ferry, that Hayes and Wheeler had received 185 votes, and were consequently elected.

President Hayes's inaugural address is in the main an amplification of his letter of acceptance, and must thus have had the charm of novelty for the Republican managers, as none of them during the canvass seemed to have any recollection of the letter or its contents. He opens by dwelling on the supreme importance of the pacification of the South, and as a means to this end mentions "honest and peaceful local self-government," recognizing and maintaining inviolate the rights of both races in hearty and loyal submission to the Constitution and the laws, and calls on men of all parties for their co-operation in the work of restoring the South. He does not indicate clearly what course he intends to pursue in the matter, but any vagueness there may be in his utterances is of the less consequence as he will be called on for immediate action on this question. Of the necessity of civil-service reform he speaks in the strongest way, and what he means by the term he makes perfectly clear—appointment for competency, and tenure during good behavior—and recommends an amendment to the Constitution extending the Presidential term to six years and forbidding re-election. As to foreign relations he expresses, with some simplicity, his reliance on arbitration as a means of evading all differences, and, touching lightly on the Presidential contest, endeavors to console the vanquished by the reflection that it was decided by the best tribunal that could be created for the purpose, and that if the result was not satisfactory it must be remembered that "human judgment is never unerring, and is rarely regarded as otherwise than wrong by the unsuccessful party." He concludes by praying, in the noble English of the Episcopal liturgy, "that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundation, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations." The address is a clear, modest, and sensible document, which promises nothing which reasonable men may not hope to see performed, and leaves nothing untouched of which mention was desirable.

The Cabinet at this writing is considered half formed. Of Mr. Evarts's accession to the State Department, in case of the Republican success, there has never been any doubt, so plainly was he marked out for it by his talents, services, and character. He has literally no competitor in the party. Mr. Sherman's appointment to the Treasury, on the other hand, coupled with the probability that he will be the ruling spirit of the new Administration, will cause more or less apprehension among the friends of reform—not enough certainly to make them withhold their support from the new Administration, but enough to make them a little watchful and uneasy. If Mr. Sherman has, during his long service in the Senate, been in favor of civil-service reform in any shape whatever, or hostile to the ordinary methods of political management, he has concealed it with a success which makes one fear that he is a

very timid man. Then the friends of sound currency cannot forget that though he has been on the whole in favor of a return to specie payments, he has dodged about so much, and been on such good terms with the inflationists, that nobody knew where to find him at any particular juncture. The supporters of the public credit, too, will remember with bitterness that when, in 1867, those two demagogues, Butler and Morton, alarmed the country by advocating the payment of the bonds in greenbacks, Mr. Sherman strengthened their influence by bringing in a bill for the conversion of the five-twenties into a five per cent. bond, and advising the bondholders, in an elaborate speech, to accept the reduction of interest without the option of being paid off, lest the followers of Butler and Morton should become uncontrollable, and a worse thing happen them. Those who believe, as we do, that Hayes's title to the Presidency is as good as a man can have under the circumstances in a government by law, will nevertheless see with regret in the present condition of the public mind the appearance at the head of his Cabinet of one of the "Visiting Statesmen," whose presence encouraged the Louisiana Returning Board in their iniquity, and who afterwards whitewashed them in a most disingenuous report. Mr. Hayes's best friends will be those least disposed to condone that most discreditable feature in the late conflict.

The remaining appointments, Messrs. Schurz, McCrary, and Key, will be received, we are sure, with hearty satisfaction, and as a strong indication of the sincerity of Mr. Hayes's professions. That he has put Mr. Schurz in the Cabinet speaks highly for his courage, and we have no doubt illustrates his gratitude also, for Schurz is the one man who took an active part in the late canvass whose labors did not help to destroy the Republican majority. No man has, therefore, on the lowest party ground, a better claim to honor and reward than he, and there is no man whose presence in the Cabinet will furnish the public with a better guarantee that Mr. Hayes's Administration is doing the work expected of it by those who voted for him. But we have no doubt that the fight with the politicians will begin over Mr. Schurz, and that Mr. Hayes's ability to keep him will show whether he is the man for whom an afflicted people has for eight years been praying. If he has confidence in the public, the greatest fame of the century except Lincoln's is within his reach; but if this fails him, and he cries aloud in the perilous places for the managers to take him by the hand, he will be the greatest failure in American history. Grant had at least his military career behind him.

Congress adjourned at noon on Sunday after a session of nearly twenty-four hours. All the appropriation bills went through, with the exception of the Army and the River and Harbor bills. The failure of the latter is of no particular moment, but as money will be needed for the support of the army by the end of May, a special session in the course of a few months is deemed unavoidable. The Forty-fourth Congress passed few general laws of much importance, but the list of the bills that failed is a long and noticeable one. No progress has been made with the Senate bills to compromise the difficulties between the Government and the Pacific railroads; the Bankrupt Act is still unrepealed; the bill to extend the time for completing the Northern Pacific road did not pass. The House bills for a further distribution of the Geneva award; for the restoration of the silver dollar; for the equalization of bounties; and for the transfer of Indian affairs to the War Department, all failed. The Texas and Pacific subsidy scheme got no further than a committee's favorable report could carry it, though it will, no doubt, be heard from as soon as Congress comes together again, when the Pacific and Brazilian Mail subsidies, which also failed, may be revived. Among the measures which failed were Mr. D. D. Field's *quo-warranto* bill, which received only sixty-six votes in the House.

The special session of the Senate began on Monday with the election of Mr. Ferry as President *pro tem.* and the swearing in the newly-elected Senators, nineteen in number, eleven Democrats and eight Republicans. A resolution was adopted that all disputed credentials should lie over till the next day, consequently the cases of Louisiana (Kellogg), Mississippi (Morgan and Lamar), and South Carolina (where Corbin and Butler are contestants for the single vacant seat), did not come up till Tuesday, when Spencer, of Alabama, tried in vain to get a couple of votes to exclude Mr. Lamar. Mr. Lamar was defended by Mr. Blaine as *prima-facie* elect, but merely as a cover for securing the admission of Kellogg without dispute. With the airs imported from the House he declaimed about the election of Hayes resting on identically the same basis as that of Packard, and challenged the Administration to recognize Nicholls. Mr. Blaine's account of what the Commission had decided in regard to the Louisiana Returning Board was contradicted by Mr. Thurman, and was contrary to the knowledge of every Senator, including Mr. Blaine himself. An exchange of incivilities between Blaine and Morton enlivened the debate. Governor Grover, of Oregon, did not appear on Monday to claim his seat.

The Democrats of the House have issued an address to "the American people," beginning with "a review of the events which have resulted in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes." Two facts, they say, stood out prominently in the canvass—first, that the Republican party sought to unify the North against "the solid South," and at the same time was busily engaged in dividing the votes of the South; second, that troops were sent to States in which "there was neither invasion nor insurrection to require them." This is true, but the conclusion drawn that "in depositing their ballots they enjoyed only such liberty as the army permitted" is ridiculous. They allege that 196 Tilden electors were chosen, and that he got more than "one million majority of the Caucasian race"; that on the day after the election the Chairman of the Republican National Committee announced, "although nothing had been learned of the election except the vote actually cast," that 184 Tilden and 185 Hayes electors had been chosen. The conclusion they draw from this is that "such an announcement could only have been made in pursuance of an arrangement to change the vote shown to have been given by the people." What they ought to have said was that "such an announcement justified the suspicion, etc.," which, we think, no candid man can deny. They then charge certain Florida and Louisiana Republicans with a conspiracy to cheat the Democrats out of the Presidency (at which, they say, leading Republicans connived), and J. Madison Wells with having actually sold the decision of the Returning Board to the Republicans after having offered it for \$200,000 to the Democrats. The latter of these accusations is, we believe, sufficiently proved; of the former there is no proof whatever. They recite the history of the Electoral Commission, maintain that its duty was to ascertain whether the election in the disputed States had been fair, and that the public expected it to do so; assert vigorously that fraud vitiates everything; draw a mournful picture of the probable consequences of the decision of the Commission; declare that Hayes has been "fraudulently elected" and is a "usurper," and call on the people not to acquiesce, and to take every opportunity of "expressing their horror of the outrage." The address is signed by Hurd of Ohio, Gibson of Louisiana, Abbott of Massachusetts, Singleton of Mississippi, and Lynde of Wisconsin. There is a great deal of truth in the document, and less than the usual amount of extravagant language; but the account of the Commission and its proceedings is highly evasive and unsatisfactory, and deprives the discourse of much of the weight to which on other grounds it would be entitled.

The Democratic papers have, since the announcement of the result of the count, devoted themselves chiefly to denunciation of the frauds and perjuries of the Republicans, to wails over the state to which they have brought the country, and to predictions of how the

Usurper will now proceed to ruin himself. A week or two of this kind of thing nobody has any right to find fault with, but we trust it will not be kept up too long. If the Democrats mean to make an effective opposition they ought not to dream for a moment that Hayes's "usurpation" will serve their turn for four years, or that they will be able to carry a majority of the States in 1880 because the election of 1876 was carried with the help of the Returning Boards. Nine-tenths of the people throughout the country are heartily tired of the dispute that has been going on for the last four months, and are disposed to judge of the new Administration, whatever they may think of the character of its title, by what it actually does. If the Democrats wish to retain as much of the public confidence as they have undoubtedly gained by their behavior during the winter, they must do it by accepting the situation, and proving that their late professions of a desire for reform sprang from a well-defined policy, which, whether in power or in opposition, they mean to try to carry out. They must insist on civil-service reform and revenue reform, and show themselves better reformers than the Republicans they oppose. They will not be afraid either, if they really have reform at heart, of alliances with men of the opposite party which tend to further reform, any more than the Southern leaders have been afraid of acting with the Republicans to secure a settlement of the Presidential dispute. They may rely upon it that they can now do nothing more pleasing to the Republicans than to employ themselves in denouncing the "usurper," because it distracts them from their proper business of watching carefully what the "usurper" is doing, and thus enables the latter's "wicked partners" (a long and heated campaign always increases the membership of the firm enormously) to cook the accounts, to make private contracts, to give themselves fat berths, and to reorganize the management of the concern in their own way.

The Silver Commission has made a majority and minority report, the former signed by Messrs. Bland, Groesbeck, Jones, Bogy, and Willard, the latter by Messrs. Boutwell and Gibson and Professor Bowen. The testimony taken is probably, for those who are interested in the question, a good deal more valuable than the reports, though it ought to be said that the accounts in circulation of the manner in which it was taken are not very favorable, inasmuch as they go to show that the majority went into the enquiry in search of a foregone conclusion, argued with the persons examined, and conducted the enquiry in the style of a lawyer trying a cause. The majority report maintains that the recent fall in the price of silver was not due to excessive production, as commonly supposed, but to the demonetization of silver by Germany and the United States and other countries, the diminution in the Asiatic demand for it, and the spread of exaggerated reports as to the yield of the Nevada mines; attributes to this demonetization the prevailing business depression all over the civilized world, denounces gold as a poor and variable standard, the supply of which is diminishing, and recommends the free coinage of both metals as legal-tender to any amount; but the signers are unable to agree upon the relation in which gold and silver should stand to each other, some proposing $15\frac{1}{2}$ and the others $15\frac{3}{4}$ %. The majority likewise allege that we cannot resume specie payments in gold alone, because there is not gold enough available for the purpose, and they recommend the use of silver also, for reasons which are apparently not intended to be humorous. One is that both "metals are found under our own flag," and because as soon as we made silver a legal tender we should be flooded with the demonetized silver of Europe, which some people think very dreadful, but which this majority think very desirable, for what is silver "but money and one of the precious metals?" In other words, the more silver we have the better, whatever may be its purchasing power; and they hold, moreover, that the fact that so many nations are adopting the gold standard is a reason why we should avoid it, as we could not succeed "in the disastrous race" against them for gold—which leads us to wish that they had defined what they mean by "standard."

The minority report that the double standard, even if adopted, could not be maintained, inasmuch as the laws of trade, which govern the value of gold and silver like other commodities, would prevent it, and that it never has been maintained; and show easily, by a simple reference to the market quotations of bullion, that if we made silver a legal tender side by side with gold the gold would at once be exported, and we should be left to trade on silver alone, which, "demonetized and discarded" in other countries, would flow in on us from every quarter to play the part of a depreciated currency. They declare also that the effect on the credit of the country would be mischievous, inasmuch as when the act of 1862 was passed, setting aside the customs duties in coin for certain purposes, the standard of value was practically gold, and the word "coin" was understood by the public creditor to mean gold. Moreover, if the duties were based on fluctuating silver, the importers would suffer all the inconvenience they now suffer from fluctuating paper, and we should be placed at a great disadvantage in our dealings with London, the great financial centre of the world, where the gold standard only is maintained.

The Louisiana case appears to remain in the same condition as last week. Last Thursday the President sent a despatch to Packard informing him that troops could no longer be employed to uphold either claimant, and on Saturday he announced that he had cancelled all orders for the preservation of the *status quo*; that the people of Louisiana were henceforth "as free in their affairs from Federal interference as the people of Connecticut"; that if the Nicholls government should take possession of the offices "without mob violence" there would be no military interference; and that a posse executing the process of a Nicholls court would be interfered with "no more than in any other State." The despatch to Packard caused great consternation among his supporters in New Orleans and Washington, and led to a good deal of telegraphing backward and forward, the result of which is that the Nicholls party have very wisely postponed all action against Kellogg until the Louisiana case can be finally acted on by the new Administration.

The position of affairs in South Carolina has been advanced one stage further by the decision of the Supreme Court of the Chamberlain-Hampton contest. The matter came before the Court on application of a convict named Tilda Norris, pardoned by Hampton, for her release from the penitentiary. It now appears that on the 27th of last month an order was entered in the case discharging the prisoner. Judge Wright, the only negro on the bench, manifested hesitation in agreeing to the decision, but finally signed the order, begging at the same time for delay in the announcement of the decision, on account of his fears as to his personal safety. For the next two days and nights Wright was threatened, cajoled, argued with, brow-beaten, prayed to, and otherwise "bulldozed." This treatment had the desired effect, and he relented and tried to get possession of the order for the purpose of erasing his signature. Failing in this, he entered an order of his own withdrawing his signature and substituting a dissenting opinion. On this the court came together, but the Chief-justice, Moses, being paralyzed, could not be present. Wright did not appear at all, and the sheriff had to be sent after him; but his return being "not found," the opinion of the court was delivered by Judge Willard, who announced that the final order was entered on the 27th, that Judge Wright's subsequent order was of no effect, and that Hampton, having been duly elected, was governor of the State; that his pardon is consequently valid, and that the prisoner must be discharged. Tilda Norris was at once released. Almost every judge in South Carolina has now recognized, in one way or another, the Hampton government.

The U. S. Treasury during the week notified the holders of \$20,000,000 more 5-20 6 per cent. bonds that they would be redeemed ninety days from the respective days of notification. This makes a total of \$100,000,000 5-20 6 per cent. bonds notified for redemption since the formation of the present Syndicate, all of which

have been replaced with 4½ per cent. bonds. The main advantage secured by the advance in the public credit to the point at which a 4½ per cent. bond can be sold at or above par in gold is the reduction of 1½ per cent. in the interest account of a considerable part of the public debt, no use having yet been made of this high credit to prepare for resumption. The Wall Street markets were but little affected by the political news of the week; the crusade against railroad stocks was checked, and prices recovered part of the decline of the preceding week. The settlement of the Presidential contest was regarded by all classes as the harbinger of better times for every material interest. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar ranged during the week between \$0.9592 and \$0.9523.

There is no very marked change in the Eastern situation. In so far as any change at all is perceptible, it is in the growth of an opinion that Russia does not wish to fight, and will not if it can be made easy for her to withdraw from her present position. Accordingly, there are schemes on foot for getting Turkey to offer some guarantee for her reforms that will satisfy Russian pride—such, for instance, as a pledge, addressed to the Powers collectively, that the promised reforms will be carried out within a year, of course on pain of military execution if default is again made. The latest rumor, indeed, is that Russia is disposed to be satisfied with something of this kind. The other and less hopeful view, and we are inclined to believe a more likely one, is that Russia is whiling away the muddying season in notes and memoranda, knowing full well that the mere delay is, in the present condition of Turkey, doing the work of a disastrous campaign, and so that it is within the bounds of probability that by May 1 there will be no need to fight. The Ottoman army on the Danube is now enormous, poorly equipped in everything but arms, badly drilled and clothed and doctored, very sickly, not paid at all, and largely composed of levies who have left their fields untilled in Asia Minor, and know that their families run the risk of perishing of famine next summer. The treasury, too, is empty, the dissensions in the official class at Constantinople deep and bitter, and rumors of the present Sultan's folly and extravagance begin to spread. In short, Turkey is bleeding at every pore, and there may any day be a convulsion that will break up the government, throw the Mussulmans back on that old-fashioned plan of salvation, "a general massacre," and compel the Powers to intervene, if for nothing else, for proper division of the spoil.

The elections to the new Turkish Parliament are going on, and there is by the constitution to be one deputy for every 50,000 inhabitants; but in the absence of an electoral law regulating the manner of holding the elections, which the first Parliament is to pass, the members are on this occasion to be elected by the Provincial Councils, which are composed mainly of Mussulmans, and the Christians they are sending up are said to be nonentities. Still it is doubtful whether they have much choice in the matter, as few Christians of any prominence have the courage to serve. Consul Holmes, who has lived thirty years in Turkey, has presented an interesting report to the British Government, giving his reasons for thinking that all mixed representative bodies in Turkey must be farces and hindrances to good government. He says that the Christians who serve in such assemblies in the provinces are, if they venture to open their mouths at all, afraid to differ from their Mussulman colleagues, and when, under instructions from his Minister, he made efforts in Bosnia to get Christians of local prominence to enter them, he found they would not think of it, through fear of "getting into trouble." Outrages continue to be reported from Bulgaria. One of the latest is amusing. A Turkish *zaptieh*, or gendarme, being annoyed by a Christian village mayor, saddled and bridled him, rode him up and down the village street, had him groomed and fed with hay, and then tied him to a post in public, from which nobody ventured to release him until the *zaptieh*, after some hours, relented.

COMPARATIVE BEARING OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES
SINCE THE ELECTION.

FROM the day of the Presidential election to the completion of the counting of the electoral votes by Congress, the Republican party has appeared, to an observer, in three successive and distinct attitudes. The first, of only too brief duration, was that of the penitent, and was maintained during the few hours in which reports of Tilden's success were almost universally believed. The disjointed confessions of sin which then began to find utterance were sad but healthful, and had they been continued might have had a wholesome effect. They were checked, however, with great suddenness as soon as the discovery was made that there was yet some chance of the party's continuance in power, and many zealous partisans would now be glad to blot out from newspaper files and efface from readers' memories all record of those unhappy hours.

The moment it was understood that sackcloth and ashes had been donned too hastily, an entirely different attitude was taken and kept until the meeting of the Electoral College, or until the final decision of the Returning Boards of the "disputed" States. A typical illustration of the bearing of the party during this period was furnished by the visiting Republicans who hastened to New Orleans the week following the election. In their letters to the visiting Democrats and in their subsequent report to the President the intentions of the party were set forth as plainly almost as though declared in explicit language: These disputed electoral votes are now within our reach or may yet be placed where we can grasp them, and although you Democrats now stand in the way and embarrass us somewhat, nevertheless, if we can manage to get around you, we intend to have them. The attitude assumed irresistibly suggested that of a dog which, discovering a joint of meat carelessly hung where he believes he can reach it, would at once dash toward and seize it, but, observing a watcher, checks his intended course and assumes an appearance of innocence, without in the least giving up his purpose of carrying off the coveted joint as soon as he can do so with safety. It is impossible to gloss over the doings of the Republican party at this time. It exhibited precisely such characteristics as, manifested under analogous circumstances by any single man, would inevitably cause him to be described as a sneak. Though not guilty of positive crime, it was willing to reap the profits of criminal action on the part of others. Its prominent men became suddenly unable to perceive anything rascally in the character of such persons as Wells and his associates, and could not recollect that Sheridan, Grant, investigating committees, and Congress itself had, in different ways, formally pronounced judgment against the men for whose favorable decision they were now pleading.

One very important fact should not be lost sight of here. If the men who composed the Returning Board of Louisiana had been of well-trying and acknowledged probity, Republicans could not have been too anxious, even then, to throw the strongest light of publicity upon all their actions. These men, thus suddenly pushed into the position of judges over vast interests, were political brothers and allies of the Republicans, or, at least, their creatures and servants. The least appearance of wished-for concealment, therefore, was certain to beget suspicion of fraud or collusion. In private life any sensitive man would dread to have a case decided in his favor by persons to whom he held similar relations. When, therefore, this intimate relation between the leaders of the party and the members of the Returning Boards is considered in connection with the notoriously bad character of some of the latter, and with the additional fact that many of them (more especially, however, in South Carolina and Florida) were in the position of bribed judges, inasmuch as they were candidates for offices which might be acquired or lost by their own decisions, no candid man can believe that we have unjustly characterized the attitude of the Republicans during the dreary weeks in which we waited for the decisions from the "doubtful" States.

Honorable men were, of course, deeply grieved by this equivocal or scandalous position of their party, and a few managed to make themselves heard in protest but were powerless to effect anything to the contrary. Too many of the prominent "workers" and "managers" had made up their minds that the desired votes should be theirs, and their determination was either openly abetted or, at least, silently acquiesced in by an overwhelming majority of the party followers and party organs. What we have said with especial reference to Louisiana is equally applicable, with some necessary corrections, of course, and with somewhat less force, to South Carolina and Florida.

The last attitude of the party, from the meeting of the Electoral College to the 1st of March, was that of sullen defiance. The dog had got his joint and meant to keep it. The votes were tightly clutched, and any feeling of shame with reference to the manner of their acquisition was suppressed by the intensity of the determination that not one should be given up until safely counted. But how could the votes be safely counted with any show of legal justification? Not, certainly, by any law or precedent adopted or established by the Republicans during their sixteen years' control of the Government. The Twenty-second Joint Rule, enacted by themselves to meet the exigencies of former counts, if now followed, would defeat them; so would their own precedent with reference to Louisiana. The principles of Morton's Electoral Bill, which many of them had earnestly favored less than a year before, if now adopted would bring the same result. Something new was needed, and was accordingly invented, for only as an invention can we describe the project that the President of the Senate should count whatever votes commended themselves to his judgment as valid. A scheme, accepted because a certain chair was occupied by a Republican, which would not have been thought of if a Democrat had been seated in the same place, does not require rational consideration. In favor of this scheme, nevertheless, many of the party leaders defiantly stood firm for at least six weeks, or until the fears of Democratic violence, the opinion of the decent men of the party, and an outraged public sentiment required its relinquishment. But they did not willingly abandon it even then. Fifty-four Republican members of Congress voted, indeed, for the establishment of the Electoral Commission, but eighty-four Republican members voted against it, and to the Democrats, therefore, must be accorded the credit of the passage of the measure which saved the country from possible anarchy and enabled the Republicans to convey their chosen President "unchallenged to his chair." The selection of Morton as a member of the Electoral Commission, an outrageous impropriety from almost any point of view—as great, for instance, as would have been our putting Ben Butler on the Geneva Tribunal—was, nevertheless, fully in keeping with other party practices from the beginning of the unfortunate controversy. There is a great deal, undoubtedly, in the words and actions of individual Republicans which contrasts sharply with the above unpleasant exhibition, but in the course of the party as a party there is almost nothing in the history of the past four months which any member, good or bad, would not be glad to have forgotten.

If, now, we consider the course of the Democratic party during the same period and in connection with the same events, we have concessions to make with which the country has been long unfamiliar. The invitation sent by the visiting Democrats at New Orleans to the Republicans to meet in conference, "in order to exert influence in favor of an honest count and true return of the votes," was reasonable and commendable from any point of view save that of a designing Republican; and the report of the same Democrats, subsequently made, was certainly a more complete document than that of the Republicans, and, in its admission of "irregularities" and "the evidence of intimidation and violence on both sides," a more candid one also. Of all the dismal investigations subsequent to the election, moreover, the only unpartisan report we now recall was that made by a Democratic committee which declared that South Carolina had voted for Hayes. The position of the more extreme Democrats with reference to the counting of the votes—that

the House had exclusive power—was certainly as violent as that of the Republicans, but it never had the support of the better members of the party, and was adopted by others rather as an offset to the scheme of the Republicans than because of any real belief that it could be sustained.

We have already conceded to the Democrats the chief share of credit in the establishment of the Electoral Commission; and in the acceptance of its decisions, in spite of severe temptation to the contrary, all credit, of course, belongs to them. It must not be forgotten here that the Democrats had tenfold more cause to be dissatisfied with the decision of the Commission than the Republicans would have had if the decision had been reversed. The Democrats fully believed (whatever the fact) that Tilden was fairly elected, and had perfect confidence, moreover, that the Commission would so decide. This confidence, indeed, was fully shared by Sherman, Blaine, Morton, Garfield, Hale, and other Republicans, and furnished them with a sufficient reason for opposing the Commission's formation. Very many leading Democrats, moreover, undoubtedly believed that the Republican party, first, by conniving with rascally Returning Boards, and, second, by partisan decisions in the Electoral Commission, was fraudulently depriving them of the fruits of a hard-fought and fairly-won battle. That they were willing, under the circumstances, to stand by their agreement, and to abide by the decisions of the Commission, may have been nothing more than they ought to have done, but was, nevertheless, a sign of political virtue such as the best Republicans may be thankful they were not called upon to exhibit. That some of their number indulged in vigorous and indignant protestations is a fact which an honest Republican must judge by putting himself in their place. That there was not more excitement under the circumstances is something to be wondered at. The conduct of the "filibustering" Democrats was bad enough, but was more than counterbalanced by that of the more reputable members of the party; for, at the last, the peaceful inauguration of Hayes was made possible only by the firmness of Randall, the Speaker—a man who has never been suspected of saintliness or of excessive love for the animating principles of "the party of moral ideas."

The misconduct of the Democrats during the crisis has, in fact, consisted almost wholly in intemperance of language. Their sole recourse to legal fraud was in the Oregon affair, and would that we could say the Florida and Louisiana juggles had received as little countenance or support from the Republican chiefs as the Oregon juggle did from the Democrats! The appearance of the terrible David Dudley Field in the last session of Congress was damaging to them mainly because of his prominence as an investigator; as a simple "statesman" they would have suffered but little from him. In fact, as far as their course taken altogether during the electoral crisis is concerned, it is impossible to deny that they have gained in credit and the Republicans have lost, and if the Democratic party were not apparently doomed to fatuous leadership it would give the country during the coming Presidential term what it has so long and so sorely needed—a strong opposition possessing some moral weight with the best portion of the people. The address just issued by the House Democrats, however, does not encourage much hope on this score, for it ends with a screaming recommendation to follow the course most sure to disgust the public, and again close the political future to the party, namely, the pursuit of Hayes with a factious hostility, on the ground that he is not lawfully elected. It is extraordinary that politicians of the smallest experience and sagacity should fail to see that Hayes is now the President of the United States, and the only one there is or can be, and that popular confidence and support will inevitably be gathered to him, therefore, in view of the fact that, good or bad, he represents the nation to the world. All impugning of his title, and all heaping of insults on him now on the score of "fraud," will very soon touch the national pride, and cover those engaged in it with an odium which nobody who remembers how much national pride has to do with the success of free government will be sorry to witness.

THE GRANGER DECISIONS.

THE Supreme Court has decided the various cases known as the "Granger Cases," and arising out of the "Granger Movement" of three years ago, between the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and the proprietors of grain-elevators and railroad companies in those States, touching the power of the State Legislatures to regulate the charges made for the storage of grain and transportation of freight and passengers. The decision is, in substance, that the common-law power of the State governments to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen, bakers, millers, wharfingers, innkeepers, etc., applies to railroads and grain-elevators, and that it has in no way been diminished and restricted by the Constitution of the United States, and that the State legislatures have the right to decide by statute, if they please, what are "reasonable rates" of transportation. Two years ago the judgment would have created a good deal of excitement, and probably have had a serious effect on the market value of railroad property in the States from which the appeals were taken. Since then the hostility to railroads, in which the legislation fixing rates originated, has disappeared, and the Granger movement itself, as a political force, has collapsed, so that the decision is not now likely to have any marked immediate influence. Some of its indirect and remote consequences are, however, worth the attention of investors, and we may be pardoned for repeating on this subject some of the remarks we made on it three years ago, when the Granger fury was at its height, and grave and sensible men were found ready to accept the ideas which lay behind the "Potter Law," as if they were hereafter to form part of the order of nature.

The decision of the Supreme Court leaves the railroads of this country in precisely the same position towards the Government as the railroads of all civilized countries. In all of them the state holds the power of regulation and control, and no one doubts the reasonableness and expediency of its exercising that power, nor does its doing so in any way diminish the value of the property. There is a Railroad Commission now sitting in England which has powers of interference with the working of railroads such as no body in existence in this country possesses, and such as have never been claimed for any agent of the state, and it exercises those powers nearly every week. It prevents unfair discrimination in rates, or in the stoppage of trains or location of stations, and in fact exercises on the complaint of persons aggrieved a supervision of the relations of the railroad corporations to the country such as the Grangers in their hottest days never asked for; and this is true, with modifications, of the Government supervision of railroads on the Continent. Wherever we go the state meddles with the railroads and treats them as common carriers; but nowhere except in the Western States of the Union does such interference, or the threat of it, excite alarm and depreciate the property of the stockholders.

The reason of this is that in no other civilized states is corporate property, or any property, in any way devoted to public use, exposed as it is in the Western States to damage or depreciation through gusts of popular passion. It is one thing to have rates regulated in a calm and judicial spirit by persons equally careful for the rights of railroad proprietors and those of the public, and desirous of providing for the general comfort without alarming capital, and another to have it done at the demand of an excited multitude by agents who regard railroad proprietors as public enemies, and celebrate victories over them in the courts as great political triumphs with firing of guns, as the governor of Wisconsin did three years ago. Nobody likes to hold property which it is in the power of a hot-headed, passionate man, against whom there is no appeal, to injure or destroy, and the feeling of security is not lessened by his being sorry for the mischief he has done when his fury is over.

Now, this is very much the condition of railroad property in certain States of the West. They are exposed, as the Granger movement has shown, to wild bursts of hostility in which reason and experience are laid aside, and which result in legislation which, as usual

at such times, the most ignorant have the largest share in framing. We believe, as a matter of fact, that nobody in the Wisconsin Legislature knew less about railroads than the Mr. Potter who drew the Potter law. Nor is the disappearance of the Granger movement sufficient to reassure people. Speculators or very rich men may not mind being threatened with confiscation and having the value of their stocks and bonds lowered for two years at a time, but the bulk of those whose savings form the greater part of the capital invested in railroads have neither money enough nor nerve enough for such experiences. They seek, above all things, security for their property and tranquillity for their minds. They are ill-prepared, at best, to forecast the effect on their fortunes of the ordinary and legitimate fluctuations of business; they are not prepared at all to watch the turns and twists of State politics or find out what are the designs of "the people" with regard to "the bloated corporations" of which they form a part, and even two years of alarm and anxiety are enough to sicken and disgust most of them.

What is to be feared now from the decision of the Supreme Court is not any immediate attack of the State legislatures on railroad property, but a strong stimulus to threatening legislation hereafter, or, in other words, the practice known as "striking," on the part of the tribe of impecunious politicians who form the noisier and more active element in State legislatures, and the consequent deepening of the corruption which already marks the relations of the great railroad companies with these bodies. Nothing could well be more unfortunate for the best interests of the West than that the establishment of the State supremacy over the roads, beyond further question or appeal, should result in the surrender of the roads by the people to even fitful extortion at the hands of the politicians. All that the West most needs and most values must come from the well-settled faith of the people all over the world who have money to lend or invest that its State legislation is, in all that relates to property, stable and sober-minded, and that nobody who lets his money get within the jurisdiction of the State government has to fear the imposition of unforeseen or onerous or unfair conditions on his enjoyment of it. Nothing in this involves the exemption of railroads from proper control, and there is no doubt they have got into lax notions of their duty to the public and their owners on various important matters; but nothing can be more certain than that, in the long run, no machinery any American State can create will be half as likely as these managers themselves to regulate rates in a manner to promote the best interests of the public. In fixing his rates every manager is "seeking for business," or, in other words, trying to tempt as large a body of the people as possible to employ him, and for his sagacity and self-interest in this matter there is in our society no possible substitute. He may make mistakes, but he cannot make them long without being discovered by the laws of trade and punished with a thoroughness and vigor which no political administration can equal or even approach.

It has to be remembered, too, that the common-law doctrines with regard to the regulation of various callings which the Supreme Court has applied to the railroads took their rise at a period when minute regulation was looked on as the great function of government and little was left to popular sagacity in the choice or mode of pursuing any business whatever. It was not the business of common carriers only which the state overlooked, but that of nearly every kind of laborer and manufacturer. The folly of most of this legislation has been made fully manifest; but that a portion of it still has its uses, and that there is no absolute rule to oppose to it, is also undoubtedly true. It does not follow that because it was unwise to fix the price of corn or bread, or the charges of millers, it is now unwise to fix or regulate hacks, or put limits to the prices which practical monopolies like railroads put on their services. But in settling this matter, like all other politico-commercial or politico-financial matters, we have to be guided by the common sense and business principles which we use in the management of our private affairs. It is not rational to tear one's hair or fly into a furious passion in considering how to protect one's self against railroad extortion or abuses, any more than to go down

to one's store determined to knock down the first man who offers less than a fair price for one's goods. A common carrier is not *ex vi termini* a common rogue; he is a man performing a very useful function, prone, like other people, to consider his own advantage more than that of those whom he serves, but nevertheless to be restrained like other people by careful and well-considered means, formed not with the view of getting the apparent worth of our money out of him to-morrow or the next day, but with the view of promoting his more distant usefulness, encouraging competition in his business, and spreading the reputation of the State as a body whose credit is good, whose promises are trustworthy, and whom it is profitable to serve faithfully.

THE NEW SÉVIGNÉ CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, February 9.

I HARDLY know any title for a book which could be more interesting than this: "Inedited Letters from Madame de Sévigné to Madame de Grignan," and here are actually two volumes, which are to form the supplement to Hachette's great edition of Madame de Sévigné. I confess my partiality for the oldest editions of every work. Few people are happy enough to possess the first collection of the letters of Madame de Sévigné, printed in 1725 at Troyes. This small volume, made up of "choice letters," is hardly to be found. The edition which, even among the bibliophiles, long passed for the first was printed a year afterwards, in 1726. In its two volumes you have not only an exact text of the letters but you have also what I may call the *flower* of that most amiable, charming, and delightful woman. Whoever will read and re-read these two volumes will know her well, and not only her but her little court of friends. Then came the edition of 1735-37, in six volumes, published by the care of the Chevalier Rollin. He was devoted to the memory of Madame de Sévigné, but, alas! he thought he could improve her style; he corrected her letters, as a pedantic schoolmaster would correct the letter of a young child. This conscientious and learned iconoclast rubbed the bloom off the peach of Madame de Sévigné's style; her incorrectness alarmed him; he combed her, he flattened the unruly locks; he thought he could make her presentable to posterity.

Our time, which has many defects, has at least one quality: we look everywhere in literature for the real text, we try to see the work of art exactly as it came out of the creative mind. This is the reason why such extravagant prices are given for the original editions of our great classics. The edition of Madame de Sévigné which we owe to the conscientious M. Régnier is a monument of care and exactitude; but epistolary literature has this characteristic, that it can hardly ever give anything definitive. Just at the moment when the great edition of Hachette was ended, M. Charles Capmas, professor at the law school of Dijon, made an extraordinary discovery. It was known that some manuscript copies of Madame de Sévigné's letters had been made in old times. There was one copy in a château in Burgundy, which was not far distant from Bourbilly, one of the seats of the Rabutins. *Habent sua fata libelli*. I will not attempt to explain how this precious manuscript was for sale in January, 1872, with the furniture of a house, after the death of an inhabitant of Semur-en-Auxois. A woman who sells old furniture and bric-à-brac in Dijon was present at the sale; she bought a part of the furniture, and, accidentally, the manuscript; this poor manuscript remained for fifteen months in her shop at Dijon, sometimes exposed to the rain. If any passer-by glanced over it he threw the manuscript away with contempt. M. Capmas bought in March, 1873, for eighteen francs, the six volumes in 4to, each of more than 400 pages. He took the pains to study these volumes, and found, to his great joy, that they contained three hundred and twenty letters which were unknown; all these letters are addressed to Madame de Grignan. The Dijon manuscript nearly doubles, therefore, the correspondence of the marchioness with her daughter, as there were only about three hundred letters to Madame de Grignan known to this day. Of this maternal correspondence we can only say what Madame de Sévigné says herself: "I give you with pleasure the flower of all the baskets (*la fleur de tous les paniers*)—that is to say, the flower of my spirit, of my head, of my eyes, of my pen, of my inkstand; the rest goes as it can. I amuse myself with you while I plough with the others."

M. Capmas has thought himself obliged to tell the story of his discovery in the most minute details, and he has entered into a very long comparison of his manuscript with another manuscript which was written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which is commonly called the Gros-

bois, as it was a part of the rich library of the Château of Grosbois in Burgundy. This manuscript, a heavy folio of 1,052 pages, had been placed at the disposition of M. de Monmerqué, who spoke of it in 1827, and who really began the great edition of Hachette which was only ended a few years ago. The Grosbois manuscript is now in the possession of the D'Harcourt family, and M. Capmas was allowed to see it and to make an elaborate comparison between it and his own manuscript. I confess that the professor of Dijon has been unsparing in the account of his long analysis of these two copies. It is even a pity that so light a genius as Madame de Sévigné should become the subject of ponderous criticism. The scholiasts of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance were not half so prolix as the new lover of Madame de Sévigné. There should be some fitness in things. We ought to be thankful to M. Capmas for all the trouble he has taken; but why does he wish to make us suffer ourselves? His introduction of 240 pages is really terrible.

M. Capmas had first the idea of publishing himself a complete edition of Madame de Sévigné, and of inserting among the letters already known the new letters to Madame de Grignan which he had found in the Dijon manuscript. He changed his mind and took a middle course; he has published not only the inedited letters, but also those which were incomplete in the Grosbois manuscript or the ancient editions of Madame de Sévigné. In all the former editions the correspondence of the Marquise with Madame de Grignan, which began in 1671, ends in 1690; in reality it continued four years longer. In 1690 Madame de Sévigné went from Brittany, across France, to Grignan, a journey which at that time lasted twenty days. She remained fourteen months in Provence, and returned to Paris in the last days of December, 1691, in company with Madame de Grignan; they remained together till 1694; but Madame de Grignan was then obliged to go back to Provence, and her mother could not follow her immediately. We have, therefore, in this correspondence of the year 1694, inedited till now, the *novissima verba* of the charming woman, the last rays of her *esprit*; and, curiously enough, there is no trace of sadness or of melancholy in this part of the correspondence. While Madame de Grignan was in the first bloom of youth and beauty, the friendship of Madame de Sévigné, as we know by her letters, had sometimes to suffer; her affection was perhaps too morbid, too inquisitive, too nervous; and the "plus jolie fille du monde" could hardly understand the full value of her admirable mother. Time and separation did something for Madame de Grignan; and it may well be imagined that towards 1694 she valued her mother more than towards 1670; she did not love her more perhaps, but her love became more intelligent. Madame de Sévigné had a *seconde jeunesse* in this increase of devotion on the part of her daughter; and this may, perhaps, explain why this inedited part of her correspondence bears hardly any trace of the effect of age. Can anything, for instance, in the correspondence of the former years be better than this letter of the 19th April, 1694?

"To-day ends the long magnificence of the marriage of Mlle. de Louvois. For two months the presents have been exhibited; I wonder that they have not been plundered. Monsieur de Reims gave, besides many louis (which accompanied those of Madame la Chancelière and of Madame de Bois-Dauphin, and those of one of the corners of the jewel-box of the Maréchal de Villeroy), two earrings which you used to see and admire at the late Mademoiselle's, which were valued at 12,000 *écus*; he got them for 13,000 francs, and throws them to the two or the four or six ears which I wish his niece might have. Well! this poor creature, burdened like Midas with the gold which she carries, is now with her grandmother, the Chancelière, with all her noble company, where they will read and sign the contract. At eight o'clock, the company goes to Madame de Louvois's, where M. de Langlée, to help her, takes care of the supper—five tables of twenty persons each, served as at *Psyche*. Six hundred pistoles have been thrown away for to-night's clean little repast. . . . M. de la Rochefoucauld alone, with a little hardness and inhumanity, refuses the honor of his presence to this great feast, where all the Dukes, the Estrées, the Armagnacs, the Brissacs, and others take pleasure in showing themselves."

When Madame de Sévigné wrote these lines she was already sixty-eight years old; in former days she had narrated the marriage of the eldest daughter of Louvois; now she was speaking of the marriage of the second. The last page of M. Capmas's book might in truth be called a literary relic. The day before Madame de Sévigné left for Grignan, where death was awaiting her, she wrote to her daughter (10th May, 1694): "Indeed, it is a strange thing to start and to leave one's place as we do; one pities one's self; one has nothing more left; the furniture is sold. But I am too happy to go and see you, and embrace you, and to leave a place where everybody will soon die. . . ." She was to die first; the incomparable mother's days were already counted. She preserved her gaiety to the end, that gaiety which was, so to speak, the vestment of purity and of virtue. Sévigné was, in fact, a true philosopher, and she was all the more admirable in that she had a tenderness of heart which is not always found in the breasts of phi-

losophers. It is delightful to find in these inedited letters new marks of untiring affection for her light-hearted son, the Marquis de Sévigné; for the good Abbé de Coulanges, whom she called the "bien bon"; for all her well-known friends and relations—Emmanuel de Coulanges, Madame de Coulanges, the Chevalier de Grignan, for Corbinelli, for Bussy. Poor Bussy! he was paying a heavy penalty for the faults of his pen and of his unbridled imagination. Every year he wrote abject letters to the king, who would not allow him to leave his splendid exile. Bussy was one of the best generals of his time, and he was condemned to live in the country, adorning his gardens and his château. He had been indelicate even to his charming cousin; still, we will forgive him something, as he was the first man who admired and felt the great genius that was in her. He may be classed first in the list of those who have given the highest rank to Madame de Sévigné among the classics of the seventeenth century.

WAGNER'S ONLY COMIC OPERA.

MUNICH, February 9, 1877.

THE romantic whims and eccentricities of the present King of Bavaria have given rise to much unfavorable and sarcastic comment. But, after all, it seems better that a king should spend his leisure hours and surplus money in having operas performed for his sole benefit, and in constructing greenhouses with artificial full moons on the roof of his palace, than that he should resort to war and the other fashionable amusements of the monarchs of bygone ages. If political history will say little of Louis II., his name will be the more prominent in the history of art. Everybody knows what he has done for Wagner, and that but for his material assistance the Bayreuth stage festival would not yet have been possible. Thanks, also, to his genuine taste for art, Munich, though containing but 180,000 souls, has a dramatic and operatic stage in many respects the finest in Europe. This winter all the dramas of Schiller are being produced here in succession, with a perfection of acting in all parts and a brilliancy of scenic outfit which they have never received on any other stage. In March a German version of the "Frogs" of Aristophanes will be brought out on a stage modelled after the Greek; and other works are produced here which are seldom seen on any other stage, such as Byron's "Manfred" with Schumann's music, and Goethe's "Egmont" with Beethoven's complete music. But, in particular, to attend the performance of a Wagner opera in this city is quite a different thing from hearing the same work as performed in Vienna, or even in Berlin. In the latter city, and still more in Vienna, these operas are given with a number of red-pencil marks or "cuts" and other traditional operatic licenses, which render them rather unsatisfactory to one whose musical intelligence is sufficiently advanced to appreciate the organic unity of the music-drama. Here, however, no such proceedings are tolerated, and the works are rendered as closely as possible in accordance with the intention and spirit of the composer.

Considerable excitement has prevailed here of late in the circles of the musical liberals, owing to the performances of the "Meistersinger," which had not been heard in this city for three years, and for the enjoyment of which the brilliant success of the "Nibelung" performances at Bayreuth had sharpened the appetites of all. The "Meistersinger" is one of Wagner's most mature works, having been composed even after "Tristan und Isolde," which he himself regards as the nearest approach to his ideal of the art-work of the future, and which itself followed "Rheingold" and the "Walküre," the first two dramas of the trilogy. The plot of the "Meistersinger," however, belongs to a much earlier period, having been conceived before that of "Lohengrin." Immediately after completing the score of "Tannhäuser," the composer visited one of the Bohemian summer resorts, and there, partly urged by some friends, who desired him to essay his powers in some other than the tragic field, originated the idea of writing a comic opera, to follow "Tannhäuser," just as among the Greeks a *Satyrspiel* was wont to follow the performance of a tragedy.

In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries poetry and song were entirely in the hands of the troubadours in Provence and the Minnesingers in Germany. They were chiefly knights and other noblemen, kings and princes even being found among their numbers. But gradually the higher classes lost their interest in such pursuits, and the cultivation of song and poetry was transferred to the artisans in the towns—to the tailors, shoemakers, weavers, and other *Meister*, who formed societies and fostered the *Meistergesang*, in accordance with a large number of fixed, conventional rules of amazing complexity and artificiality. One of the chief seats of these Meistersingers was Nürnberg, which at the time of the immortal "Hans Sachs, cobbler," in the middle of the XVIth century, had more than two hundred and fifty of them. Into this circle

Wagner introduces us in his opera. After that spirited and wonderfully constructed introduction which has so often been heard on the concert stages of both continents, the curtain rises on a scene representing the interior of the Katharine church in Nürnberg. The congregation is just engaged in singing, to the accompaniment of organ and cellos, the last stanza of one of those beautiful and impressive chorals which constitute the chief musical treasure transmitted to us by the Middle Ages. In one of the last rows of benches is seated Eva, daughter of Pogner, the goldsmith. Her devotion is sadly disturbed by the young knight, Walther von Stolzing, who is leaning against a neighboring pillar, and whose admiring glances and gestures she does not at all discourage. As the congregation leaves he finds an opportunity to speak to her and to confess his love, but to his consternation hears that she is already betrothed. To-morrow she will be bestowed on that Meistersinger who shall win the prize at the festival with his song. Eva gives the knight a broad hint that, happen what will, she will bestow the prize on him or on no one, and leaves with her nurse Magdalena, while Walther remains watching the preparations which are being made for an assembly of the Meistersingers. Pending their arrival, David, the mischievous apprentice of Hans Sachs, endeavors to initiate him into some of the mysteries and rules of the musical code or tabulature of these artisan-artists. At last they appear, coming in in groups of two and three. The roll is called, and Pogner then announces to his colleagues what Walther had already heard from Eva. The knight now steps forward and begs to be admitted into the worthy society, and to be allowed to compete for the prize; much to the disgust of one of their number, Beckmesser, an old, ugly, conceited, and disagreeable character, who turns out to be Walther's only rival, as all the other *Meisters* are either married or widowers. To prove his fitness for the desired honor the candidate is required to sing a song, in which, if he deviates more than nine times from the rules of the tabulature, he has *versungen*, or, as Americans would say, is "played out." A chair is placed for him on one side, while Beckmesser takes his stand behind a curtain as *Merker*, or marker, in order to note down on a blackboard every violation of the rules of the tabulature. Walther's song is only half-ended when Beckmesser, who has all the time been scratching away audibly, rushes out angrily and holds up the board, all covered with marks. Most of the masters agree with him as to the complete *fiasco* of the knight; his song is contrary to all traditional forms and usages—no cadences and periods, no vocal embellishments, and "of melody not a trace." But Hans Sachs interposes in his favor. He finds the song "new yet not confused," and cautions them not to measure by their own rules that of which they have not yet discovered the rules. But, in spite of this, the masters unanimously vote that the candidate has *versungen*. Of the inevitable three acts this first one is, dramatically and musically, the least interesting. Were it not for the brilliant and ever-varying instrumentation, parts of it would be monotonous. But it should be remembered that instrumentation, or the proper use of "tone-colors," is just as important an element in music as melody, harmony, and rhythm, and that its gradual development required as much time and genius as that of those other elements. Repeated hearing shows that this act contains most of the theme-buds which in the following acts are unfolded into full blossom. By means of the "leading motives" all the parts of a Wagnerian music-drama, as in a perfect symphony or sonata, are correlated and intimately united. One feels that the composer had a mental bird's-eye view of the whole before he composed any single part. And this is the characteristic of a real work of art, and what so favorably distinguishes the new music-drama from the patchwork of the Italian opera, with its unconnected string of "thematically developed" melodies.

The "Meistersinger" is as long as "Götterdämmerung." The performance here begins at six and ends at eleven. At Bayreuth an intermission of one hour between two acts of each drama was always made for recreation. But altered circumstances and aims unfortunately do not allow any such course to be pursued in an evening performance in a modern German city. Hence, after "fifteen minutes for refreshments" and a short orchestral prelude, the curtain rises on the second act, showing one of those characteristic narrow streets in old Nürnberg, smelling of feudal times and limiting city-walls. To the left the humble house of Hans Sachs, to the right the more elegant mansion of Pogner. We see and hear first a score of frolicsome apprentices making fun of David, who has been discovered to be in love with Magdalena. Eva discovers through the latter that Walther's song was adjudged a failure. The knight appears, and, after passionately denouncing the narrow-mindedness of the Meistersingers, the two propose to elope as the last resort. But their plan is frustrated. That grotesque institution of the Middle Ages (still surviving in some small Ger-

man towns), the night-watchman, comes up the street with his lantern, and proclaims with a loud sing-song voice that the clock has struck ten. The lovers have retired behind the bushes in front of Pogner's house. This danger past, a more serious one presents itself. Around the corner of the house the sound of a lyre is heard. Beckmesser is about to sing a serenade to Eva. But to his infinite disgust Sachs, who has an eye on the fugitive lovers, at this moment carries out his work-bench in front of the house, and begins to hammer away and to sing in a loud voice some coarse shoemaker songs. Beckmesser entreats, commands him to stop, several times beginning his serenade, but in vain. The details of the whole scene are exceedingly comic. The altercation and noise finally reach such a pitch that the indignant neighbors are aroused from their slumbers. David comes out, and, seeing Magdalena looking out of the window to which Beckmesser's song is directed, he attacks the unhappy musician and beats him most unmercifully. The street is soon filled with apprentices and workmen of all trades, who take sides in the quarrel. An infernal noise and a scene of terrible confusion ensue, comparable only to the mob-scene in Schiller's "Fiesco." The noise is increased by the cries of the women, who are looking out of all the windows on the scene below. Suddenly the horn of the watchman is heard, not far off, and in a second the crowd has dispersed. The sudden contrast is most amusing, as the watchman slowly comes down the street, blowing his immense cow-horn and solemnly proclaiming the eleventh hour. The curtain drops on act the second, which, from beginning to end, abounds in genuine humor, grotesque effects, and well-seasoned sarcasm; and is in these respects equal to the third, the longest and the best of the acts.

With the exception of "Rienzi" all the stage-works of Wagner are divided into three acts, and, moreover, he seems to show a remarkable partiality for introductions to his third acts. So those in "Siegfried," "Tristan," "Lohengrin," "Walküre," and "Meistersinger" are among the very finest efforts of his genius, and go some way towards disproving his own dogma, that pure instrumental music had reached its highest development before his time. A deeply meditative spirit pervades the introduction to the last act of the "Meistersinger." It is exactly what one might imagine an ideal introduction to the first scene of Goethe's "Faust" to be, and reveals the hand of the composer of "Tristan." Hans Sachs sits in his room reading in a large folio, and engaged in pessimistic reflections on the scenes of the last day and night, and the weaknesses and follies of mankind in general. He is interrupted by David, who comes to congratulate him on his birthday, sings his apprentice-song about St. John on the banks of the Jordan, advises his master to marry again, and leaves, glad that he is not taken to task for his pugnacious conduct of last night. Walther now enters and tells Sachs a wonderful dream which he had during the night—Walther's well-known prize-song. Sachs carefully notes it down on a slip of paper. Thus, from an unexpected quarter, is the knight equipped for the coming contest. After they have gone to prepare for the festival, Beckmesser enters, finds the paper lying on the table, and quickly puts it in his pocket. A new song by Sachs! There is time left for him to learn it, and with it he must surely win the prize. Sachs returns, discovers the theft, but tells Beckmesser he may keep the poem and use it. The latter rushes out, wild with joy. Eva enters, richly dressed in white. One of her shoes does not quite fit. While Sachs makes it right, Walther returns, and, dazzled by the beauty of his expected bride, addresses to her a verse of his song. David and Magdalena also appear, and, *mirabile dictu*, the scene ends in a quintette—a genuine and most delightful quintette, by Richard Wagner of Bayreuth, in one of his latest works! It is said, though with what degree of truth I know not, that Wagner wanted to remove this relic of operative barbarism from his work, but, on the solicitation of some friends, was induced to leave it. And it surely would have been a pity to remove it. It would be out-Wagnering Wagner not to permit for once in five hours an interruption of the dramatic action for the sake of such an inspiring and sublime piece of absolute music. And now follows the grandest part of the opera. The scene changes to a wide meadow, with a most imposing view of the whole city of Nürnberg in the background. Floral decorations, men, women, and children in festive attire, singing and dancing. A chorus of shoemakers sing the praises of St. Crispin, who stole the leather from the rich to make shoes for the poor; the tailors tell of the patriotic feats of one of their number who was sewed up in a goat-skin, and, by frisking about on the city wall, induced the enemy to raise the siege in despair. The bakers also have their song. The whole scene is poetically and musically of a most exuberant humor, and one wave after another of half-suppressed laughter crosses the house. At last the Meistersinger come marching along to the sounds of that glorious march which has the same

inspiring effect on the hearer that "God save the Queen" has on a London audience, or "Die Wacht am Rhein" on a band of German soldiers. On an eminence quickly constructed with pieces of turf Beckmesser now takes his stand, confused and trembling; but his ill-gotten song is too much for him. His memory fails him, and he is obliged (to use a college phrase) to "crib" several times from his manuscript. Of the text he makes the most ludicrous nonsense, and his melody is a capital parody of the Italian aria, with all its bombastic vocal embellishments. The people interrupt him several times with exclamations of surprise, and finally his song is drowned by their laughter and cries of derision. Enraged, he throws the manuscript on the ground, and exclaims it is not his—Hans Sachs is the author. Sachs explains that the poem is good, only it must be properly rendered. It is agreed that he who can sing its proper melody shall receive the prize. Walter steps forward, fulfils these conditions, and wins the bride. A jubilant outburst of full orchestra and chorus, with swinging of hats and handkerchiefs, follows, and the curtain drops on this most realistic and lively representation of a German *Volksfest*, which must arouse the enthusiasm of the most pronounced music-Puritan and conservative.

It would be interesting, if space allowed, to examine how far the "Meistersinger" deserves the name of "opera," and how far it belongs to the species of music-dramas. A few of its points of agreement and difference with the "Ring des Nibelungen" and "Tristan" may be briefly mentioned. It differs from the representative works mentioned in having a historical instead of the orthodox mythical subject; in returning from alliterative verse to rhyme; in containing a quintette, and giving considerable prominence to the choruses, of which the whole trilogy contains only two, and "Tristan" not one. The points of resemblance, however, are more significant—a "national" subject; the full symphonic orchestra, adding to all the modern resources of coloring some revived from the Middle Ages, and never degraded to perform the function of a guitar, accompanying a vocal solo; the employment and skilful contrapuntal interweaving of leading motives or themes characterizing persons and situations, so useful in the drama for combining past with present impressions; and, finally, the conscientious avoidance of threadbare phrases and cadences. Wagner's musical style bears some resemblance to the literary style of Tacitus, is always concise and suggestive, and abhors the Ciceronian music-rhetoric of a Mendelssohn—elegant language with meagre contents. His melodies are always short and rich. They float in the ever-changing and turbulent sea of harmonies, as rose-buds peep out of their surrounding leaves shaken by the wind. There are just enough of them. Too many would spoil the scene. Apart from its purely poetic and musical elements, the "Meistersinger" is chiefly interesting as being a satire on the critics of the composer. It belongs to the same category as Schiller and Goethe's "Xenien," Byron's "English Bards," Pope's "Dunciad," and Mr. Browning's recent "Pacchiarotto." It is easy to see that Walther represents for his age the artist of the future, and Beckmesser the firm of "Hanslick, Lindau & Co.," while Hans Sachs is the antagonist of their musical philistinism, or, as Matthew Arnold defines the word, "inaccessibility to new ideas" and impressions. Of course all the "Beckmesser critics," as they are now called in Germany, have been unanimous in their condemnation of the opera as a "musical monstrosity," and one of them naïvely confesses that it has the same effect on him as unripe gooseberries! Local critics assert, what one can easily believe, that the recent performances were not so good as those during the régime of Wagner and Hans von Bülow. The greatest defect here is that Munich has not yet, like Dresden, Weimar, and Magdeburg, followed Bayreuth in making the orchestra invisible, and hence the brass is sometimes too prominent, and the gallery the best place from which to hear. It is to be hoped that at one of the coming stage-festivals "Meistersingers of Nürnberg" will be given by the "Wagner-singers of Bayreuth." The opera will be produced in London next season by Mr. Carl Rosa, and it is rumored that it will then also be heard in America, given by the same troupe. H. T. F.

Correspondence.

THE SUPREME COURT JUDGES ON THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of February 22, in your article on "The Decision of the Commission," you say:

"To say now that because both sides voted in the direction of party bias some one man must have been dishonest, is as absurd as the position of those impeachers of Andrew Johnson who held that any Republican Senator

who did not vote guilty on some one article—they did not care which—must be corrupt."

This seems to imply the position, which I have understood you frequently to express, that the Senators in the celebrated impeachment trial exercised judicial functions, and that any Senator would have been perjured had he not voted according to his judgment of what law and evidence demanded, irrespective of his own or anybody's opinion of the desirableness or undesirableness of the consequences of such vote.

Turning to your number of the previous week, in your editorial on "The Florida Decision," I read:

"It is, of course, to be regretted that the judges of the Supreme Court on the Commission should have been divided on party lines in giving their decision; that one or two of the Democratic judges should not have seen fit, when the majority was certain, to vote with it, in order to give the judgment of the Commission greater moral weight with the country, and to prevent even the slight loss of prestige which results from the presumption that the opinions of the judges have been colored by their politics."

I am not aware of anything in the position of the Commission which required its members to exercise judicial functions in a less degree than the members of the High Court of Impeachment. If no member of the latter might innocently decide according to his judgment of the desirableness of some effect to follow and flow out of his decision, I cannot see how any member of the former can do so.

Will you please to explain the apparent incongruity in your teachings? H.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., February 28.

[In the first place, we believe it is the practice of the judges in all State courts of high standing to make every effort to secure, for the sake of the dignity and influence of the tribunal, as close an approach to unanimity as possible, and that in many cases, where the judgment is settled and it is desirable that it should have all possible weight, the minority do not hesitate to sacrifice themselves by concealing their dissent from it. When a judge finds a majority of his brethren differing from him on a point of law, he must be very proud or very self-confident not to find his own opinion shaken, and not to find the surrender or suppression of it an easy matter, particularly as the decision is the decision of the court, and not his own. A judge who holds a casting vote is differently situated. He virtually has it in his power to decide the case, and he is bound to express and vote in accordance with his opinion, just as if he sat alone. In the Senate, in the Andrew Johnson trial, the reason why the Republican minority were asked to vote guilty on some article or other was that they were needed to make up the two-thirds necessary to a conviction. If they had voted guilty on any article they would, therefore, have changed the result from acquittal to conviction, something which they were bound by their oath not to do. But apart from this altogether, the Senators are in a different situation from law judges. Their duties are principally legislative; they only meet as a court very rarely, and even when they do cannot put off the character of representatives. They vote as Senators, not as members of a tribunal, and the country has a right to know how they vote and what they think. We believe that the disposition which has shown itself with increasing strength among the Supreme Court judges of late years to give prominence to their individual opinions, and make them of greater importance than the corporate opinion of the Court, is viewed with considerable regret by the best portion of the bar. But we must add that the matter is one on which we do not mean to say a judge's duty is at all clear. There are two or three different views of the position of the Supreme Court judges on the Electoral Commission for all of which there is something to be said. If they had agreed at the outset to consult apart and cast solidly the vote of the majority of the five as the vote of the whole five, they would have done, we think, a lawful and very useful thing; but in voting separately and in party lines they did a very different thing, which we regret but do not censure them for doing.—ED. NATION.]

THE AMERICAN MINISTER TO ENGLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following article appears in the *London World* of February

14, a paper which claims a high character and large circulation amongst the best classes of Great Britain :

"Mr. Martin Chuzzlewit asked Colonel Diver, 'Is smartness American for forgery?' The gallant colonel and editor of the *Roady Journal* replied: 'Well, I expect it's American for a good many things that you call by other names. But you can't help yourself in Europe. We can.' I was reminded of this interesting and characteristic question and answer when I heard the other day what was said during an interview between some English merchants and the United States Minister. The former were anxious to know what chance they had in getting a bill relating to an international enterprise passed through Congress. With the candor of Colonel Diver, the Minister replied that it would be necessary to bribe heavily in order to succeed. When asked if he really meant that bribery was a concomitant of legislation in the great Republic, he corrected himself, and said that it would be essential to use much 'influence.' What newspaper 'enterprise' in the United States means the English public are aware. They now know how to translate the word 'influence.'"

Whether such a statement as is here imputed to the United States Minister were actually made or not, yet that such an allegation should be deemed credible, and, as such, should find its place in a respectable journal, is sufficient indication of the excessive loss of dignity which the position of representative of the United States at Great Britain has sustained.

The frivolity and silly public utterances of Mr. Pierpont, united to the scandalous connection of his predecessor with mining speculations, have resulted in degrading in the minds of the British public the office and nation which they have so unfitly represented, and give frequent occasion for mortification on the part of every American resident here.

It is perhaps too much to hope that any official notice should be taken of the charge so distinctly made against our representative; but it may interest some of your readers to be informed of the esteem in which our minister is said to hold his own Government.

A NEW-YORKER.

LONDON, February 15, 1877.

[It would certainly not be improper for the American Minister to ask the *World* to produce the person who says he held this interview with him, and we could readily understand his attention being called to it by the State Department.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

WALLACE'S 'Russia' will be published during the present month by Henry Holt & Co. Directions for coloring the maps have been late in arriving and have delayed the work.—A. S. Barnes & Co. will issue immediately 'Memoirs of P. P. Bliss,' by Major D. W. Whittle, with an introduction by D. L. Moody.—Architects and builders who wish to extend their acquaintance with the principles involved in the graphical method of ascertaining the stresses in the different parts of framed structures will be interested in a little volume of sixty-four pages by Professor C. E. Greene, of the University of Michigan, entitled 'Graphical Analysis of Roof Trusses' (Chicago: Geo. H. Frost). The book is a reprint of a series of articles from *Engineering News*. The subject is treated clearly and concisely, and in such terms as to be easily understood by any one who has a slight knowledge of geometry and elementary mechanics.—A bibliography of the game of billiards is now in course of publication in *Notes and Queries*.—The *Library Table*, published in this city by Henry L. Hinton & Co. during the past year as a monthly, is to become a weekly with the April number, under the editorial management of Mr. Porter C. Bliss.—Mr. Steiger sends us the sixth revised edition of Kiepert's 'Atlas Antiquus'—"twelve maps of the ancient world for schools and colleges" (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer). The title-page is in English, and we suppose this will really help the sale in the English and American markets. Dr. Kiepert's authority is, of course, the highest. The maps are large enough to include the whole of Italy (for example) without greatly diminishing the scale. No. 11 is a broad representation of the northern provinces of Rome from Britain to the mouth of the Danube. In comparison with maps drawn on copper, these, being lithographed, have a somewhat woolly appearance.—A very interesting Memorial of the late Dr. Francis Gardner has been published by the Public Latin School Association of Boston.—A Summer School is projected by the Butler University of Indiana. The scientific faculty will head an exploring expedition in the interest of geology and natural history, with especial reference to collections, leaving Indianapolis about June 20. Dallas, Texas, will be the centre of operations. "Lady students will be received if five or more make application." Enquiries should be addressed to Prof. John A. Myers, Irvington, Ind.

—Of Messrs. L. M. Yale and A. M. Warren, to whom we referred last week as "two of our artists" exhibiting etchings at the present Water-Color Exhibition, a correspondent writes: "Permit me to say that, as to the former gentleman, he is an amateur, a physician in good practice, and professor in one of the schools of medicine here, his etchings wholly the product of leisure hours; and as to the latter, he *was* a professor at Annapolis, and has been *dead* a twelvemonth."

—The *Atlantic* for March has made quite a stir in journalistic circles by the publication of an article by Mr. E. S. Nadal on "Newspaper Literary Criticism." There are two theories of the function of the newspaper, widely opposed to each other, one of which is held or advanced by the journalist when in his more exalted and sacerdotal moods, the other being put forward by him when he is on the lower plane of carnal worldliness. When he looks at the newspaper as the great progressive influence of modern times, and upon himself as a member of the new priesthood that keeps alive and ever infuses new vigor into this influence, he generally thinks of the function of the newspaper critic—be he literary, artistic, educational, or musical critic—as in a measure that of final judge in the various fields over which he presides, and as being a reverent and awful personage to whom this nineteenth century looks up as former centuries have to priests and divinely-anointed rulers. When, however, oppressed by care, and the difficulty of reconciling this view of his profession with the actual condition of the paper trade and the labor market, the weary journalist chews the bitter cud of reflection, and meditates upon the real as distinguished from the ideal in journalism, he generally comes to the conclusion that the lofty view of the critic as a judge is a mistake; that for such work he is underpaid; that these elevated standards may be all very well for the rich and prosperous, who have nothing to do but to think about other people's duties; but that the poor, half-fed journalist, if he wishes to earn his bread and butter, had better not at any time be too Rhadamanthine, but think twice before he makes enemies among authors and publishers, when it is just as easy to make friends. With the sort of temptations that beset the critic when in this world Mr. Nadal seems to be tolerably familiar. He says: "A silent pressure is brought to bear upon the critic to be continually coquetting with the advertisers, to reward those who do advertise, to punish those who do not, and to invite those who are expected to. I say the pressure is a silent one; the reviewer is not told, or at any rate not frequently told, to do such and such things. On the contrary, he is said to have a *carte blanche*. But there are two sorts of *carte blanche*, a verbal and a moral *carte blanche*. The *carte blanche* I refer to says to the reviewer, 'You may do as you like, but'—and there is an ominous reservation which he prudently construes to mean that it will be well for him to like to do what proprietors wish to have done."

—This suggestion of the influence of low and sordid motives has, we regret to see, caused some feeling in the *Evening Post*, which wishes to know whether Mr. Nadal really "comprehends the slanderous and insulting significance of his words." So far does its indignation carry it that, dropping the anonymous, the "present writer" brings himself forward editorially to refute Mr. Nadal by making affidavit that he "has reviewed several thousands" of books, "good and bad" together, in his time, and among them were many "whose authors were his acquaintances and friends"; "but he does not remember that he ever yet consciously wrote an untruth concerning any of the books, or that he ever had greater hesitation in saying that his friend's book was not a good one than he would have in criticising his friend's pigs or poultry. His friendship may have perverted his judgment in some cases; he may have attributed some part of his friend's personal excellence to his friend's literary performance, but he has not knowingly sacrificed truth upon the altar of friendship, if for no other reason, because as a man with a living to earn he could not afford to do anything of the sort." We have no space to go into the merits of this controversy, but we must call the attention of the *Post* to the fact that it somewhat weakens the effect of its manly denunciation of Mr. Nadal by an attempt to give its own idea of what the true function of a newspaper literary critic is. It is perfectly intelligible, but we have never met with it before in print. It says: "The work of the critic is not so much criticism as description. It is in the nature of news and comment upon news, and the newspaper reviewer rightly omits much in the way of adverse criticism which he would include if he were writing literary criticism in the stricter sense of the term." We must take the *Post's* word for it that it is the critic whose duties it is defining, for the functionary to whom we should have supposed the description applied is not so much the critic as that humble but useful satellite of the literary system—the composer of advertisements, who, under the guise of criticism, but omitting to say much that is "adverse," strives to excite in

the public that intellectual craving for knowledge without which there can be no true prosperity among the manufacturers of books.

—Washington's birthday was celebrated at the Johns Hopkins University by public addresses from President Gilman and Professors Gildersleeve and Sylvester, and by the recital of Lowell's Ode to Washington by the poet himself. Prof. Sylvester, who occupies the chair of Mathematics, and is an acquisition from Cambridge, England, spoke partly of himself and his satisfaction with his new relations, and partly of his work and proposed courses of instruction, and indulged in some general remarks of a very interesting character. He maintained with much force "the position that the two functions of teaching and working in science should never be divorced," illustrating from his own experience the advantage of their conjunction. He discovered early in his professorship on the other side the principle now known in the text-books as the "Dialytic Method of Elimination," in the act of teaching a private pupil the simpler parts of algebra; and but recently, at the University in Baltimore, the persistence of a student in his desire to study the New Algebra has led Prof. Sylvester into "a research of fascinating interest" from which he hopes for great results. He has reason, he told his audience, "to think that the taste for mathematical study, even in its most abstract form, is much more widely diffused than is generally supposed" in this country; and the late prospectus for a mathematical journal of a high character, to be published under the auspices of the University, appears to have met with encouraging responses. Prof. Sylvester spoke at considerable length and with deep feeling on the estrangement between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race caused by the exclusive, ecclesiastical policy of the English Universities in former years. "Their work it is that a separation deeper and a chasm more difficult to fill up has been created between the two most free and powerful nations in the world—England and America—than any due to political causes, present or past." Why is it, he enquired, that the flower of American youth do not resort for their mental impulse and higher education to Oxford and Cambridge, instead of to Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, or Heidelberg?

"It is because there they are welcomed, to whatever religious communion they are attached or unattached, without question and without distinction. It is because there they can rest on the bosom of a common mother, who shows kindness to all and favor to none. . . . I have been struck, almost from the first hour of my landing on these shores, by the manifestations I have everywhere witnessed of the close intellectual sympathy which exists between America and Germany. It is German books that are read, it is German authors who are quoted, German opinion on all matters of science and learning that is appealed to; and as regards community of work and intellectual ties, I do not think it at all extravagant to assert that Germany and America belong to one hemisphere, and we in England to another."

On this subject of the alienation of intellectual sympathy Prof. Sylvester has perhaps not done full justice to his countrymen. If educational opportunities were equal, and if the accumulations of German science were as accessible as those of England, there would still be a clear advantage in acquiring another language in the country where it is spoken, and in coming in contact with a different order of mind, however little superior. The disparity of attendance ought not to be so enormous hereafter, certainly; but we believe Germany will always, from natural causes, prove more attractive than England.

—In spite of the innumerable reviews of 'Daniel Deronda' which have appeared in English, a German critic (Mr. Wilhelm Scherer, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for February 7) is probably the first to discover that Daniel was intended to represent no less a person than the hero of 'Joshua Davidson, Communist,' a novel whose alleged flippancy and irreverence attracted considerable attention a few years ago. After suggesting that the title of the book, to convey an idea of its character, should have run: 'Selfishness and Self-sacrifice,' or 'Love of Self and Sympathy,' or 'Self-interest and Disinterestedness,' and remarking that, while the Jews were taken as representatives of self-sacrifice and unselfishness, it cannot have been the author's intention to put forward her characters as types of Judaism, he proceeds as follows:

"We have in mind the evening when Deronda, rowing on the Thames, found Mirah. The author describes his hands while rowing:

"They are not small and dimpled, with tapering fingers that seem to have only a deprecating touch: they are long, flexible, firmly grasping hands, such as Titian has painted in a picture where he wanted to show the combination of refinement with force. And there is something of a likeness, too, between the faces belonging to the hands—in both, the uniform pale brown skin, the perpendicular brow, the calmly penetrating eyes. Not seraphic any longer: thoroughly terrestrial and manly; but still of a kind to raise belief in a human dignity which can afford to acknowledge poor relations."

"Now, I can recollect no picture of Titian's, except the 'Christ with the Tribute Money,' in which the hands fasten the observer's attention as perhaps those of no other picture. And when the author goes on to say

that one sometimes meets such characters among the lower orders, artisans, etc., she is unquestionably thinking of him whom Frederic the Great calls somewhere 'un garçon charpentier juif.' . . . Deronda resembles him in freedom from sin, ability to resist temptation, and in a great deal else. But he is still more like the Jesus of M. Renan than him of the Evangelists, for he has a special power over the female heart. Poor Gwendolen plays the part of the Magdalene; she looks at him as at a shrine; he is the single guiding star for her deserted, aberrant soul. Every word which he bestows upon her is a law. From him she expects absolution and penance, forgiveness and benediction. The magic power which he seems to possess we first appreciate when we know his model. Deronda is goodness itself; he is all tenderness, all consideration. There is no delicacy of feeling of which he was not, even as a boy, capable. He has early accustomed himself in imagination to take part in others' experiences. He regards his life and action not as peculiar to himself, but always for their effect upon others. From his thirteenth year he has striven to understand those who feel differently from himself. He makes his mother no reproaches, is oppressed only by a growing sadness. His deepest sympathy is excited by those who have done something wrong and are unhappy. Sir Hugo says to him: 'You have a passion for people who are pelted. . . . I think you might easily be led to go arm in-arm with a lunatic, especially if he wanted defending.' . . . His eyes and look have wonderful qualities. The first are of a dark and gentle inwardness, which seems to express an especial interest in the person with whom he is speaking; whoever is in need of help finds his prayers encouraged by such eyes. His look makes one believe in man's past and future noble deeds. There is a power of life and richness of color in his face which makes one nervous when he throws a sudden glance, and this glance is terrifying when he disapproves. . . . I forbear to bring up new points of resemblance between the model and the copy; they press themselves upon every reader's attention."

—It might be expected that the historical literature of 1876 would have especial reference to those countries of the East which have been the chief object of attention this year. Most of the books on this subject have, however, been either hastily prepared or ephemeral in their nature—compilations and books of travel rather than histories. As a solid contribution to historical science, the first place is undoubtedly taken by Jirecek's 'Geschichte der Bulgaren,' a book that has long been in preparation, but is only just now published. Of books of travel in the seat of war, Evans's 'Through Bosnia and Herzegovina' is distinguished by valuable chapters of an historical character. Bukharoff's 'La Russie et la Turquie' gives a good sketch of the relations of these two countries in the two last centuries. Schmeidler's 'Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches im letzten Jahrzehnt' is a timely work, although it is pronounced not fully adequate. Of other books relating to Eastern Europe the most noteworthy are Klaczko's 'Deux Chanceliers' and Röpell's 'Polen um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts'; the eminent historian of Poland has depicted the causes of the downfall of the nation with great vigor and truthfulness. Here may also be mentioned Howorth's 'History of the Mongols,' and here, too, the death of Franz Palacky, the venerable historiographer of Bohemia, whose great work had reached its fifth volume, at the union of Bohemia with Austria.

—There is a good deal in the field of ancient history. For Egypt, the first volume of Maspéro's 'Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient' is pronounced a work of the highest merit; the first volume of the 'Histoire d'Égypte,' by the eminent Egyptologist Brugsch-Bey, comes down to the end of the Hyksos period. Lenormant, attracted from his old field by Schliemann's discoveries, has published 'Les antiquités de la Troade, et les antiquités primitives de la Grèce.' In classic history there is a volume from each of Clason and Ihne in their respective histories of Rome. Clason's posthumous volume brings his continuation of Schwegler's encyclopædic work down to the year B.C. 328, so that this great work is still unfinished. We have before mentioned the general histories of Greece and Rome by Cox and Merivale. The fifth volume of Duruy's 'Histoire des Romains' completes the work. Ernst Curtius has published a volume of essays and addresses under the title 'Alterthum und Gegenwart.' Not a classical history, but covering a classical period, is the third volume of Stanley's 'History of the Jewish Church,' reaching from the Captivity to the Christian Era.

—For the Middle Age we have some very important works of erudition, chief among them the *Jahrbücher*; of Louis the Pious, by Simson (Vol. II.), of Otto the Great, by Dümmler, and of Henry II., by Hirsch. Pottbast's 'Regesta' of the popes is also finished, covering the thirteenth century. The great collection of chronicles of German cities goes on, embracing now Nuremberg (five volumes), Augsburg (two), Strassburg (two), Brunswick (one), Magdeburg (one), and Cologne (two). This year and the last have seen three volumes of Waitz's great 'Verfassungs-Geschichte.' In the field of constitutional law we have the first volume of Fustel de Coulanges's 'Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France.' America has also contributed a valuable work in 'Essays on Anglo-Saxon

Law,' by Prof. Adams, of Harvard, and his students. Hefele's 'Concilien-geschichte' is completed in seven volumes, and a revised edition of the earlier volumes has begun. He has ended with the councils of the fifteenth century, on the ground that materials are not yet ready for writing a history of the Council of Trent. These materials, by the way, are in preparation by the distinguished Döllinger, the second edition of whose 'Ungedruckte Berichte, etc.', has just appeared. Werner's 'Bonifacius' we have already mentioned. The 'Life of Bertrand du Guesclin,' by Simeon Luce, brings the career of this hero down to 1363.

—Of national histories the most important is perhaps the completion of Freeman's 'Norman Conquest.' For the same period we have Skene's 'History of Ancient Alban,' the first volume of which treats of the history and ethnography to the death of Alexander III. (1285). Mary, Queen of Scots, finds new defenders in Chantelauze ('Marie Stuart') and Gauthier ('Histoire de Marie Stuart'). Mr. Brewer's 'Calendar of State Papers' under Henry VIII. has another valuable volume; it was feared that the editor's acceptance of a living in the country would interfere with its continuation, but we understand that satisfactory engagements have been made for it by Sir Thomas Hardy. There is another volume, too, of Mrs. Green's 'Calendar' for the period of the Commonwealth. Reumont's 'Geschichte Toscanas' has found an English translator. The fifth volume of Carlson's 'Geschichte Schwedens' comes down to the death of Charles XI., pronounced a period of decay, although the decay was first clearly visible under his son. Konrad Maurer's 'Island' is a work of the highest scientific value. A new history of Austria by Krones has reached its eighth number and the fourteenth century. J. G. Droysen's 'Geschichte der preussischen Politik' (Vol. V., Part 2) covers the period between the treaties of Breslau (1742) and Dresden (1745).

—Of more general nature are Richard Rothe's lectures on Church History, edited by Weingarten; Lorenz's 'Drei Bücher Geschichte und Politik,' a collection of essays chiefly upon the XIIIth and XIVth centuries; Lindsay's 'History of Merchant Shipping' (four volumes), which is now complete; Stephens's 'History of Thought in the Eighteenth Century'; and the translation of Comte's 'Social Dynamics.' Of historical biographies, the most important is that of Lord Shelburne; besides this, there are the lives of Macaulay and Ticknor, Martin's 'Life of the Prince Consort,' and Morse's 'Life of Hamilton.' The republication of Fortescue's 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ,' by Robert Clarke of Cincinnati, deserves mention. The several 'Epochs' series have received new and valuable additions. Menke's new edition of 'Spruner's Historical Atlas' has reached its sixteenth number. A slight disagreement is understood to have arisen between the editor (Dr. Menke) and the publisher (Perthes), who seems unduly anxious that it be speedily completed. A new Historical Atlas by Wolff, designed for the general public, is to contain nineteen maps in four numbers. Two numbers have already been issued.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.*

A PLEASANT life is that of the excellent nobleman who has given us the lively story of it in the comely volume described below. But, instead of "fifty years" of his life, Lord Albemarle might have better said "seventy years," as some of the most interesting circumstances which he narrates happened as long ago as 1806. It was about that time that he—then a boy of seven years old—and his brother played trap-ball in the garden of St. Anne's Hill with Charles James Fox. The great orator was then unable to walk from dropsy, and, consequently, always had the "innings"—which he enjoyed but for brief intervals in his political career—while the other children (for he was the youngest of them all) did the bowling and fagging out. And it was not much later that he became the playfellow and friend of the Princess Charlotte, when he had the honor of receiving "facers" from the little fists of the royal hoyden in her sparring fancies, and her riding-whip across his shoulders when he had brought a scolding upon her for one of her pranks. But then she made amends by presents of watch and pony and pocket money out of her slender allowance, together with good advice, such as became the maturity of twelve years when addressing nine. Altogether, the glimpse he gives us of the childhood of the poor little princess, who had small comfort of her short life, is a pleasant one, and shows qualities which would have stood "the Daughter of the Isles" in good stead had she lived to be their queen.

The childish intimacy between Lord Albemarle and the princess was owing to his grandmother, Lady De Clifford, being the governess of her Royal Highness. This post she resigned because the Prince Regent broke

his promise of secrecy as to some confidential communication of hers. Being asked by him the reason of her leaving his service on such short notice, the old lady replied, "Because your Royal Highness has taught me the distinction between the word of honor of a prince and a gentleman!" The sequel was equally characteristic of the "First Gentleman in Europe." He sent her a special royal command to a party at Carlton House, which we believe makes attendance all but obligatory. She was doubtful as to what she should do under the circumstances, but was induced to go. The prince showed why he had invited her by turning his back upon her ostentatiously before the whole company. Lord Albemarle tells interesting stories of another most famous lady whom George IV. treated worse yet, and whom Horne Tooke called in print Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales—Mrs. Fitzherbert, to wit. This was, perhaps, the one honorable love which that royal profligate ever had. He risked the loss of his crown by marrying her in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act and of the Act of Settlement, she being a Catholic; and he was buried with her miniature round his neck, which it appeared that he had always worn since their separation, nearly forty years before.

Young Keppel, like most of his rank, was passed through the fire of the Moloch of a public school education, which has been so strange a superstition of the English higher classes for centuries. That the belief in the virtue of the brutalities of masters and of the elder boys, the floggings by the one and the exaction of menial service by savage cruelty of the other, to make little boys manly, should have endured so long, is one of the anomalies of English human nature. More than a century and a half ago the *Spectator* denounced the barbarities of the public schools as more apt to break than to strengthen the spirit of the boys. But they have endured, with perhaps some mitigation, unto this day. From school, young Keppel took the next step in life usual for youthful sprigs of nobility not intended for the university, and received his commission as ensign in the Fourteenth Foot before he was sixteen. He served but one campaign, but that one was the complement and the quintessence of many others—that of Waterloo. His account of the scenes previous to the battle, of the battle itself, and of the occupation of Paris and its humors, remind one of Thackeray in 'Vanity Fair.' Though he does not mention Becky Sharp and Rawdon Crawley, there is not the least doubt that they were there. Returned to London, he had his last sight of the Princess Charlotte at the Chapel Royal, on an occasion just before her marriage. Her quick eyes, under her hands joined over them in edifying devotion, soon spied her old playfellow out, and made telegraphic signals at him as in the old days of childhood; and after service, as he stood looking for her at the corner of the street, she kissed and waved her hand to him as long as she was in sight.

The opportunities which young Keppel had of seeing the world and the amount of it which he did see was astonishing in those days before universal travel, and remarkable even in these. From Paul and Virginia's Isle of France he went to India, thence overland by Persia, visiting Bagdad and Babylon, returning through Russia home. Of this journey he published an account entitled an 'Overland Journey from India,' which gave him admission to literary circles not before open to him. Afterwards he made a tour through Turkey in Europe, with an excursion into Asia Minor, which he published as his 'Journey across the Balkan.' Thus the excellent author lived on in various activities, coming into his title at past fifty, but having enjoyed it for more than a quarter of a century. He is not, happily for himself and for us, a great man, but he is a very pleasant teller of his story, and is never tedious in the telling. He has known celebrities of all ranks and conditions—military, political, literary, and fashionable—and likes to tell what he has known of them. The days of the Regency and of George IV. were not virtuous days, nor will we affirm that these are much better than those; but there were more lively scandals and more gossiping anecdotes afloat then, that have had specific levity enough to keep on the surface of talk for fifty years, than these more decorous Victorian times are likely to provide for posterity. London has grown too great for social celebrities, good and bad, such as flourished then. Brummel would be an impossibility now, and so is Almack's. There are now exclusive circles enough, but there is no one exclusive society like that of which Lady Jersey held the key, and to which high birth did not command admission and from which low birth did not necessarily exclude. The fantastic, indefinable, but despotic power of fashion has no longer the sway in the sense or in the degree that it held fifty or sixty years ago. Crowds have smothered it. Those were times when men fought duels, and ran away with one another's wives, and ruined themselves at Crockford's. There were dandies in those days, and they lounged in Bond Street, now as desolate as Baker Street or Tadmor in the Wilderness, as far as fashion is con-

* 'Fifty Years of my Life. By George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.

cerned. The dandies are no more, and the swells have not made their place good. The Marquis of Steyne himself has been gone for five-and-thirty years, and it is to be hoped that the Thackeray of the next age will be puzzled to find his successor. We do not say that the later days are better or worse than the former ones. It is likely that substantially they are much alike. But the former were the racier of the two, and amuse us as we doubt whether our successors will be amused by the latter. As the innkeeper said to Yorick on another occasion, there may not be any great difference as to the sins, but there will be all the difference in the world as to the scandals. Lord Albemarle is much more entertaining than Mr. Greville, without the malignity and brutality of that writer. His readers will not find themselves entrapped into moral, political, or philosophical reflections, or into the slightest attempt to make them wiser or better; with which commendation—the highest that we know of in such a case—we dismiss his book with the advice to all and singular to buy and read it.

Herzegovina and the Late Uprising. By W. J. Stillman. (London: Longmans, Green & Co.)—Mr. Stillman was correspondent of the London *Times* in Herzegovina and Montenegro in the fall of 1875 and the following winter, bringing to his work the experience of irregular warfare and of Turkish character and methods of administration acquired while American consul in Crete during the insurrection in that island in 1866-8. His book is made up partly of his letters and partly of memoranda of matters which came to his knowledge under a seal of temporary confidence, or which, for other reasons, it would have been at the time improper to communicate to a newspaper. He spent his time partly in Montenegro and partly in the insurrectionary districts, either with the insurgents or the Turks, observing closely, and evidently, in spite of his strong sympathy with the rebels, quite ready to give the Turks any credit that was due to them—which, to tell the truth, was not much. He saw but little fighting because there was very little to see, and, indeed, his book is rather a description of a state of things than a narrative of events. The rising was begun, in the usual way, by refugees from Turkish violence, and it lasted with varying fortune, mainly owing to Turkish incompetency, until, first, Russian sympathy and support were assured, and then the attention of Europe was attracted and the diplomatists began to interfere. It consisted in the main of skirmishes, which were always bloody in proportion to the force engaged, in plunderings, burnings, and murders; the Turks, on the whole, getting the worst of it in the armed encounters, but getting their revenge in devastation. In fact, as a military operation, the Herzegovina insurrection amounted to nothing; as a disturbance, however, it amounted to a great deal, for by drawing Servia and Montenegro into the field, it brought Europe once more face to face with the most serious question of modern international politics.

Mr. Stillman's opinions about the Turks are well known. He believes them as rulers irredeemably cruel, vicious, inefficient, and dishonest, through whom no reform can possibly be carried out, whose promises are not to be believed, and to whom it is a burning shame that any Christian population should be left in subjection. He therefore proposes that, if anything is to be done for the salvation of the poor Christians in Herzegovina, it should be done through Christian administrators—the Austrians, for instance, who have been accustomed to command on the Military Frontier, or Anglo-Indian officers, who have had just the kind of experience Turkey needs. He thinks a mixed representative government, half Turk, half Christian, would be useless, because the Turks would have it all their own way, and would enforce "the previous question" in debate by strangling their brother legislators; and the "autonomy" of the newly-emancipated rayahs, he thinks, would be simply a species of Carpet-baggery—that is, the rule of an ignorant mass by a parcel of imported demagogues. The reason why he does not believe the Turk will improve is that, in so far as he is bad, he is bad not as a Turk but as a Mussulman; or, in other words, he is bad in virtue of what he regards as his highest good—in all of which we cordially agree with Mr. Stillman. His illustrations of Turkish incapacity for reform, or rather of Turkish "reform within the party," are amusing but horrid. Judicial pursuits into crime seldom go farther than a "report," and "to make a report" is, in the eyes of Turkish officials, to do sufficient justice. Mr. Stillman had more than once the novel, but always exciting, experience of hearing discussions about the fitness and pleasurable of cutting off his head.

Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England. By Alfred Rimmer. With 150 illustrations from drawings by the author. (London and New

York: Macmillan & Co. 1877.)—Dean Howson, in his suggestive introduction to this work, after quoting from a letter of Mr. Henry James's to the *Nation* concerning Chester, remarks that his pleasure in recommending Mr. Rimmer's book "is very much increased by the reflection, that American readers are likely to take the warmest interest in the visible reminiscences of history in which the country that they recognize as their motherland still abounds." Whatever may have been the publishers' experience on this point, we are sure that the dean was not mistaken, and commercially we are inclined to think that Mr. Rimmer would have done well to keep an American audience directly in mind. One effect of this would have been to improve the volume even for his countrymen. Writing for them, for example, he does not think it superfluous to indicate somewhat particularly the location of some of the places he mentions. For American readers he might have employed a sketch-map showing all the places, famous and obscure. This would have had an additional advantage from the fact that Mr. Rimmer, though contriving to include nearly every county in England, has failed to observe a strict geographical sequence in his progress. In fact, the way in which he skips about without warning must be exasperating even to an English reader. One-third of the interest of such a book as this is lost if the antiquities are not clearly assigned to their proper place on the map, and we defy any one to rise from reading Mr. Rimmer with a distinct notion of county peculiarities.

Mr. Rimmer's course, so far as he can be said to have one, begins at Chester and proceeds through the western counties to the southern, thence west-eastwardly, thence northeasterly *ad libitum*, and then into the interior. Berks is reserved for another series; Cambridge for a third; and a fourth will be given to gateways and their history. This being the case, it is to be hoped that the author, who is evidently not a born book-maker, will meantime accept friendly advice as to his literary style. One of his most curious defects is referring to what has not gone before as if it had been mentioned; another, not a little annoying, is his unconscious repetitions. Thus, on p. 149, he tells us that "the college [at Oxford] that is perhaps the most beloved by Englishmen is Magdalen, owing to its spirited opposition to the attempts which James II. made to tyrannize over its authorities and rights." On p. 153 we are informed that "the interest in Magdalen College is from its sturdy resistance to James II. when he decided," etc. A more important criticism relates to Mr. Rimmer's exposition of his architectural principles, since he is constantly holding up this or that style or detail or mode of construction for imitation at the present day. In the main we gather that his feeling is right, but that his ideas are confused and ill thought out. His illustrations can seldom be accused of having been chosen for their mere picturesqueness; and, on the other hand, mere antiquity has not governed their selection. They have, as a rule, a practical value for architects and builders, and we may instance the oblique gables in Warwick, pictured on p. 234 and accompanied by a clear-enough explanation of "the way in which an acute-angled street may be made to contain rectangular rooms on an upper story." The American way of doing it may be seen in Rose Street in this city, where the fronts of the houses are parallel to each other and not to the street, saw fashion.

Stowed away between these covers with little skill and method is a good deal of useful information, especially in illustration of Shakspeare's historical plays. We learn of Derbyshire (p. 240) that "the title of the Earls of Derby is not derived from any part of this county, as has been supposed, but from the hundred of West Derby, near Liverpool." Newark Castle (p. 227), "of course *new work*, gave the name to the town"; Beverley (p. 28) "was at one time surrounded by lakes that were formed by the overflowing of the Humber, and its name is said to be derived from Beaver Lake, as at one time these animals were very abundant in this part of Yorkshire." (*Meadow* or *forest glade* is the true meaning of the suffix *-ley*). As "the making of *pomfret* cakes forms quite an industry among the natives of Pontefract," it is fair to suppose (what is the truth) that this is the popular pronunciation of the name of the place, which has been literally retained in our Pomfret (Conn.). On p. 299 we read that in Carlisle is still noticeable the type of the Flemings colonized there by William Rufus; and again:

"The singular way in which a type of feature is preserved from generation to generation is certainly exhibited in Chester, in the Roman character of many of the features of the country people near the city. This has never been noticed, as far as I know, and it was only in looking over a collection of Roman coins that it occurred to me. These characteristics are especially to be noticed in the coins of Hadrian, or Claudius, or Agricola—a full neck, a Roman nose, and strongly-marked features; indeed, nobody can go through the Chester market on a Saturday and observe the various types of feature without being struck with these peculiarities in the Cheshire women."

Historical Biographies. Edited by Rev. M. Creighton, M.A. Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, by M. Creighton, M.A., pp. 222. Life of Edward the Black Prince, by Louise Creighton, pp. 230. (London: Rivingtons. 1876.)—Mr. Creighton's series of biographies makes, if we count aright, the seventh series of brief histories now in course of publication in England—a remarkable proof of the interest felt in historical studies and the thoroughness with which they are cultivated. The lives announced are, besides the two already published, those of Raleigh, Cromwell, Marlborough, and Wellington. The object of the series is to aid in emphasizing what we may call the personal element in history, an element often undervalued in these days of "tendencies" and evolution. And however far it may be true that the greatest men are but blind instruments of irresistible forces, their careers and achievements are after all the best means of exciting interest and inculcating the lessons of history.

The lives of Montfort and the Black Prince are well and attractively related. We question the judgment which takes the Black Prince as a typical character, or as a hero to be placed before the young. He was, no doubt, "the bravest warrior of that age," but we cannot call that commander "a skilful general" who placed himself in a situation from which he could be extricated only by the desperate victory of Poitiers, and who allowed himself to be tempted, for no sufficient cause, into the unwarrantable Spanish campaign. So with his personal character. He had marked virtues in his relations with those of his own class; but we protest against any extenuation of the massacre of Limoges, on the oft-repeated ground that he was "on a level with the morality of his day." The model knight should have been above the average morality of his day; but even this average morality, as set forth in Froissart, condemned this massacre. The maps are not what we are accustomed to of late years. That in the life of the Black Prince is quite good; in the other volume the map of England is fair, that of Europe unsatisfactory. Aquitaine is given as if it were a province north of Guyenne. Germany is made to extend east to the Vistula, and, indeed, for all that appears, comprises Denmark as well; Florence is given as the capital of Tuscany, and all Southern Italy in this period is reckoned as Apulia. In the body of the work (p. 69), Gascony is said to be "the only one of the great continental possessions of Henry II. which still remained in the hands of his descendants," but Gascony was only a province of Aquitaine.

Inventional Geometry. By W. G. Spencer, with a prefatory note by Herbert Spencer. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. pp. 97.)—*A Short Geography.* First Part: The Hemispheres. By E. Roth. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1876. Pp. 52.)—*Algebra Self-Taught.* By W. P. Higgs. (London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon. 1876. Pp. 104.)—We have named these books in the order of their probable usefulness. They have nothing in common except brevity and directness. The first is an elaborate and desperate attempt to rescue the study of geometry from the treadmill of routine which has degraded it into being the driest and most tedious of school drudgeries. No study is inherently better adapted than geometry to feed and stimulate the inventive faculty; but, as now taught, instead of arousing inventiveness, memory, the opposite faculty, is alone set to work. The author of the 'Inventional Geometry' before us is Herbert Spencer's father. He has collected nearly five hundred problems or questions, extending from the simplest observation, as "Show how many faces a cube has," to mechanical applications of conic sections. This is a very steep ascent to be achieved in one hundred pages, and it must be confessed that the steps are unequal, and that some of them are too long. Many of the single questions would constitute a lesson apiece; and we wish we could be certain that some of them are not even too long for a single lesson. Still, a sympathetic teacher would know how to give out the lessons, and, if we were school-boys, we should wish to have this book assigned to us, and run the risk of excessive lessons, with the certainty that the good results would be permanent.

The 'Short Geography' seems to be merely an attempt to facilitate the memorizing of elementary map-questions by judicious grouping. Its preface is as sensible as it is distinct: "Topography, or a knowledge of maps, is the chief end of geography. The way to learn well is to learn one thing at a time, and that thoroughly. The way to learn geography well is to learn all you can from one map before quitting it for another. Motto of this little work—one map to one book," etc.

The 'Algebra Self-Taught' is adapted to an ideal student. We should not know where to look for him.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Freeman (E. A.), *The Turks in Europe*, swd. (Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Globe Encyclopedia, Part 9, swd. (Estes & Lauriat) \$0 50
Kiepert (Dr. H.), *Atlas Antiquus*, bds. (E. Steiger)
Kirby (W.), *Le Chien d'Or: a Tale* (Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.) 2 00

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1877.

The Week.

THE addition of Mr. Devens's and Mr. Thompson's names completed the list of Cabinet appointments, no one of which can fairly be considered weak. Less is known of Mr. Devens throughout the country at large than in Massachusetts, but we hazard little in predicting that the longer he remains Attorney-General the better satisfied the country will be with the choice. He is a sound though not a great lawyer, a man of unblemished integrity, a representative of the best influences of the best civilization in New England, and a deadly foe to the repulsive brood that Butler's use of Federal patronage has fastened upon Massachusetts. Like most of those who fought their way through the war, he has an honest soldier's feeling of respect for the men he fought against, and is consequently not ready to believe that every Southerner is the fiend in human shape conjured up by the gloomy imagination of patriots like the late Mr. Boutwell. Probably the only place where there will be any regret at Mr. Devens's appointment will be in the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Mr. Thompson is a politician whose appointment, nominally a concession to the Morton faction, can hardly cheer them very much, as he was understood last summer to have decided leanings toward "reform within the party." As the manufacturer of the fearful and wonderful platitudes of the last Republican platform he cannot be highly commended, but his duties in the Navy Department will not require him to be a master of language. The department needs a thorough overhauling, and we trust that Mr. Thompson will begin at once.

The refusal of the President to touch the offices at present, and the all but certainty that there will be no sweeping changes, or indeed any changes not plainly called for in the interest of the service, and the absolute indifference to "claims" which is manifested at the White House, have been producing a genuine sensation among the politicians, and giving infinite comfort to the large body of faithful and hard-working and poorly-paid officers who are to be found in every department, and who, under the old system, have looked forward to a change of administration with very much the same feelings with which they would under a rational system look forward to a foreign invasion and the temporary break-up of the Government. One of the good results which may be predicted from the change is the exposure of the theory that certain distributions of offices are necessary to "carry" certain States. If President Hayes sticks to his plan he will show the world that more votes are gained by letting the offices alone than by making "new deals"—that, for instance, if he wishes to "carry Indiana," instead of, like General Grant, making Tyner Postmaster-General for this purpose, the best thing to be done is to make Tyner carry the mails safely and cheaply for a year or two. The way to "carry Indiana," in short, is to make a good government, and this is a simple deduction from the doctrine "trust the people," with which nobody is more familiar than Tyner himself and his chief, Senator Morton.

The Rhode Island Republicans are showing some interest in the question of what ought to be done to the Providence postmaster under the new civil-service rules. This postmaster is spoken of as "genial and efficient," and, to judge by his recent proceedings, his geniality, if it equals his efficiency, must be most alarming. He is not merely postmaster, but, as frequently happens in such cases, is also chairman of the State Central Committee. Last week the State Convention assembled to make nominations, and it turned out that there were contesting delegations from several towns, which of course promised trouble. The postmaster, having evidently

profited by the close study of the institutions of the Grand Duchy of Gerolstein, to which the late Administration devoted so much time, immediately obviated all difficulties by announcing that he—as chairman—would "make up the roll of the Convention," and "personally decide who were entitled to vote as delegates." In order to show that this decision had not been arrived at hastily, he also produced lists of the delegates to be admitted, which he had taken the precaution to have printed beforehand, and made the call of the roll on this "basis," as the *Providence Press* facetiously calls it. When the first contested town was reached, a "leading citizen," unaccustomed to these new parliamentary methods, protested that only the uncontested delegations should be called by the chairman; but the chairman informed him that all contests would be decided by the chair, and, supplementing this ruling by another that the first could not be appealed from, effectually suppressed all opposition, and proceeded to organize the Convention on the "basis" just referred to. This plan of managing conventions saves a great deal of time and trouble, but the Rhode-Islanders do not like it, and denounce their genial and efficient postmaster for it, and want to know what Mr. Hayes is going to do to him. There is only one way of curing the evil permanently, and that is to take away the causes which lead postmasters to consider the organization of conventions part of their official duties. Meanwhile, Mr. Hayes might do a great deal of good by giving formal notice that this sort of work must be stopped, and emphasizing the order by removing some conspicuous offender like this genial and efficient Rhode Island official.

The newspapers seem to be agreed that General Grant's whole diplomatic service—or rather the heads of it—are to be rotated out of office and their places distributed in the usual way. Governor Noyes, it is said, is to have the French mission, while Mr. Pierrepont is to make room for some one at London. With regard to the first appointment, everybody who wishes well to the new Administration must hope that nothing will be done in haste. Mr. Noyes's qualifications for the place may be of the highest order, but all that the public generally know about him is that he was a thick-and-thin supporter of Mr. Hayes "from the start," and that his name has been disagreeably connected in his own State with scandals in the administration of a public office. Whether there was any foundation for this we do not know, but the matter was investigated, or, at any rate, much discussed in Ohio at the time, and the facts must be within easy reach. We cannot afford to have anybody appointed to any foreign mission who is likely to be "exposed" as soon as he has presented his credentials, and anything like a repetition of the Schenck affair would be a national calamity, particularly in France, where our character for commercial integrity already established is not so high that we can safely have it supplemented by a reputation of looseness with regard to public trusts. Mr. Pierrepont has done fairly in England, and if he is to be superseded, it ought to be only by a better man, a lawyer of higher standing, of more dignity, and of more conspicuous ability. The duties of the position are now mainly legal, and are not likely to put any one's qualities to a very severe test. The curious notions with regard to public office that have sprung up in the last forty years could hardly have a better illustration than in the names of the two gentlemen most often spoken of in connection with the English mission—Mr. Frelinghuysen and Mr. E. W. Stoughton—the one unusually well fitted for such a place by training, temper, and position; the other qualified by the fact that he endorsed the Louisiana Returning Board and made an argument or two before the Electoral Commission, and so "got Hayes in." It must be confessed that, unless our minds were somewhat confused on the sub-

ject, these would seem rather singular grounds for claiming a high diplomatic position.

Mr. Blaine made his attack on what he took the liberty of supposing was going to be the President's policy, undoubtedly in the belief that he could make another "magnificent fight" in the Senate like the one he carried on in the House against the "Confederate colonels" who were enquiring into his railroad operations, and perhaps overcome Mr. Hayes as he overcame "Ben" Hill. He, however, soon discovered that he had overestimated his own strength and misunderstood the temper of the country. The stentorian voice and kimboed arms somehow had no terrors for the Senate, who witnessed the "fight" with calm amusement; and the rash prayer about his "tongue cleaving to the roof of his mouth" and "his right hand forgetting its cunning" had hardly been uttered when it became plain that the exhibition was an entire failure. Nobody in the Senate was roused, and the old heads were put on their guard. The reference of the Cabinet appointments to committees, too, stirred the country up to an unusual degree; telegrams began to pour in upon the President exhorting him to stand firm; the press came out almost unanimously in his support, and in forty-eight hours it was plain that he was master of the situation. The opposition suddenly subsided; Blaine began to ask innocently who it was that was opposing the President; Butler called smilingly at the White House, and Cameron reported Mr. Evarts's name in obedience, he said, to the instructions of his committee. There was a day or two, however, when things looked critical. Had Hayes attempted to "restore harmony in the party," or had his appointees offered to "relieve him from his embarrassment," the Ring would have triumphed, and we should probably have had four years more of spasmodic attempts at reform, sternly repressed by the "Senatorial Group," with Blaine and Conkling posturing periodically, each as "the coming man" of 1880.

Considerable alarm was excited among the carpet-bag Republicans by Mr. Blaine's theatrical reference (recalling his flourish of the Proctor Knott telegram) to a letter from Mr. Stanley Matthews, of Ohio, partially endorsed by Mr. Evarts, to Mr. Chamberlain, of South Carolina, asking him in the interest of peace and order to retire from his present position of "rival governor," which Mr. Chamberlain received with indignation. Of the sensibleness of the advice there can be no doubt, but of the expediency of offering it just now there is a good deal. There will apparently be a strong effort made by the friends of the Administration to get rid of the South Carolina and Louisiana troubles by some sort of compromise—that is, by dividing the offices in some way, or giving the Legislature to one party and the governorship to the other. It is safe to say that, however praiseworthy the motives which dictate these attempts, they will no more succeed than the "Wheeler Compromise" succeeded in effecting a final settlement in Louisiana. The only way of pacifying the South is to face the facts of the situation fairly, and deal with them *legally* and without flinching. It cannot be settled on the paternal theory. The President has no right, under our system of government, to play the part of a "Great Father" to the Southern negroes as long as they are American citizens. An American citizen is *ex vi termini* a political orphan. He has and needs no parent or guardian, and we trust the President, in considering the Southern question, will avoid the use of vague, cloudy phrases, such as brought his predecessor to grief, and will give the chapter and verse which justify any action he takes, so that we shall all again not only feel but know that we are living under a government of laws and not of men. For instance, he ought to explain, and make everybody explain who uses it to him, what is meant by the phrase, "abandoning the Southern Republicans to their enemies." Does this mean taking the offices away from them, or does it mean withdrawing troops from the state-houses? Does it imply that the President owes some duty to a citizen of South Carolina which he does not owe to a citizen of Massachusetts, and, if so, what?

The new Senate Committees contain more Democrats than the old ones, the evenly-divided condition of the body itself necessitating this. The Republicans, however, keep control still of the more important political committees, those on Privileges and Elections and on Finance having six Republicans to three Democrats, while the regular proportion seems to be about four to three. The Civil-service and Retrenchment committee must have been made up as a joke. Blaine is chairman, and his party colleagues are Messrs. Oglesby, Patterson, and Booth, gentlemen who probably could not distantly approach the subject of civil-service reform to one another with straight faces. The Finance Committee, with such Senators as Ferry and Jones of Nevada on it, looks as if the silver dollar of our fathers might "develop strength" in it, but it also contains members of another sort, who will probably think twice before substituting silver for paper inflation. The Judiciary Committee, containing Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, Howe, Christianity, Davis, Thurman, and McDonald, could hardly be improved.

Colonel Pelton closed the canvass and "the count" by testifying before the Committee that he knew nothing whatever of any telegrams about buying governors or electors, and that if any such things had been sent by wicked men, he was not a party to it, although they were directed to Gramercy Park. The "Literary Bureau" was a great seminal idea, but somehow Mr. Pelton managed it in such fashion that we doubt if the device will ever be resorted to again; but, of course, the floods of information and doctrine it spread over the country have fertilized the Democratic soil. Mr. Hewitt has resigned the chairmanship of the National Committee, we suspect in considerable disgust. We doubt if anybody in a similar position has had as varied an experience, and the variety was increased by the operations of the "Bureau." In the closing scene Mr. Hewitt was virtually called on by the filibusters to take the field at their head against the "usurper," and he has had as much abuse and belittlement as any man who does not live by politics can fairly be called on to bear. The enquiries instituted by the reporters into Mr. Tilden's mental and physical condition reveal the fact that he is at present in good health, is apparently unconscious of the blackness and baseness of his own character, and not without hopes for the country. There are already signs of a disposition on the part of some of the Republican papers to admit that he has certain redeeming traits.

The New Hampshire election on Tuesday resulted, as was generally expected, in the victory of the entire Republican State ticket and the election of two if not three Republican Congressmen. The new constitution was adopted by a light vote, and under it some important changes will go into effect. Elections are to be biennial and to take place in November; population instead of ratable polls is to be the basis of representation; the governor and council are not to remove officers for political reasons, but, on the other hand, sheriffs, solicitors and registers of probate are to be elected; the legislature is not to have the power to authorize towns or cities to give or lend money to corporations; the word "Protestant" is to be struck from the Bill of Rights, the governor and the members of the legislature need no longer be of the "Protestant religion," and the people are not to be taxed for the support of denominational schools or institutions. The canvass has been very dull, and this dullness, coupled with the result, may be taken as a renewed proof that while the public sentiment is in favor of secularization in politics, there is no very deep feeling of religious oppression anywhere which would cause the humble and down-trodden Christian of any sect to glow with hope on hearing that Blaine had "come out for religious freedom in New Hampshire." The newspapers, by the way, make no mention of the reception of the news of the Cabinet appointments at the Vatican, probably from fear of marring the general satisfaction with unpleasant stories. The Pope need expect no better treatment from this Administration than he would have had from Grant himself. Mr.

Thompson is a firm enemy of the wretched old man, and as the writer of a work on the Papacy and the Civil Power, and former member of the "Native American" party, in which the Democrats were so anxious to enroll Mr. Hayes during the late campaign, may be relied upon to stand in the breach, should there turn out at any time to be one.

The sales of the new United States $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds continue here and in the foreign markets at the rate of about \$1,000,000 per day, and during the week the Treasury notified the holders of \$10,000,000 more 5.20 6 per cent. bonds that they would be redeemed ninety days hence. At no time since the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds were first put on the market has the prospect been so good that all will be sold during the present year. The high credit of the Government in the markets of the world is not more favorable for Treasury resumption of specie payments on or before January 1, 1879, than are the foreign-trade figures. These for the first seven months of the Treasury fiscal year, or up to February 1, have been rendered for all the ports of the country; and they show, specie included on both sides, that the exports exceeded the imports by the sum of \$135,000,000, or at the rate of \$263,000,000 for the whole year. The excess of exports over imports for the first seven months of the fiscal year of 1875-6 was \$53,000,000, and for 1874-5 \$52,500,000. Nothing, therefore, except gross mismanagement on the part of the Treasury can prevent resumption in gold by the Treasury within the allotted time. The price of gold, expressed in paper legal tender, fell during the week to 104 $\frac{1}{2}$, chiefly for the reasons just named. Another effort was made during the week to effect a coal combination, but it failed, and instead the companies have wisely determined to reduce the cost of producing coal and seek relief from the depression in the trade by enlarging the consumption of coal in this country, and by devoting attention to the export of coal. It is asserted that at present prices our mines can successfully compete in all the markets of the world with those of any other country. A notable event has been the withdrawal of all opposition to the probate of the will of the late Commodore Vanderbilt. Still another notable event was the advance by the trunk lines of 50 per cent. in Western-bound freight rates, the result of a conference of the chief managers of the respective lines. All accounts agree that these managers recognize the necessity of maintaining fair rates and of avoiding war. Silver fell during the week to 55d. per ounce in London; and at the close of the week the gold value of a United States legal-tender note for one dollar was \$0.9546; the bullion in a 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar would have had a gold value of \$0.9203; that in a trade dollar had a gold value of \$0.9371, and that in two halves, four quarters, or ten dimes, \$0.8608.

Russia is endeavoring to extract a pledge from the Porte that it will carry out its reforms within a short fixed period; the pledge, in the shape of a diplomatic instrument, to be countersigned by the Powers collectively, with the result, in case it goes unfulfilled, of doing away altogether with the treaty of Paris. Meantime, the reports of increasing military preparations on the part of Russia continue to gain ground. To Russian exactingness the Porte has replied by another list of reforms which it says it is going to introduce, and which, as in the case of the constitution, go considerably beyond Russian demands. There is, however, little use in reproducing them, as they will probably never be heard of again. The correspondence of the English journals from Bulgaria shows that, in spite of all the promises, no progress has been made in punishing the perpetrators of the "atrocities." The trials before the Commission are mere shams as regards their results, and many of the worst offenders are still at large, and still committing atrocities, and the temper of the Turks is described as more ferocious than ever. The reason given for the failure of the prosecutions is the very simple one that Mussulman opinion, which is the only opinion for which the Government cares, will not suffer it. The disorganization at

Constantinople is said to be on the increase, and a state of anarchy is described as prevailing on the eastern Asiatic frontier, the Armenians being literally given up to the tender mercies of the Kurds.

Lord Salisbury's correspondence from Constantinople, as published in the Blue-Book, contains a piece of highly destructive criticism of the new constitution, which it reduces to the rank of a mere "blind," and will probably take it wholly out of the discussion. The Ministry stand rather better on the Eastern Question in England. It appears plain that from the very outset they determined not to help Turkey, and gave her notice to that effect, but were so tickled by the applause which was called forth by the sending of the fleet to Besika Bay, as a sign of boldness, that they allowed the impression that it was intended as a menace to Russia to go uncorrected.

Lord Derby's account in the House of Lords of the renewal of the Extradition treaty differs in many respects from that published in the newspapers here some weeks ago. He says that in the month of August last he received a communication from the American minister, to the effect that the United States Government did not intend and never had intended to try the man Lawrence—on whose case the treaty broke down—for any other offence than the one for which he was surrendered; or, in other words, did not mean and never had meant to exercise the right they claimed under the treaty. This, he says, puts an entirely new face on the matter, and if they had said this sooner it would have saved a world of trouble. He denies distinctly the statement made in our papers that he had acknowledged the American interpretation to be the correct one, and says that "he maintains now and has always maintained that the construction he put on the treaty was the correct one." The matter loses most of its importance, however, in view of the fact that a new treaty is being negotiated.

The "Woman Question" has come before the English courts in an extraordinary shape. There, as here, married women now hold property independently of their husbands, and one married lady owns a race-horse on which she has given two or three mortgages, besides owing the trainer something. The creditors are now all pressing for payment, and application was made to the Master of the Rolls for an order to sell the horse and divide the price among the owners of the liens; but he refused to make any such order, on the ground that the evidence was too conflicting. Whereupon the counsel of the unfortunate husband rose and protested on his behalf against his being dragged into the case as he had been, as he knew and cared nothing about the horse. To this the Master of the Rolls replied remorselessly that it was quite proper to bring him in; that he was a necessary party; and that if the Court had made any order in the matter, and the wife had disobeyed it, it was he who would have had to go to jail for contempt—an *obiter dictum* which must have plunged the married men into deep thought.

The Indian famine appears to have been mastered, and the number of persons employed on the public works begins to diminish. Owing to the railways, there has been no difficulty in bringing up the supplies, and thus there has been no great loss of life, but the drain on the Treasury has been very heavy, and if these famines are to recur often and are to be met in the same way, it looks as if the result would before long be bankruptcy. It begins now to be seen that in relieving the people on this enormous scale there is great danger of converting a large portion of the population into paupers, against which the old Mussulman rulers protected themselves by letting the people die by the million. The only remedy consistent with humanity is the construction of a vast system of irrigating works to provide against the droughts to which the famines are due; but this again would call for great outlay, which the Government, having hardly yet mastered the railroad problem, is unable to meet.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

THE great fear—we were going to say the only fear—which the better class of Mr. Hayes's supporters had about his Administration, if elected, was that he had during the canvass incurred obligations to Blaine, Chandler, Morton, Cameron, and the like which he would not have the strength to disregard, and that we should thus be treated to four years more of the régime known as "Grantism"—that is, a weak President, managed for their own corrupt purposes by a Senatorial Ring, or "Group," as *Harper's Weekly* called it. That this was what the managers looked forward to was plain to be seen from the contempt with which they treated his programme during the canvass, and the assurance with which they substituted one of their own, from which all mention of the things for which he had announced that his nomination stood was carefully excluded. They evidently counted, too, on a continuance of the hostility to the South from which the country has already suffered so much, and on the maintenance of the old usurpation of the appointing power by the Legislature, against which the Cincinnati platform so strongly protested. Whether Mr. Hayes was the man to meet and dispose of these pretensions, and make good his promises of reform, was what thousands of even those who voted for him doubted.

Things, however, took a most fortunate turn for him after the election. Chandler and Blaine, if they did not secure his defeat at the polls, as we ourselves have no doubt they did, did not secure his triumph, and their Returning-Board arrangements, unluckily, were not good enough to bear examination. In fact, "the Management," as they say at the theatres, blundered and miscarried up to the day the Electoral Commission met, and Hayes reached the Presidency not through what the Republican chiefs had done for him, but through the refusal of the Commission to look into it. He was thus relieved completely of all obligation to them.

They might, however, have concealed from the country the fact of his emancipation and the overthrow of their supremacy for some time after his inauguration, and thus have prevented his getting an early hold on popular confidence, if they had not been so over-confident and indiscreet as to attack his selection of his Cabinet at the very first moment. Their shrewdest course would have been to let the Cabinet appointments pass with an air of contempt or indifference as the harmless diversion of a soft-headed person, whom they would take in hand and teach the ways of the place at their leisure. But with singular fatuity they got angry over them at once, as signs of insubordination. The unusual reference of the appointments to the committees, and Blaine's insolent speech in the Senate letting the President know what he would be allowed to do with the army at the South, showed Hayes that his hour had come, and that the Lord had delivered them into his hand. The Cabinet appointments were in reality an offer of battle and an appeal to the country. They were every one violations of the rules of the game as the Group played it and would have it played. They meant conciliation of the South, obedience to the law, civil-service reform, and general purification. They were, too, something almost unprecedented in American politics in this respect: that the persons chosen represented ideas and lines of policy, and not the "claims" of individuals or localities, as under the old system. Mr. Hayes, after he had made them, could have desired nothing better than that they should be at once assailed, and this piece of good luck befell him. The Managers rode headlong into the trap. They established beyond question the truth of the charge that they looked on the party platform and Hayes's letter as mere forms of words, and that they expected things to go on as before. One of the appointments, too, that of Key, excellent as it is on grounds of policy, has, as regards the Group, an air of remorseless cruelty, and of having been designed to make their overthrow conspicuous. They might possibly hide their defeat by pretending that Everts and Schurz and Thompson and Sherman and Devens were after all Republicans, though perhaps not of the best kind; but there is no way of disguising Key. He is an "ex-rebel," and

voted for Tilden and Hendricks. To confirm him is, for a Manager, to pass under the Caudian Forks with a halter round his neck and the boys laughing at him. After this what is the use of "practical politics"?

Nothing could well have been more gratifying and encouraging to the President than the quickness with which the public saw that the crisis had come, and rushed to his support. The reference to the committees produced an instantaneous alarm, and a burst of approval of the Cabinet, which assured him in a single day that the country was at his back. We remember no expression of opinion so nearly unanimous as this approval was. From the Republican press there was not the slightest sign of dissent, and the worst that any Democratic paper had to say was that he would not succeed in the conflict. It thus appeared very clearly that the great body of the Republican party is really opposed not only to the present use of the civil service for party purposes, and the usurpation of the appointing power by Congress—of these things there was little doubt already—but that it is opposed to the continuance at the South of the policy of military interference and coercion as pursued by General Grant. Nevertheless, it is in dealing with this that President Hayes will probably have most difficulty, and meet with most opposition among Republicans, if he meets with any at all. He is, he says, going to do nothing at the South without the fullest deliberation and enquiry, which is right. There is one change in that region which does not need much thought, and which we are pleased to hear that he proposes making at once, and we are the more pleased because we have been preaching it in these columns for over seven years—we mean the clearing out from the various Federal offices at the South of the class of political adventurers who have almost monopolized them under General Grant, and the substitution either of Southerners of good character and standing among their own people, or else of Northern men whose position and antecedents will secure them social recognition, and enable them to exercise a healthful influence on the negroes; for as regards the negroes, the Government ought to be an educator and enlightener, and not a source of evil passions and vain illusions.

In dealing with the general question of the relation of the Federal to the State governments, we venture to say that Mr. Hayes will succeed in proportion to the degree with which he discards the rolling, philanthropic phrases with which the subject has hitherto been enveloped, and presents it to the Northern mind in the dry, unvarnished terms of politics and constitutional law. For instance—and we will cite only one—when people ask him not to be so base as "to abandon the Southern Republicans," let him enquire in a sober, American way what this means. He is not a czar or a kaiser. He cannot send troops hither and thither to "succor struggling nationalities" or set down-trodden parties on their legs. He can succor nobody *except through law*. He is not a special Providence; he is the President of the United States, or, in other words, the creature of law. What, therefore, can he do for a Southern Republican under the United States statutes as interpreted by the courts? This is the question which should be put to all Southern delegations and all Northern orators who maintain that the United States Government owes some undefined protection to one of the two political parties at the South, and possesses some vague right of prescribing the exact amount and kind of force which a Southern governor shall use in overcoming resistance to his authority.

This is the only matter, however, in which he is likely to meet with much trouble, and in dealing with this and all other problems he starts with the inestimable advantage of public confidence. He has won his first victory over the enemies of good government; he may be sure of winning as many more as may be necessary as long as he believes firmly that the bulk of the people desire before all things peace, order, justice, economy, and efficient administration, and that the interest in political chicane is confined to not over half a million of the forty millions, and that the obstacles to reform of all kinds will disappear like magic when the supporters of abuses (as the rowdy said who surrendered to Jackson, after having defied the sheriff and his posse) "see fight in his eye."

THE LIFE-INSURANCE FAILURES.

THE infancy of life insurance in this country has been marked by a comparative freedom from those gigantic swindles of which we have so many instances in the history of life insurance in England. A great number of our companies have indeed been compelled to suspend, but, as a general rule, their failure has resulted more from extravagant and unwise management than from intentional fraud, and their assets have proved sufficient to effect the reinsurance of their policy-holders in other companies. But the cases of downright fraud and perjury which have recently come to light may well lead us to enquire whether, after all, our life-insurance management is entitled to much credit on the score of honesty, while the great number of failures cannot but direct public attention to their causes.

That the management of life-insurance companies has been marked by an extravagance, not to say recklessness, of pecuniary expenditure which would not have been tolerated in any other purely financial corporation will probably not be questioned by any one well informed on the subject. It may have been no worse than, perhaps not so bad as, our railway management; but if so, there is less excuse for it. To build and to run a railroad are very complicated operations, into which a great variety of bargains and contracts enter, and which involve the legal rights of great numbers of persons besides those immediately interested. It is in this great complexity of mutual rights, and the difficulty of understanding and defining them, that we are to seek for the origin of our railway troubles. But however large may be the business of a life-insurance company, the elements of which it is made up are of the simplest character. It consists in receiving from its policy-holders certain definite contributions at specified times, in safely investing them until wanted, and in returning the proceeds to the proper parties according to certain well-understood principles. The only legitimate contracts of any importance into which it can enter are to receive and pay certain sums of money at certain times, so that its operations are almost independent of those changes in the supply and demand of services and commodities which so powerfully affect railway interests.

The exceptional feature of life insurance is that the managers have found themselves in receipt of an income vastly greater than was necessary to meet their legal obligations, and have not been held responsible for the manner of expending the excess. True, there is a legal obligation to return certain balances to the policy-holders, but this applies only to what is left after paying all expenses, and as there is no limit to the kind or amount of expenses which the company may incur, the obligation affords no protection at all against reckless expenditure. We may readily see how this great excess of income over needs has arisen. To the average steady young man, impressed with a feeling of the uncertainty of human life, the fact that a company can guarantee him a hundred dollars at his death in consideration of an annual payment of two dollars or less seems very surprising. If he has any reason to desire an insurance on his life, he must feel that his bargain is a good one, and if the company is only so managed as to insure the fulfilment of its obligation to him, he is too well satisfied to ask for anything more. In this feeling of the policy-holder we find the exact limit which has hitherto been set to legislative supervision over the affairs of the companies. The latter have agreed, in consideration of certain premiums, to pay the assured a certain sum at a future time, and the main object of legislation has been to compel them to keep and invest such a portion of the premiums as to insure their ability to fulfil this obligation. The balance of their income might be squandered in almost any way, not positively fraudulent, without calling down censure from the law.

The great excess of the income of life-insurance companies over what is necessary to meet their obligations arises from the necessity of making provision against very improbable contingencies. The policy-holder pays every year a sum to guarantee his company against contingencies which might not arise in a hundred years, and

which have not arisen during the history of life insurance in this country—such, for instance, as an extraordinary increase of mortality or a fall of the rate of interest below four per cent. As a matter of fact the rate of interest has been so much higher, and the rate of mortality among insured lives so much lower than those supposed in the tables, that the income of our companies, increased as it is by “loading” the premiums, has been from sixty to eighty per cent. greater than was really necessary to enable them to meet their obligations. If we add the income from forfeited policies it is quite possible that the excess in the case of the weaker companies might be carried to one hundred per cent. Thus, legislative supervision has really done little more than limit the expenses, dividends, and bad investments of the companies to a fraction of their income which may range from thirty to fifty per cent. As long as this limit is not reached the failure of a company could only arise from a concurrence of improbable events. In this, combined with popular ignorance of the subject and the impossibility of concerted action among policy-holders, we find a temptation against which we cannot expect human nature to be proof. The surplus income of all but the few larger companies (and it is doubtful whether even they should be entirely excepted) has been mostly spent in a competition for custom as demoralizing as expensive. Unreasonable commissions are paid to agents and runners for drumming up recruits, while the richer companies have vied with each other in fitting up showy offices without regard to expense. In this competition the new and small companies suffer so severely that they could never have entered the lists but for the excessive premiums which are charged to guarantee against contingencies. As a general rule, we believe, a new company has to expend about its entire receipts from premiums during a year or two in order to get started in business. Thus, the very measure which has been devised as a safeguard for the policy-holder has indirectly proved the most fruitful source of demoralization.

We doubt if there is any other branch of human affairs in which the advocates of paternal government could show so good a case as in this. One point on which experts appear to be agreed is that men rarely apply for life insurance on their own motion, but nearly always wait for the solicitation of an agent. When they yield to his arguments, they do not know that they have to pay him—besides the mathematical cost of what they get—a large percentage for the trouble of convincing them; in other words, that a company which did not employ agents could afford to give them five, ten, or fifteen per cent. more insurance for the same money. In fact, so little has their deliberate judgment to do with the matter that the greater number of them suffer their policies to lapse after one or two payments. The number of policies which finally come to maturity is, in the case of all the smaller companies, so small a fraction of the entire number issued that any consideration of the functions of these companies, founded upon the idea that they are engaged mainly in the business of providing for the families of the insured, is entirely inadequate. It would be nearer the truth to regard them as organizations for trying to persuade each healthy and respectable young man in the country to pay once in his life money for a service of which, after mature consideration, he does not feel himself in need.

Under these circumstances, it may be questioned whether the destruction of companies which has lately been going on at so fearful a rate is not really the best thing for the country that could happen to them. If not, it is only because under our present system other organizations of equally unhealthy growth will spring up. To make any permanent improvement, there must be a stop to the chartering of new companies which do not hold out a reasonable prospect of being less expensive than the older ones. The case is one in which competition, instead of being “the life of trade,” is the destruction of good management. If the competition were directed towards furnishing the most insurance for the least money, while still keeping up the legal reserve, it would be healthy, but its direction would have to be the opposite of that now taken. If every man were well acquainted with the subject, and made up his own mind as to the advisability of getting insured, this would be

the form which competition would take. The question would then be which company could transact its business most cheaply. As a matter of fact, however, there has not been, and is not likely to be, any such competition as this; because, as a rule, our young men who are led into insurance know little or nothing about the way in which the several companies transact their business. A new company must have new offices and new machinery for reaching the insurable lives of the country as they come to maturity, and their success depends more on the lavish expense with which they bring this machinery into play than on the good terms which they offer to the insured. One of the best legal provisions which could now be made would be that no new company should be chartered or allowed to do business until the number insuring less than 100,000 lives each was reduced to a fourth of the whole. A rather simple and effective provision would be to prohibit official examiners of companies from accompanying their reports by puffs, and to make it their duty to tell the public everything the latter ought to know respecting the ratio of expenses of management of the companies to premiums received. Legal restrictions upon the manner in which a company may dispose of its surplus income, if made with any regard to reason, could not be otherwise than beneficial. In a word, the more difficulties which are thrown in the way of those companies whose expenses of management exceed their death-losses the better it will be for the morals of life insurance.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS.

I.

THAT the recent strike of the locomotive engineers of the Boston and Maine Railroad has ended in the complete and utter discomfiture of the most powerful trades-union in America is matter of public congratulation. It was the fifth movement of the kind, all emanating from the same source and carried on by the same system of tactics, which had taken place within six months. With possibly one exception all of the four preceding strikes had been successful, and the two most recent and noticeable of them, that on the New Jersey Central last autumn and that on the Grand Trunk in December, had been brilliantly successful. They were, too, all of them part of a system, and a system which actually threatened to take the control of the train movement of the railroads out of the hands of the corporations owning them, to put it in the hands of the officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The "striking" policy, if such it may be called, of this association dates from about three years back. Up to that time its objects had been of a social and benevolent character, and in these respects it appears to have done some very good work. It was an organization into which any respectable locomotive engineer could get admitted; it inculcated principles of sobriety and self-respect, and through it a certain provision was made in cases of destitution arising from the sickness or death of its members. In 1873 it included in its numerous divisions about six thousand engineers; it was looked upon with favor by the railroad corporations, and it seemed to be the effort of those controlling it to encourage a feeling of common interest and good-will between employer and employed. The whole machinery of the organization was, however, one which admitted of a very easy perversion to other ends. It needed only to fall into the hands of demagogues; and this was almost sure ultimately to happen. It did happen early in 1874.

Up to the time of the panic of 1873 the locomotive engineers of this country, like almost every one else connected with railroads, had little cause to complain. It was with them harvest time all the year round. Competent engineers could not be found to supply the demands of new roads and the rapidly-increasing number of trains on old ones; situations were plenty; wages were high and rising. Indeed, the pay of first-class engineers kept going up until it amounted to over \$1,200 a year. Then came the general railroad collapse, and with it measures of economy and reductions of pay. These, as was natural enough, when it came to their turn, the engineers resisted, and in resisting them they no less naturally bethought

themselves of the Brotherhood. If they could but unite in a trades-union which should practically include all the competent locomotive engineers of the country, they might well hope to be absolute masters of the situation and to dictate their own terms. Few people who have had no practical experience in operating a railroad can realize on what good grounds this hope rested. Nine persons out of ten who talk of railroad strikes have a vague sort of general idea that almost any one who understands a locomotive could run one on any given railroad. As well might any one who has a smattering of seamanship undertake to pilot a vessel into any and every harbor. A railroad is a very complicated concern. It is almost made up of curves, grades, crossings, switches, and sidings; it is operated on a most complicated schedule, and it is buoyed and beacons from end to end with targets, signals, and whistling-posts, not one of which can be safely disregarded. A competent engineer must be familiar with every in and out of his track; and, while running at forty miles an hour with his hand on the throttle-lever, must know exactly where to look for each signal and how to read it at a glance. To one not accustomed to the work, the rapid approach to a great city on a locomotive in the night is almost appalling. You seem to plunge forward into a darkness made visible by the glare of the head-light; while, amid the myriad lamps of streets and houses, you try in vain to distinguish the lanterns which tell the engineer that switch and drawbridge are right, that the crossing is clear, that the station is open. All these he picks out as if by intuition, and all these a novice, no matter how much he may know of a locomotive, must learn before he can take his place. When, therefore, the engineers of a great railroad—a railroad the running of which can on no account be stopped for even a day—strike work in a body, it is with the corporation which operates it much as it is with a man who drops from paralysis. All this the locomotive engineers of the country know well enough, if those who travel behind them do not; and they knew it just as well in 1873 as they do now.

It was not long after the panic of that eventful year that the inevitable collision came. It was brought about in consequence of a reduction of wages on the leased lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad west of Pittsburgh—those worked by the Pennsylvania Company. The engineers refused to accept it, struck, and appealed to the Brotherhood for its support. A man named Wilson was then at the head of the organization, who had the good sense to see that it could not live in hostility to the railroad companies, and would soon make itself a public nuisance by a reckless use of its dangerous power. The Brotherhood accordingly refused to countenance the strike, and after a time it broke down. Chief-Engineer Wilson, however, was unable to sustain himself; the war party was in the ascendant, and, at the next election of officers, he was thrown out and P. M. Arthur was installed in his place, representing the new aggressive "striking" policy. The Brotherhood now numbers some 13,000 members, and possesses an accumulated fund of about \$500,000. It is controlled by three salaried officers who have their headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio, and whose power, for the time being, is practically absolute. They cannot, it is true, nominally order strikes; but nevertheless Mr. Arthur's recent assertion in Faneuil Hall, that he had only to raise his hand to stop every railroad running out of Boston, was no vain boast. During a day or two he undoubtedly could have done it. Outwardly the Brotherhood never organizes strikes; it even professes to disapprove of them. All it does is to consent to them; but its consent carries with it the support of the whole order, with all its funds and influence over individuals, while without its consent a strike is practically impossible. If made, the order will crush it out at once by supplying men to fill the strikers' vacant places. The system is, therefore, ingeniously contrived to give power and to evade responsibility for its use. Nominally, the Brotherhood is still a social and charitable institution, exerting its influence in favor of a better understanding between the railroad corporations and their employees; practically, as now managed, it is a powerful machinery for demoralizing railroad employees, organizing strikes, and rendering them effective at the cost of the public.

The Boston and Maine strike was peculiar in only one respect: for the first time the rights of the community were in that case asserted and brought emphatically to the front. The State Board of Railroad Commissioners intervened, and took the ground that, as respects its railroads, the public has rights paramount to those of either corporation or employees, and those rights have got to be respected. It is certainly very curious that this position had never been taken by any public officers before. The presence of this new and formidable opponent, assuming the burden of the contest in the name of the public, evidently took both parties to it completely by surprise. These strikes had, indeed, become of late so common that the people of the country, with characteristic good-nature, seemed actually to have begun to conclude that they had no rights in the matter; that a band of discontented railroad employees had a sort of common-law right to abandon trains, block railroads, and paralyze the whole movement of trade and travel in order to settle some trifling dispute over wages, or hours of labor, or systems of promotion. That this should have been so is a singular illustration of the prescriptive privilege which labor by a sort of tacit popular consent here enjoys over capital. The engineers did, as a matter of course and without thought of being challenged in the doing, what no railroad corporation has ever dared even to hint at. It is almost amusing to think of the public indignation which would have been excited had the greatest "railroad king" the country ever saw—Scott or Vanderbilt—dared to stand up and say what Chief-Engineer Arthur said (without any idea, by the way, of the significance of what he was saying) the other day in Boston. What board of directors ever dared to suggest the idea of meeting the Granger movement by a strike? What railroad ever stopped running because it had a quarrel on its hands, and to stop was the shortest way out of it? Yet in six months the Brotherhood, to settle some trifling matters of dispute, had actually stopped four railroads; its head official was now threatening "to make the grass grow" over a fifth, and publicly boasted of his power to bring to a standstill every railroad running in and out of one of our largest cities, if so doing was necessary to secure that result. And yet the public seemed to think there was some distinction to be made between such a threat coming from Mr. P. M. Arthur, Chief-Engineer of a Brotherhood of thirteen thousand engineers, and Cornelius Jay Scott, we will say, the representative of ten times as many millions of dollars. Accordingly, Mr. Arthur was allowed to do on an average once a month what, if attempted, would have sent in less than twenty-four hours its railroad out of the hands of the strongest corporation in the country into those of a receiver. It certainly, therefore, was high time that Mr. Arthur and his Brotherhood received a plain intimation from some quarter that the community had an interest in his proceedings. They have received this at last; but we have some reason to suppose that the struggle is not yet over. At any rate, the matter has assumed such magnitude, and the best way of guarding against these strikes is a question of such importance, and is now exciting so much attention among railroad men, that we propose to devote another article to it in our next issue.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

THE Thirty-fourth Congress adjourned on the 18th of August, 1856, as the Forty-fourth Congress adjourned on the 4th instant, without having passed the Army Appropriation Bill, owing, in each case, to a restriction on the use of the troops to which the Senate would not consent, but which the House insisted upon. In 1856 the Senate was Democratic by a large majority, the House Republican by a bare majority; in the late Congress, as everybody knows, these conditions were exactly reversed. The precedent, therefore, was a Republican precedent, but, strange to say, in the recent debates no Republican in either House referred to it except to try to break the force of it after the Democrats had brought it forward. Thus when (March 3) Senator Kernan had remarked that "there was a bill passed by the House in the days of the Kansas trouble in which it was provided that the Army should not be used in Kansas," Mr. Blaine enquired, "Will the Senator from New York, before he takes his seat, state what be-

came of that restriction put on the Army bill in regard to Kansas?" In like manner the Senator from Maine might have parried the Democratic use of the precedent of the Twenty-second Joint Rule by asking what had been the fate of the Rule; and apparently the lapse of the Rule, and the fact that the Thirty-fourth House receded from its restriction, completely absolved the Republicans from any responsibility for these precedents.

If historic parallels, however, could be disposed of in this fashion, there would be an end of public morality if not of constitutional government. The fate of the proviso of 1856 is of no sort of consequence compared with the fact of the proviso itself; nor would that fact, standing alone, have half the importance in our political history that it now has if we were forbidden to remark that the Republican Administration of 1877 disowned and denounced the measure of the Republican Opposition of 1856. We have in this altered relation of things not only a test of the legality of the measure which might otherwise be wanting; we have unmistakable proof of party decadence, and this revelation has the greatest practical value for every voter. Very few of the men who participated in the heated sessions of 1856 are now to be found in either branch of Congress, so that we have to discuss party rather than personal consistency at the end of twenty years. Yet Mr. Sherman and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens have survived to represent the opposing theories of law raised by the proviso, and, had they been in their places in the closing days of the last session, they would doubtless, as in 1856, have voted against each other, each occupying the ground abandoned by the other.

Before proceeding any further it will be instructive to compare the *ip-sissima verba* of the two riders to the Army Appropriation Bill. The situation in 1856 was briefly this: the Administration was endeavoring to force upon the people of Kansas a code of black laws such as had no parallel north of Mason and Dixon's line, and which had been enacted by a Border-Ruffian legislature; it had dispersed the Topeka (Free-State) Legislature through Col. Sumner and his dragoons of the regular army; and numbers of Free-State men were in jail awaiting trial for treason under Judge Lecompte's infamous charge to the Grand Jury. To meet the case of these unfortunate men the House on the 6th and the 14th of August amended the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Appropriation Bill by providing that no money should be drawn for the expenses of the judiciary in Kansas till the "treason" cases had been dismissed, and that no money should be paid for similar prosecutions. But it was forced to recede on the 17th. Of its amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill it was much more tenacious. This was first offered by Mr. Barbour, of Illinois, July 24, but on the 28th Sherman's was preferred to it (Mr. Sherman was then the leader of the House), and was passed with the bill. When the bill came back from the Senate minus the amendment, it was renewed (Aug. 11) in a form proposed by Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey, and the session ended in a final disagreement on the bill. The text of the Pennington proviso was as follows:

"That no part of the military force of the United States for the support of which appropriations are made by this act shall be employed in aid of the enforcement of any enactment of the body claiming to be the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, until such enactment shall have been affirmed and approved by Congress; but this proviso shall not be so construed as to prevent the President from employing there an adequate military force, but it shall be his duty to employ such force to prevent the invasion of said Territory by armed bands of non-residents, or any other body of non-residents, acting or claiming to act as a *posse comitatus* of any officer in said Territory in the enforcement of any such enactments, and to protect the persons and property therein, and upon the national highways leading to said Territory, from all unlawful searches and seizures; and it shall be his further duty to take efficient measures to compel the return of and withhold all arms of the United States distributed in or to said Territory in pursuance of any law of the United States authorizing the distribution of arms to the States and Territories."

This, as the *Tribune* of that day observed, left "the President free to employ all the power and force of the nation in putting down any shadow of resistance to the Federal Government or any act of Congress." The point was that Congress had the right to decide upon the Territorial enactments before the Executive undertook to enforce them. A similar right is maintained in the proviso on which the Forty-fourth Congress split, and which runs as follows:

"That no part of the money appropriated by this act, nor any money heretofore appropriated, shall be applied to the pay, subsistence, or transportation of troops used, employed, or to be used or employed, in support of the claim of Francis T. Nicholls or of S. B. Packard to be Governor of the State of Louisiana. Nor shall any of said money be applied in support of the two bodies claiming to be the Legislature of said State, presided over respectively by L. A. Wiltz and Louis Bush; nor of the two bodies claiming to be the Legislature of said State, presided over respectively by C. C. Antoine and Michael Hahn; nor in support of the claim of Thomas C. Manning and associates to be the Supreme Court of said State; nor in support of the claim of John T. Ludeling and associates to be the Supreme Court of said State; nor in aid of the execution of any process in the hands of the United States marshal in said State issued in aid of and for the support of any such

claims. Nor shall the army, or any portion of it, be used in support of the claims, or pretended claim or claims, of any State government, or officer thereof, in any State, until such government shall have been duly recognized by Congress. And any person offending against any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than five nor more than ten years."

The parallel needs for its completeness only a sketch of the political situation that led to the Democratic proviso, and this we will give in the language of Mr. Atkins, of Tennessee (House, March 3):

"United States district judges have been invoked to violate the law and issue orders wholly illegal and unconstitutional, under which pretended judicial authority these unpardonable outrages upon civil liberty have been committed. In this manner these pretenders becoming the *de facto* governments, the President then virtuously and patriotically responds to their call for troops to protect them in their infamous assumption of authority. We see, too, within less than two months a corporal of the guard of the Army seating and unseating the legislators of a State. We see the halls of legislation of one of the original thirteen States—the home of the Revolutionary heroes Marion and Sumter—barricaded by usurpers, and they protected by the mailed hand of the central Government."

Messrs. Garfield and Foster in the House, speaking for the Republicans, have opposed the proviso, Mr. Garfield declaring it unconstitutional and dishonorable, while Mr. Foster went so far as to assert that "in 1854 [1856], when the Republicans undertook to do this thing in relation to the State [Territory] of Kansas, if you will read the debates you will find that the Democrats at that time had the advantage of the Republicans in the argument on the constitutionality of this question." We will therefore remind him that Mr. Smith, of Virginia, said (July 27, 1856) that it was "moral treason," and Mr. Davidson, of Louisiana, that it was downright "treason thus to pass appropriation bills," although Mr. Sherman assured them that his amendment was "just, fair, and honest." Mr. Blaine, again, was stealing Democratic thunder when he argued (March 4) that the "assumption by Congress of the power to direct in cases of that kind what the President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief shall or shall not do" was "a most dangerous innovation on the part of Congress on the right of the Executive," and ought to be resisted. Mr. Stephens, of Georgia (July 24, 1856), "did not think Congress had the power to control the President in the manner proposed. The President being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, they could not impose conditions." And Senator Douglas said (August 7, 1856): "The proviso withholds money for the execution of certain laws. The Constitution enjoins on the President the execution of all the laws, and Congress cannot interfere to prevent him from doing so."

It is not our present object to weigh the arguments for or against the constitutionality of the provisos of 1856 and 1877, but to show how completely the two parties have exchanged views in the interval. At the earlier date there was no division of opinion among the Republicans either in or out of Congress. Mr. Greeley in the *Tribune* declared the "day well spent" in which the proviso was first adopted by the House, and the refusal to grant money except conditionally a "point well taken," and a "noble blow" in behalf of Free Kansas; that "a peculiar power over revenue questions is lodged by the Constitution in the House of Representatives"; that "the purpose of this jealous separation of the appropriating from the disbursing power is plain: it is to preserve that counterpoise of authority so vital to constitutional liberty"; and that "if the Senate had consented to let the Border-Ruffians in Kansas protect themselves for the next three months, instead of holding the bayonets of the Federal troops at the throats of the Free-State settlers," the expense and trouble of an extra session would have been saved the country. An even greater authority than the *Tribune* helped to fix the record of the Republican party on this question. Mr. Seward, in a masterly speech delivered Aug. 7 in the Senate (when, as he said, "it is not merely on to-day and on this generation that I am looking"), made this defence of the House amendment:

"It is a normal provision, of a character identical with the bill itself. The bill proposes an appropriation to defray the expenses of the army of the United States for one year, and necessarily contemplates the character and nature of the service in which the army is to be employed. . . . It is confessed that Congress and not the President of the United States has power to direct the destination and employment of the army in all these respects. . . . Either the inhibition must be continued in the bill and so take effect, or else the army will be employed to enforce these atrocious laws. Every other effort to defeat and to abrogate them has failed. This attempt is the last that can be made."

Mr. Seward's speech, which the *Tribune* approvingly printed in full, had for its motto: "The Army of the United States not to be employed as a police to enforce the laws of the conquerors of Kansas." Twenty years, however, have so weakened the effect of its teachings that Mr. Banning, of Ohio, on the 2d instant, was almost discussing a novel theme when he devoted one portion of his speech to "the object of our Army." He charged that, "degraded from the high position of the defenders of the country

from foreign and domestic foes, it has been used as a police," under the directions of the Attorney-General of the United States, who is now "the virtual commander-in-chief of the Army." To Mr. Seward's utterances on this subject, in the speech already referred to, we beg to call President Hayes's earnest attention, as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the state of affairs in Louisiana and South Carolina:

"The mere fact in this case that the army is required to be employed to execute alleged laws in Kansas is enough to raise a presumption that those laws are either wrong in principle or destitute of constitutional authority, and ought not to be executed. The Territory of Kansas, although not a State, is, or ought to be, nevertheless a civil community, with a republican system of government. In other words, it is *de jure*, and ought to be *de facto*, a Republic—an American Republic, existing under and by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. If the laws which are to be executed there are really the statutes of such a republican government, then those laws were made by the people of Kansas by their own voluntary act. According to the theory of our government, these laws will be acquiesced in by that people, and executed with their own consent against all offenders, by means of civil police without the aid of the army of the United States. The army of the United States is not a mere institution of domestic police; nor is it a true or proper function of the army to execute the domestic laws of the several States and Territories. Its legitimate and proper functions are to repel foreign invasion and suppress insurrection of the native Indian tribes. . . . The time was, and that not long ago, when a proposition to employ the standing army of the United States as a domestic police would have been universally denounced as a premature revelation of a plot, darkly contrived in the chambers of conspiracy, to subvert the liberties of the people and to overthrow the Republic itself. . . . If I am to choose between upholding laws in any part of the Republic which cannot be maintained without a standing army, or relinquishing the laws themselves, I give up the laws at once, by whomsoever made, and by whatever authority; for either our system of government is radically wrong, or such laws are unjust, unequal, and pernicious. . . . If the founders of the Constitution had been told that within seventy years from the day on which they had laid its solid foundations, and raised its majestic columns, a standing army would have been found necessary and indispensable merely to execute municipal laws, they would have turned shuddering away from the massive despotism which they had erected."

One more quotation from Mr. Seward, and we have done. In reading his eloquent and statesmanlike words, one can easily imagine the bitter disappointment which his defeat at Chicago caused among the best Republicans of that time. How exactly this passage fits the case of the two distracted States at the South:

"We are told that law and order will be lost and anarchy will prevail in the Territory of Kansas if the army be not employed there to keep the peace and execute the Territorial laws. Look, I pray you, through this report of the Investigating Committee, drawn out to the length of 1,200 pages, filled with details of invasions, robberies, mobs, murders, and conflagrations, and tell me what anarchy could happen, in the absence of martial law, worse than the anarchy which has marked its establishment in the Territory? Answer me, still further, what measure of anarchy would reconcile, or ought to reconcile, American citizens to a surrender of constitutional liberty in any part of the Republic? Answer me, further, what is that measure of tranquillity and quiet that a republican people ought to seek or can wisely enjoy? It is not the dead quiet, the stagnant tranquillity of cowardly submission to usurpation and despotism, but it is just so much of peace, quiet, and tranquillity as is consistent with the preservation of constitutional liberty. It would be a hard alternative, but, if the Senate should insist on forcing on me, or on the people I represent, the choice between peace under despotism or turbulence with freedom, then I must say, promptly and fearlessly, Give me so much of safety as I can have and yet remain a freeman, and keep all quiet and all safety beyond that for those who are willing to be slaves."

THE LATEST SPECIMEN OF FRENCH POPULAR LITERATURE.

PARIS, Feb. 23, 1877.

IT is with much reluctance that I undertake to-day to speak of a work which is much read and commented on—"L'Assommoir," by Emile Zola. M. Zola has not been much heard of, in spite of a former work—"Les Rougon-Macquart, histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire." Under the name of Rougon was disguised the name of Rouher, and Macquart was not very different from Moequart, a name well known under the Empire. I confess having read without much interest this analysis of the manners of the Second Empire. After the great catastrophe of the war, after Metz and Sedan, after the Commune, for which the Empire will be held partly responsible, as the long imperial rule had tended to develop all the lower instincts in the populace of Paris, M. Zola's criticism seemed to me very pale. Can any novelist imagine anything more terrible than the surrender at Sedan, the return of the de-throned emperor to England, his melancholy death—sadder than the death of Napoleon I. at St. Helena? The poetic justice of Providence is more inventive as well as more impressive than the petty combinations of a novelist. M. Rouher may himself have read with disdain the 'Rougon-Macquart'; the *telum imbellis sine ictu* of a cheap novel is nothing compared to the wounds which he has received from fortune. I remember him, in his gilded uniform as Minister of State, at the tribune of the Corps Législatif,

when the whole Chamber hung upon his words; when he was listened to as the Emperor's mouthpiece not only by France, but by the whole world; when he was courted by kings and emperors. Now he is old and careworn, and his proud look is wanting when he takes his ticket for Versailles and travels with his noisy colleagues of the Left.

The wheel of fortune turns quickly in France, and the realities of our recent history are stranger than fiction. A poetical mind would find food enough in Paris, and it is a pity that our great poet, Victor Hugo, should be now so completely one-sided as to be no longer able to perceive the contrasts which make the light and shade in men and things. The mind of M. Zola cannot be called a poetical one. He belongs to the realistic school, and his new work, 'L'Assommoir,' pretends to be a photograph of the manners of the Parisian population of the faubourgs. The story, as a story, is very simple, but I feel embarrassed to tell it in its simplicity—it is so revolting. I must, however, make an effort and try to make it presentable. A young woman in the country is debauched and taken to Paris by a man named Lautier. Gervaise (such is the name of the heroine) has two children, but Lautier is not fond of work, and the small *ménage* falls into a state of misery. The drama opens when Lautier puts in a trunk all that Gervaise and himself still possess, goes away with the trunk, and abandons Gervaise with her two little ones. Gervaise is a woman of courage, a good laundress; she can work, and does work bravely. Her spirit becomes a subject of admiration for a *zincueur* (a man who solders zinc plates) named Coupeau; he offers to marry her and to adopt the two abandoned children. She is deaf to his proposition for a long time, but finally she says "Yes," out of good-nature more than love. This couple of *ouvriers*, both hard workers, flourish so much that Gervaise succeeds in getting a laundry of her own, and they both have savings; they are happy, they are prosperous. So far there is nothing repulsive in the story; and there are some touching, some comical episodes in this first part. The account of the wedding of the *zincueur* Coupeau and of Gervaise is as amusing as a piece at the Palais Royal. There are some disgusting parts also, which serve as a preparation for the second part of the book. Gervaise finds the woman with whom Lautier, her first lover, ran away, in a laundry-boat on the river; the two women fight like cannibals, and Gervaise flogs her rival with her *battoir*, amidst the applause of all the washerwomen.

But what shall I say of the second part of the work? After a short period of happiness the Coupeau *ménage* is doomed to a series of misfortunes. Coupeau falls from a roof under the very eyes of his wife; she takes care of him and saves him, but he comes out a different man from his long and terrible illness, either on account of the effect of the cerebral shock or of the habits of idleness which he contracts, the disgust he has acquired for his dangerous work, and the positive fear with which it inspires him. He becomes indolent, lazy, and finally he drinks. The woman struggles hard with destiny; she would prefer good to evil; she is naturally honest, she works like a slave, and cheerfully, too. Her husband is to her an object of pity at first. He drinks wine before he drinks brandy, and he has "le vin aimable." It cannot be denied that there is much power in the description of the gradual debasement of the unfortunate drinker. We see him sink slowly, like a drowning man; the progress of his brutality, the extinction of all his better feelings, the growth of his repulsive sensualism are described with a curious power. But the case of the drunkard is, after all, a very common one; his history can be written beforehand, like the history of any quadruped or reptile. What is more extraordinary and more original is the gradual debasement of the heroine, Gervaise. From an artistic point of view (there can be art in the most loathsome subject), this part of 'L'Assommoir' is the most curious. Gervaise, so full of courage at first, so naturally good and honest, becomes in the end the victim of fatal circumstances—the laziness of her husband, who preys upon her, and drinks all her savings, the wretched company she is obliged to see, the bad instincts which form her only atmosphere. She gets disgusted with everything—with her husband, who is the most contemptible of men—with the family of her husband, composed of the worst people. She is tired of work, tired of Paris, tired of her low, dirty surroundings, tired of life. She falls finally into a sort of apathy. Her own husband brings back to her her first lover, Lautier, whom he meets habitually in the drinking-shops of the quarter. Lautier is well dressed, he has soft manners, he does not swear; he is a shrewd and cold villain, who makes his living at the expense of his friends, male or female. He soon makes himself at home in the Coupeau family. He is useful; he offers to pay for his board; he eats at the table where he can meet his children, and affects a sentimentality which is not in his heart. Alas! can I go any further, and must I unravel the last horror of this work? Gervaise, degraded in her own eyes, is now like a body without a soul. She lives, as it were, from day to day, and often talks to one of her

neighbors, an undertaker, and wishes he could take her to her grave and give her rest. Her husband becomes every day more revolting and more brutal; he lives but for his drink and for the joyous comrades who go with him from one *assommoir* to another (*assommoir* is one of the slang names of the brandy-shop). Lautier succeeds, always under pretence of being useful, in getting one of the rooms of the family for himself; he pays his board and his rent, or rather says that he will pay, but he never does. It is too late, he is at home now in Gervaise's own house; the rest can be guessed. Gervaise is doomed; her fate is sealed. She returns to her first lover as an animal returns to the rude and violent master who can feed him as well as beat him. Vice and misery, which go together, soon become the absolute tyrants of this wretched household. With such examples it is not to be wondered if the daughter turns out to be a common prostitute, and if she only returns to her parents, like a whipped dog, when she has no bread to eat. When all the economies are spent, when everything is gone to the pawnbroker, when Lautier has well-nigh devoured the family, he throws it away like a sucked orange; he vanishes and goes somewhere else to find a new prey. Coupeau, to pass rapidly to the end, dies in a hospital from delirium tremens; Gervaise becomes a pauper, lives on charity, tries everything in vain, and finally dies of starvation in a corner.

I have not much sympathy for what is called popular literature, but this specimen exceeds anything of the kind I have ever read. Eugene Sue attempted to paint the 'Mysteries of Paris,' and studied the manners of the dangerous classes; but in his work the *ouvrier*, the *canaille* are not everything: he gives us also great ladies and princes in disguise. In the 'Assommoir' there is not even a mention of a gentleman or of a gentlewoman. We are fairly plunged in the great ocean of poverty and of misery; we have no horizon but the dark, dirty streets of Clignancourt. We never leave the laundry-shop, with its hot furnace and its fetid atmosphere; or the low brandy-shop, with its barrels of alcohol, its greasy tables. The world in which Gervaise moves is a sort of Inferno, and M. Zola seems to say to us, "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate."

All these workingmen have nicknames; they all speak *argot*; they all detest their employers; they all swear; they all hate the very name of religion, and look with horror on the priest as well as on the police. They read the newspapers, and are all great politicians; but they are not socialists, in the old sense of the word, and this is, in my eyes, one of the curious characteristics of our working population. In the year 1848 there were a great many socialistic schools; some followed Proudhon, some Saint-Simon, some Cabet, some were Phalansterians, some Positivists. The workingmen had no desire but to reconstitute society on some equitable basis—they had theories, doctrines. Now, if M. Zola is right, they have nothing but appetites; they feel a sort of fiendish hatred of the classes which possess capital; they have lost all faith in political or even socialistic theories. They are Republicans, but merely because the Republic always began in France with a rebellion, and rebellion gives them what they desire—a sort of holiday, an orgie, bacchanalia.

There is much in the book of M. Zola that can only have been observed *de visu*; the wildest and coarsest imagination could hardly conceive some of the characters and the scenes of 'L'Assommoir.' Still, it would probably be very unjust to judge the population of our faubourgs by his picture: "If this is the people, give us a king or an emperor." But I cannot believe that it is the people; it only describes well the worst part of the population, the fraction—alas! very large—which took part in the Commune—the men who are, so to speak, the scum of the capital. The terrible animalism and materialism of this class can probably only be found where the highest civilization flourishes, since "les extrêmes se touchent," as the French proverb says. The most advanced culture requires manure; you will find in a city like Paris, alongside of the most admirable purity and the most extraordinary combinations of intellectual and moral perfection, the lowest types of bestiality. The defect of M. Zola's book, in my opinion, is in this absence of contrasts, in its monotony. "Ce n'est pas l'habit qui fait le moine," says another French proverb. We find every day in the world in which we move, amidst the best educated people, men who are morally as low as Coupeau or Lautier; their decorations, their dress, their manners do not deceive us; we see the villain under all the veils of civilization. We can recognize the cruel egoist under soft words, the liar under honorable professions, the coward under the military uniform. The same may be said of the workingmen; the blouse does not cover only the hearts of ruffians, of drunkards. The moralist would delight in finding in the humble *ouvrier* virtues worthy of admiration and of adoration. M. Zola, it is true, delineates vaguely a good, an unselfish workingman—only one, a blacksmith, who is timidly in love with the unfortunate Gervaise; but he appears very seldom, and the noise of his honest

hammer is lost in the chorus of fools, of scamps, of idiots, of beasts of both sexes, who form the principal actors of his painful drama. I have quit this novel as I should have gone out of a dissecting room; and I have breathed the fresh air of one of Lamartine's 'Méditations.' 'L'Assommoir' left in me an impression of anger and disgust; and still I could not help thinking of it and meditating over it. What did the author mean? Is he a friend of the people, or an enemy of republican institutions? Can such works do any good? What will become of a generation which is fed upon such a literature, if this literature has no other object than to photograph life and vice? I confess that I cannot answer these questions.

Correspondence.

REVIVE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I agree with you in your statement in your last issue of the urgent need of change in our method of deciding Presidential elections, a change which can only be brought about by a Constitutional amendment. The decision of the Joint Commission taking from Congress the power to review doubtful elections gives an enormous political power to the obscure party hacks to whom the supervision of elections is usually entrusted; a power which would be dangerous in the most stable and orderly community, and is perfectly intolerable in the present condition of a considerable part of the Union. Some revising power more efficient than the State executive must be found or our elections will be a farce. The question is where to find it, and here again the action of the Commission is instructive. To our surprise and mortification we have found the Supreme Court of the United States quite unfit for such a charge. It is true that the election was peacefully settled, and that the general ground of decision—the inability of Congress to enquire into the election of members of another body—was sufficiently sound law to command the general approval of lawyers. But the folly of its treatment of disqualification by office was apparent; and the regularity with which it divided on party lines has so injured its reputation and its influence that it is not likely to be again resorted to for such a purpose. Moreover the election showed equally plainly the danger of leaving such questions to the judiciary, the executive, or the legislature of the several States. Where, then, shall we turn? There is a body upon which such a duty would naturally fall, a body composed of men of more than average ability and character, and whose decision, if partisan, would not injure the influence of either branch of our Government. That body is of course the Electoral College. By the unfortunate Twelfth Amendment it is debarred from exercising its due powers, as it is required to meet piecemeal in the several States, so that it never acts as an organized unit: and the time that Congress has fixed for its decision does not allow opportunity for due deliberation. But these limitations were passed under conditions of travelling which no longer exist. They can be altered, and the Electoral College can again play a valuable part in our political system. If it is allowed to meet as an organized body the qualification of its members would be its first and principal consideration; but if insanity or death should remove either of the party nominees, its function would be more important and it might save us from the mischief of a disputed election. It is not impossible, indeed, that it might then regain the powers which are now usurped by party conventions, necessitated by the disorganization of the college.

More than one historian has pointed out that the great political ability of our Saxon race, the peculiarity which has enabled it to carry on free government when no other race could, has been its invariable habit of modifying its institutions only just so far as the needs of the time demand. Here, by a very slight change, we can make an old institution answer our needs fully without trying any novel or dangerous experiment. I see very clearly the value of Mr. Dana's suggestion of voting by districts instead of States. It is very important, and now is probably the time to adopt it. Perhaps, too, some provision for the accumulation of votes on the two members at large (by preventing voters from voting for both members at large and district members) might be introduced to relieve struggling minorities: or, the more complete remedy of the Maish bill, apportioning the electoral representation of each State between the parties in proportion to the vote cast, might be used. And it might possibly be well to guard against the exercise of judicial functions by State returning officers. But the great point is to provide some means for guarding against the danger of fraudulent election without disorganizing either branch of the Government by confer-

ring on it powers which it cannot exercise, or affecting the rights of the States. And I suggest that this can be easily done in the way proposed.

H. W. H.

Boston, March 3, 1877.

WARNING TO BRAZILIAN EMIGRANTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attractive exhibit of the Brazilian Empire at the Philadelphia Exposition last summer, and the recent visit to the United States of the Brazilian Emperor, whose activity and enterprise have left a singularly favorable opinion of his good qualities, seem to have created no slight sensation as to the power and wealth of his country. During all this time the newspaper and periodical press of the United States has teemed with glowing reports of the "great South American Empire," "our South American sister," and of "Dom Pedro, the Yankee emperor," from which have grown impressions largely extravagant and erroneous, and productive of some very serious results. Hardly a vessel from the States arrives in Rio de Janeiro that does not bring some one in search of employment— young men, generally, to whom Brazil appears a sort of "Great West," where qualification, energy, and ability may easily find them good positions and quickly-earned fortunes. But instead of stepping at once into these good positions, they meet at the very beginning all the difficulties that were found at home, besides a large number peculiar to all foreign countries, and, in a much larger degree, to Brazil in particular.

The language, laws, religion, and customs of the country are all different from those at home; and for a person who has never, alone and unaided, come in contact with a foreign people, it is hardly possible to estimate properly the difficulties which these differences present. A person unacquainted with the Portuguese language is not only utterly helpless in Brazil, but is a constant and unmitigated bore to those of his countrymen who do speak it. With a knowledge of the French he may pass, after a fashion, in three or four of the largest cities, but outside of these he is as helpless as if he were in Central Africa. Even with a knowledge of Portuguese, ignorance of the customs of the country is not only a constant embarrassment to him, but often a very serious one in his business or professional occupations, whatever those may be.

Moreover, the well-qualified man is not always the one who gets the preference. This is true in any part of the world, but it is doubly true for Brazil. Here preference is due much more to protection than to ability. This word "protection" has a peculiar signification in Brazil. A mere boy, just from one of the colleges of the capital, and who probably never saw (much less knows how to use) an ordinary railroad transit, by the *protection* of some influential person has ninety-nine chances to get employment as a civil engineer where an American from the States, standing on his own merit, would have one chance. Only those foreigners who have well-established reputations are likely to get employment without this patronage, and even a well-known man would have his reputation and ability called in question if he should come here in search of employment.

Of the large number of Americans who have removed to Brazil within the last twenty years only three of them have made anything like a fortune, while a few others have contrived to get along. None of these successful men, however, came out as adventurers, but under contract or with clear ideas of what they were going to do. The Emperor, and in fact all the empire theoretically, try to encourage immigration; but if I may be allowed to speak from a knowledge of the United States and of Brazil, and the comparative chances of living and doing something for the world in the two countries, I should say that the man who leaves the States for Brazil commits an egregious piece of folly. At the close of our civil war many Southern people went to Brazil in the hope of restoring their ruined fortunes, but ninety-nine in every hundred of them have not only been glad to return, but have had to resort to the humiliation of asking for assistance, and that too from the very people of whom they would least have chosen to ask favors when they first landed here. Of those who still remain, the majority have relapsed into a state of semi-barbarism, while the rest have a prospect for their children that must be extremely repulsive to a person of education and refinement.

As a rule, an American who can live in Brazil can live better in the States, and one who is successful here would be much more successful at home. In every case his circle of associates here is very limited. If he chooses to end his days here his death hardly leaves a vacancy, and if he expects to return to the United States he does so to find himself more or less forgotten and behind the times, and obliged to start afresh in life. In the list of men of whom I speak I do not include Englishmen, who are, in every way, much more successful in Brazil than Americans, for a reason

which is not hard to find. None of them come here unemployed, and nearly all of them have come as boys under contract for several years. In this way they learn the language, become acquainted with the people and their customs, and by the time they have enough money and experience to assume any business importance, they are quite well qualified for the positions they are to fill. In comparison with these Englishmen, who come into their places naturally, the Yankee adventurer cuts a figure that is painful. And just here a word to business establishments sending agents or "drummers" to Brazil. They should remember that though Rio is not a Paris, it is not a Podunk. Men are continually sent out here who put their friends to shame by their ignorance of the world and its ways, and by their utter disregard of the commonest forms of politeness. Such men may be very successful in the democratic towns and villages of the West, but they are bitter doses to inflict on native or foreigner in Rio de Janeiro. Men turn up here from all classes and through all kinds of circumstances, from the self-important swell who makes himself odious to foreigners in general and to Americans in particular, and who has no other subject for conversation than the greatness, importance, and superiority of the United States above all the nations of the earth—present company *not* excepted—to the penniless printer, clerk, mechanic, or farmer. The employment that these latter might get into by having some one to aid them is such as is performed only by negroes and the lowest classes of Portuguese; and even then there is no demand for them. The result is that they generally have to be sent home by resident Americans to keep them from dying of starvation in the streets. Not a month passes that some one has not to be sent home from Rio in this way. In the month of November, 1876, there were as many as six returned to the States by subscription, and as there are but few American residents here this expense is no small item. To one American consul it costs on an average one hundred milreis a month, or a little over fifty dollars. To another person it costs the same; to another, thirty dollars a month.

Permit me to append a copy of a circular published by the English Board of Emigration, from which it may be seen what that body thinks of Brazil as a field for British emigrants. It is to be hoped in the end that those journals which have encouraged our young men, either directly or indirectly, to seek their fortunes in South America will aid in removing erroneous impressions. I speak without prejudice and from experience, and refer for corroboration to any person who really knows Brazil and the United States.

N. N.

RIO DE JANEIRO, Dec. 30, 1876.

"As it appears that renewed efforts are being made to stimulate emigration to Brazil, the subjoined notice, originally issued in February, 1875, is now reissued by direction of the Secretary of State.

"GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION BOARD, DOWNING STREET,
19th June, 1876.

"BRAZIL.

"CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.

"Her Majesty's Government having been informed that another scheme is in progress for promoting emigration from the United Kingdom to Brazil, the Emigration Commissioners have been directed by the Secretary of State to remind intending emigrants of the unhappy results that have attended previous schemes of emigration to that country. In 1872 and 1873 several parties of emigrants, amounting in the whole to about a thousand souls, emigrated from the United Kingdom to Brazil under promises of being provided with land on favorable terms, and of assistance in its cultivation until they could support themselves, and in the expectation that they would be able to get their first crop at the end of six months. These promises and expectations were not fulfilled. The emigrants did not obtain their land, sickness broke out amongst them, many died, and those who were able to do so made their way down to the capital in the hope of obtaining assistance from Her Majesty's minister there. Since then some of the widows and children of the men who died have been sent home, some of the emigrants have been removed to other settlements, and her Majesty's minister is still engaged in endeavoring to obtain from the Government of Brazil assistance for those that remain. The accounts which these emigrants give of their present situation show that they have suffered great hardships and privations, and have been far from improving their condition by emigration to Brazil.

"The settlement which it is now proposed to form appears from the prospectus put out by the promoters to be situated on the high lands where the climate is healthy and the soil fertile. But, on the other hand, it is remote from any market at which the settlers could sell their surplus produce, or procure the supplies they might require, the nearest town of any size, Curitiba, the capital of the province, being at the distance of sixty-two miles. A tramway will, it is said, be constructed between the settlement and Curitiba, but such works are unavoidably slow in construction in a country where labor is scarce and expensive.

"The distance of the port being 114 miles, and the voyage from thence to Rio Janeiro by steamboat forty hours more, the alleged market to be found at Rio for all produce may be put out of account.

"Emigrants should also remember that in going to Brazil they go to a country where the language, the laws, the religion, and the habits of the people will be strange to them; and although it is promised that a church and schools shall be hereafter provided, neither at present exists. It is very important that before making up their minds to emigrate to Brazil emigrants should well consider these facts, and should understand that if

they decide, notwithstanding this caution, to do so, they must accept the responsibility of the result.

By order of the Board,

RICHARD B. COOPER.

GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION BOARD, DOWNING STREET, S. W., 10th Feb., 1875.

Notes.

R. WORTHINGTON, of this city, announces for immediate issue 'Ten Years of My Life,' by the Princess Salm-Salm.—Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, have reissued the late Harriet Martineau's 'History of England from 1816 to 1854,' or really from the beginning of the century to the Crimean war. The portion covering the period 1848-1853 was composed in 1863 expressly for this (the American) edition, which was first published in 1864 by Walker, Wise & Co., Boston. It is in four convenient volumes. The work is one which deserves to be in every private library, and it is not too much to say that if a similar history of the United States up to the breaking out of the rebellion could be written, it would be a political event of undeniable importance.—Pending the publication of the second volume of Mr. Thomas Balch's 'Les Français en Amérique,' the author gives in the March number of the *Magazine of American History* an interesting fragment of the lively narrative of the Prince de Broglie, who came over in 1782 with the Duc de Lauzun, Comte de Ségur, and others to reinforce Rochambeau. He was the grandfather of the present duke, and was guillotined in 1794.—No. 6 of the *American Library Journal* contains a letter from Mr. Edward Arber, London, announcing the completion of his great work of printing a transcript of the Stationers' Registers, and his intention to take shortly a second and even more formidable step, viz., to begin a 'Catalogue of all Editions of Books printed in England or her Colonies down to 1660, A. D.,' together with all editions printed by or for Englishmen abroad down to the same date, in annual lists, with a classified index at the end.—Robert Clarke & Co. have in press 'The Washington-Crawford Letters,' being the correspondence between Washington and William Crawford concerning Western lands, from 1767 to 1781, annotated by C. W. Batterfield.—A correspondent of *Nature* has taken accurate observations of the heights of clouds by means of photographing them simultaneously from different stations. It is not stated what precautions were used to avoid confounding one cloud with another, but it can be taken for granted that the work was done on some fair day when only a very few isolated clouds were in the sky. The results obtained are that the elevation of the highest cirri or thread-shaped clouds averages four and a half miles; that of the cumuli or fleecy clouds, one and a quarter miles; and that of rain-clouds, two-fifths of a mile. This result is much lower than has usually been vaguely surmised.—The Cincinnati Literary Club, of which President Hayes is a member, and which is now, we believe, twenty-five years old, may be called the parent of the newly-formed Indianapolis Literary Club, and of the Chicago Literary Club founded a year ago. The last-named has a noticeably large membership, embracing many distinguished names.—Among recent German publications of note are Hermann Grimm's 'Lectures on Goethe,' Paul Lindau's 'Life and Works of De Musset,' and Prof. Krones's 'History of the Austrian Monarchy,' which has at least the merit of being in moderate compass (3 vols). Quite naturally there has been a reprint of Moltke's 'Letters from Turkey.'

—The latest quarterly catalogue of the Tauchnitz edition of British authors shows that the collection now contains 1,636 volumes. Of these, 65 only have been written by Americans; volume 1,000 is the New Testament, and the remaining 1,571 are the work of English pens. It is difficult to discover what principle of selection has governed the choice of many of the American authors and books. Cooper, whom we should *a priori* expect to find well represented, has only three volumes. Mark Twain has one, and Bret Harte and Nathaniel Hawthorne five each. Mrs. Stowe and Miss Wetherell have nine volumes apiece, while Irving and Longfellow head the list with ten volumes each, including in the one case the 'Life of Washington,' and in the other the 'Divine Comedy.' The thirteen remaining volumes are divided between Miss Alcott, Mr. Frank Lee Benedict, Miss Cummins, and Mr. R. B. Kimball. The publisher has apparently aimed only to reflect the contemporaneous English opinion of American literature. It seems not a little surprising, when Herr Auerbach and others are so liberally translating our authors, that Baron Tauchnitz should not deem it to his advantage to reproduce them more liberally in their original tongue. Grunow, of Leipzig, by the way, has just published translations of Miss Alcott's 'Little Women' and 'Little Men,' in three volumes, and Mark

Twain's 'Sketches'; while Bret Harte's 'Thankful Blossom' appears at Stuttgart.

—A very acceptable contribution to American linguistics has been made by Mr. Albert S. Gatschet, in the publication of fifteen vocabularies of Indian languages, collected chiefly by Dr. Oscar Loew, a member of Lieut. Wheeler's surveying party in the Southwest. Several of these vocabularies are of especial interest. Eight are of dialects of the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona. Two—the Tonto and the Tonkawa—are the first that have been printed of those languages. The Tontos—often improperly called "Tonto Apaches"—a tribe in southern Arizona, are found to be very closely related to the Mojaves, a branch of the Yuma stock. The Tonkawas, the remnant of a considerable tribe that formerly roamed about Northern Texas, speak a language which seems to be radically distinct from any other of that region. Mr. Gatschet has prefixed to the tabulated vocabularies observations on the structure and plan of thought of American speech, an enumeration of its principal families, and notices of the Pueblo Indians and other tribes of the Southwest. He has been at great pains to point out every coincidence and resemblance of words which affords or seems to afford evidence of the affinity of the languages represented in the vocabularies, with each other or with other American dialects; and he has even introduced—though "without the intention of drawing far-reaching ethnographic conclusions therefrom"—a considerable list of "Chinese-American Word-parallels," for which Dr. Loew is responsible. Mr. Gatschet's work comes from a German press (H. Böhlau, Weimar), and in the German language, as 'Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nord-amerikas (Pueblo- und Apache-Mundarten; Tonto, Tonkawa, Digger, Utah),' 8vo, 150 pp. It is not surprising that some typographical errors have escaped correction, and the frequent substitution of *v* for English *w* (or German *u*) may be of the number. The Algonkin verb, on page 9, "*odyawauwaun*" should be *odyawauwaun*—or, in a preferable orthography, *od-ai-wau-wau*; the Iroquois call themselves *onkwé honwe*, not "*onkwé honue*" (p. 26); in the vocabularies, the same error occurs in Utah "*tawáts*" for *tawats*, 'man,' Tehua *kivilia* 'woman,' Acoma *kwaya* 'bear' (and Quéres *kwahy*), Utah *vayinne* 'two,' and *vatsu-in* 'eight'; and in the numerals used by the Lord North's Islanders (p. 141), "*vavrimul*" should be *wawrimul* 'six.' Fac-similes of two Indian rock-inscriptions are given in an appendix. One was discovered by Dr. Loew fifteen miles southeast of Tsitsúmovi, Arizona; the other by Mr. Francis Klett, on the Mesa Pinta. Mr. Gatschet gives evidence of being a diligent and successful student of American languages. His 'Analytical Report upon Indian Dialects in Southern California, Nevada, and on the Lower Colorado River,' based on vocabularies collected by members of Lieut. Wheeler's expeditions in 1875, was printed with the annual report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876, and a paper on the Tonkawa language, read by him before the American Philological Society last November, has been published in their Proceedings. In the last number of the *American Magazine of History* he has an article on the Indian languages of the Pacific Coast.

—"A. H. H." writes us from Boston as follows:

"In the historical sketch of 'Princeton College' in the March issue of *Scribner's Magazine* mention is made of 'John Bacon' as a member of the College of New Jersey about the middle of the last century. He is described as a 'Boston boy, who afterward became distinguished as a member of the Continental Congress, a United States Senator, and the Chief-Justice of New Hampshire.' He is also represented as having sailed from Boston in September, 1751, for New Jersey and the college, and extracts from a diary are given as 'the diary of John Bacon.' The writer of the sketch has apparently confounded two persons—two of the most distinguished graduates of 'Princeton.' John Bacon did not enter college in 1751, and did not graduate till 1765. He was never in the Continental Congress, nor in the Senate of the United States, nor Chief-Justice of New Hampshire, and the 'diary' quoted from is not the diary of 'John Bacon.' There cannot be any doubt that the writer had in mind Samuel Livermore, a Watertown boy, who entered the College of New Jersey (or Nassau Hall, as it was then called) in 1751. The institution was at that time located in Newark, and under the presidency of the Rev. Aaron Burr. He was graduated in 1752, read law under the direction of the celebrated Edmund Trowbridge, of Massachusetts, and settled in Portsmouth, N. H. He held various offices under the last royal governor of that Province, and subsequently held all the offices mentioned above in connection with the name of John Bacon, though not in the order there given. He had two distinguished sons—viz., (1) Edward St. Loe, who was an associate-justice of the Superior Court of N. H. from 1797 to 1799, and a member of Congress from the Essex, Mass., district from 1806 to 1812; (2) Arthur, a justice of the Superior Court of N. H. from 1798 to 1809, Chief-Justice from 1809 to 1813, again an associate-justice from 1813 to 1816, member of Congress from 1817 to 1821 and from 1823 to 1825, and Chief-Justice of the C. C. Pleas from 1825 to 1832. Both Edward St. Loe and Arthur left sons who became more or less distinguished. Of these Samuel, son of Edward St. Loe, was an eminent lawyer in New Orleans, and died in 1833. He acquired celebrity for his rare attainments in the higher departments of legal learning. He was the author of a 'Treatise on the Law of Principal and Agent, and of Sales'; also of 'Dissertations on the Questions that arise from the Contrariety of the positive Laws of different States and Nations,' which are believed to have been the earliest productions by an American

in those branches of the law, and both very meritorious works. He bequeathed his valuable law library to Harvard College (Quincy's 'Hist. H. C.' vol. ii.).

"John Bacon, on the other hand, 'a Boston boy,' was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1765, settled as a Presbyterian minister in Maryland in 1768, installed pastor of the Old South, Boston, in 1771, and dismissed in 1775, and then settled in Stockbridge as a farmer. After this he was almost constantly engaged in civil offices—having been a member of the Legislature several times, President of the Senate in 1803-4, a member of Congress 1801-3, and an associate and presiding justice of the Court of Common Pleas for about twenty years. It was this John Bacon who zealously argued, in the Massachusetts Legislature-Convention of 1777-8, against inserting in the proposed State Constitution the exception which excluded 'negroes, Indians, and mulattoes' from the right of suffrage (*Independent Chronicle*, Sept. 23, 1779; Moore's 'Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts,' 187-191). His son, Ezekiel Bacon, born in Boston, was a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1805-6, member of Congress from 1807 to 1813, Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1813, and First Comptroller of the United States Treasury from 1813 to 1815. He removed to Utica, N. Y., in 1816, and died there in 1870. His son, William Johnson Bacon, was a justice of the Superior Court of New York from 1853 to 1870, and at the last election for members of Congress was chosen in place of the Hon. Scott Lord. Thus three generations of this family have been represented on the bench and in Congress. And the same may be said of the Livermore family, if 'the wife is the better half'; for a granddaughter of Samuel Livermore is the wife of a former judge, who was a member of the last Congress from Massachusetts, and, we may add, one of the Electoral Commission."

There is another genealogical error in the same number of *Scribner's*, if we are not ourselves mistaken. Miss Stuart, in her entertaining paper concerning her distinguished father, Gilbert Stuart, makes his mother the daughter of John Anthony, a *Welshman*. We have the authority of one of his descendants for saying that this John (born Feb. 16, 1699) was grandson of the John who came to this country in 1634 and settled on Rhode Island, and that the family is undoubtedly English. Gilbert Stuart's maternal grandfather sold his farm of one hundred acres to Dean Berkeley, whose house still marks the site.

—"During the last four weeks there was opened at Burlington House," writes a correspondent from London, "a room containing the various marbles and models which the late John Gibson bequeathed to the Royal Academy, to form a permanent exhibition; though as Gibson died eleven years ago (in 1866) I do not understand why so long a period has elapsed before the execution of his bequest. Better late than never, however; for the exhibition is, on the whole, very creditable to the artist, who, I suppose, may claim the not very exalted honor of being the first of English sculptors. In the room in question, at the very summit of Burlington House, are ranged his principal productions; there are four in marble, the rest in the primitive clay. Single figures predominate; but there are half a dozen groups, as many busts (all of women, and two or three of them very fine), and a large number of bas-reliefs. Of that 'tinted' sculpture with which his name was associated there is but a single specimen—a very pretty 'Hebe,' with gilt bracelets and straw-colored hair. Gibson made, I believe, a certain flesh-colored Venus, which acquired some celebrity but is not included here. As regards the 'tinting' I should say, on the evidence of the Hebe, that it matters little, one way or the other. It is so very vague and unimportant that it neither spoils a good piece of sculpture nor makes a poor one better. Gibson's statues strike one not so much as interesting, but as respectable. He evidently had a great sense of the beauty of the human body and its movements, and he was intimately acquainted with them. He was eminently 'classical,' and had done his best to impregnate himself with the sentiment of the Greeks; there is not a trace in his works of any influence of the Italian sculptors of the Renaissance. It is safe to say that he had little imagination, as in cases where he needed this faculty to pull him through (for instance, in an heroic image of the present Queen for some public building) he decidedly fails. His greatest success, and, I believe, his best-known work, the 'Hunter and his Dog'—a naked young man holding back an eager hound by the collar—has a certain *faux air* of being an old Greek production. Some of the bas-reliefs have a great deal of grace and beauty; and as regards his busts, he is to be congratulated on having found very handsome women to sit to him. A short time since, apropos of the opening of this room, the correspondent of the London *Times* in Rome addressed to it a long letter in which he had collected a multitude of anecdotes of Gibson, who, going to Rome in 1817, spent the greater part of his life there. He was for upwards of half a century one of the most familiar figures in that aesthetically happy colony which was in no hurry to promote the Italian occupation; or which, in so far as it was, has been so sadly 'taken in.' I learn from this letter that Gibson was a Welshman; he was born near Conway in 1790. He is buried in Rome in the shadow of the pyramid that overlooks the Protestant cemetery, and Lord Lytton wrote his epitaph."

—We have recently received the third and fourth numbers which complete the second volume of the *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*. The con-

tents are of special interest to the student of Provençal and early Italian literature. H. Suchier gives a table of contents of the Provençal *canzoniere* in the library at Cheltenham (the late Sir Thomas Phillips's), embracing many inedited lyrics, a selection of which is to be published by Suchier. T. Braga, the Portuguese scholar, contributes an article on the popular poetry of Galizia, and Ferraro publishes a number of Italian ballads, collected at Pontelagoscuro, in the province of Ferrara. These ballads are the counterparts of those found by the same collector in Monferrato, in Piedmont, and of which variants have been found north of the Po from Turin to Venice, but which, until now, have not been found south of the above-mentioned line. Among the reviews are two extensive ones on the 'Contrasto' of Ciullo d'Alcamo, by N. Caix, and on the recently published 'Antiche rime volgari,' by A. Bartoli and E. Monaci. Professor Caix endeavors to sustain his view of the popular character of the much-discussed poem by copious citations from the old French *pastourelles* and other early lyrical poetry. We regret to hear that the *Rivista* will probably not be continued beyond this volume. This fact is all the more to be regretted in view of the approaching demise of the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*. This will leave the field clear to the *Romania*, which, apparently in anticipation of the demand on its space, gives notice of an increase in its size for this year, with a proportionate increase in its subscription price.

—The two leading historical reviews—Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* and the new *Revue Historique*, edited by Monod and Fagniez, have both, in entering upon the present year, made the same change that has been made by the *North American Review*, and transformed themselves from quarterlies to bi-monthlies, the subscription remaining the same, but with a diminished size for the single number. The most important article in the German review is by the distinguished historian, Waitz, who criticises briefly, but very satisfactorily, the recent French works which have treated of the origin of feudalism, by Fustel de Coulanges, Deloche, and Boutaric. There are four other short articles—two of them, by Duncker and Lehmann, upon points in the modern history of Prussia—and a large number of critical notices. Among the critical notices is one upon the publication (by Berti) of the original process in the case of Galileo; it proved—what had been disputed in the recent work of Gebler—that he was ordered to be put to the torture, but was dispensed from it on account of his age. The whole process is shown to have been arbitrary and illegal. There are but two articles in the January number of the *Revue Historique*—one by Coulanges, upon legislation in the Carolingian times (his conclusion being that it was exclusively in the hands of the kings), and one by M. Germain, upon medical students of Montpellier in the sixteenth century. Then follow the usual *Mélanges*, *Bulletin*, etc.

—The Society of Biblical Archæology has issued vols. vi. and vii. of that invaluable but very unequal series, 'The Records of the Past.' Vol. vi. is devoted to Egyptian texts. The inscription of Aahmes, important for its account of the campaign against the Hyksos, is translated for the first time in full. But especially important are the Annals of Rameses III., the first half of which is translated from the great Harris papyrus by Prof. Eisenlohr and Dr. Birch. Besides these there are a few hymns, portions of novelettes, and some magical fragments. More interesting and quite as miscellaneous are the Assyrian inscriptions translated in vol. vii. Most of these are revisions of old translations now made more accessible, and some for the first time put into English. Oppert's translation of the Median text of the Behistun inscription may almost be called new, and so may his translations of two out of his three contract tables. He takes rather too much credit to himself as a pioneer in this field, as Prof. A. H. Sayce translated five such contracts in the first volume of this very series; and his fifth tablet is identical with Oppert's first. The editors should hardly allow the same document to be thus duplicated in the series. In this case a comparison shows that, while Oppert has made some corrections of Sayce, his changes have not all been improvements. Thus, in Oppert's third paragraph he translates a word "husband" which in the first paragraph he had translated, though singular, "owners." The Assyrian word is *bil-su*, with masculine suffix, which can only mean *its owner*, and not "*her husband*." Smith's well-known translation of the deluge legend is included. Mr. Boscawen gives the fragment of what he, following Smith, calls the legend of the Tower of Babel, but it is extremely doubtful if such it be. The most important historical monument is Oppert's Annals of Sargon. Mr. Fox Talbot's work could be spared, as his philological tact is not equal to his industry or learning. Prof. Sayce has contributed some of the most interesting matter in translations of ethical precepts, an Accadian penitential psalm, and a saints' calendar. The work

is not entirely free from typographical errors. We notice "Tamna" for "Yamna," p. 26; "tribes" for "tribute," p. 28; "Sullukna" for "Lul-lukna," p. 31; "Ganon" for "Ganou," p. 32, etc.

WALLACE'S RUSSIA.*

THIS excellent and interesting work would under any circumstances have attracted attention; but the great success it has attained in England is to be attributed in some degree to the anxiety with which the "Eastern Question" is watched and to the somewhat delicate relations existing between that country and Russia. There is a natural curiosity to know more than has hitherto been known about that "vast and squalid empire," as one of Mr. Wallace's critics has called it, whose interests in the East are supposed to clash with those of the rulers of India. This curiosity Mr. Mackenzie Wallace satisfies in a manner worthy of the highest praise. His two volumes are not a piece of clever book-making, like most of the works in which the literary writers of our day have embodied their "impressions," but the result of a large amount of serious study and thorough research, conducted with method and sincerity and without *parti pris* of any kind. The author, moreover, has lived in Russia, not as a tourist but as a resident and a student. Going to the country on a particular errand, for a short stay, he found it so interesting that he remained for six years. His opening chapters contain some account of personal experiences and adventures, but he presently abandons this method and treats his subject under special heads, remarking, probably with justice, that the autobiographical form would end by wearying the reader. "I should have to take him with me to a secluded village, and make him wait for me till I had learned to speak the language. Thence he would have to accompany me to a provincial town and spend months in a public office, whilst I endeavored to master the mysteries of local self-government. After this he would have to spend two years with me in a big library." But Mr. Wallace evidently spent his six years in an active fashion. He traversed many parts of the country, he spared no pains to put himself in relation with the most characteristic or least-known classes of the population; he dwelt among the Molokáni, or Dissenters ("Presbyterians," as he calls them), with the view, rather fruitless, of learning something about them; and he fraternized with the Cossacks and the Tartar tribes, whose manner of expressing their esteem for you is to feed you, with their fingers, with tidbits of roast sheep.

Mr. Wallace does not describe European Russia as offering many attractions to the mere tourist. Of anything to be called scenery there are absolutely no specimens, and his picture of the Russian village or country town suggests all the ugliness and shabbiness of such places in America, without the relief, so frequent here, of landscape and natural coloring. Even the great Russian rivers fail, through their prevailing shallowness, to contribute to the prospect. On the Don, "I remember one day seeing the captain of a large flat-bottomed steamer slacken speed to avoid running down a man on horseback, who was attempting to cross his bows in the middle of the stream." The hotels, moreover (such at least as are not, as we should say among ourselves, upon the European plan), are not places of repose but of agitation. You have to haggle beforehand over the price of your room; you have to bring your own bedding and towels, and it is apparently considered so much the better if you bring, to some extent, your own provisions. On these conditions you are handed over to the tender mercies of the domestic insects. Finding that he could learn nothing valuable about the country without first mastering the language, and satisfied that, however favorable life at St. Petersburg was to exercise in the French and German tongues, it offered no opportunities for practice in the vernacular, Mr. Wallace had the courage to transport himself to a small village in the northern forests, where to understand and speak Russian became a necessity of self-preservation from death by *ennui*. His instructor was the village priest, a worthy man personally, but apropos of whom the author gives an unflattering picture of the Russian clergy at large—of its indolence, ignorance, and intemperance, and its tendency to a merely mercantile and mercenary view of its profession; a natural consequence of its being an exclusive caste, handing down its trade from father to son, without regard to personal aptitudes. Mr. Wallace's tutor informed him that the bishop had picked out his wife for him, and that it was the practice of the bishop to select mates for the priests of his diocese. The sons begotten of these pairings have hitherto gone chiefly into the church, and the daughters been bestowed in marriage upon the younger generation of priests; and it is not surprising that a system so suggestive of self-breeding should not have produced a very high type of priesthood. Mr. Wallace reserves for his

* 'Russia. By D. Mackenzie Wallace.' London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin; New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877.

second volume a more general account of the Russian Church and of its relations with the state, of which it is in reality, although not nominally, the very humble servant. He dwells upon its extreme immobility and impenetrability to progress—a fact which is not contradicted by the great number and vivacity of dissenting and heretical sects. In another chapter devoted to this element of Russian life, the author numbers the sectarians of various kinds at no less than ten millions—an eighth of the population of the empire. But such of these variations as have come to pass since the era of "progress" dawned in Russia have taken place outside of the church, and in defiance of it. "Anything at all resembling what we understand by a religious revival is in flagrant contradiction with all her traditions. Immobility and passive resistance to external influence have always been, and are still, her fundamental principles of conduct. . . . During the last two centuries Russia has undergone an uninterrupted series of profound modifications—political, intellectual, and moral—but the spirit of the national church has remained unchanged."

In describing his residence in the depths of a province the author sketches some types of Russian proprietors in a few pages which will probably be found by hurried readers the most entertaining parts of his volume—placing in opposition a complete portrait of a country gentleman of the old school and that of two or three landowners who have been inoculated, in various doses, with the spirit of the age. The sketches will have a great verisimilitude for the readers of Ivan Turgenev (whom, by the way, curiously enough, the author never mentions, just as he fails to mention Nicholas Turgenev in his enumeration of the persons connected with the agitation for the emancipation of the serfs). The old proprietor is as antiquated a figure as it is possible to find in Europe, and the new one, on the other hand, would probably conceive himself to be thoroughly fitted out with the most modern intellectual improvements; yet they flourish side by side, thanks to the fact, upon which the author touches more than once, that Russia is pre-eminently a country of anomalies. "The student who undertakes the study of it will sometimes be scarcely less surprised than would be the naturalist who should unexpectedly stumble upon antediluvian megatheria grazing tranquilly in the same field with prize Southdowns. . . . At one moment he will find himself in the far-distant past, and at the next he may unexpectedly come upon a road that looks very like a short cut into the unknown future."

The chapters, however, which we ourselves have found most interesting are those which treat, with much fullness and clearness, of the Mir, or Russian village community. Mr. Wallace studied the Russian village attentively, and he constructs an account of it which may be called philosophic. It is a sort of enlargement of the organization of the peasant family, this itself being in its way sufficiently curious. The family is a kind of joint stock association, to which each member contributes a certain sum of labor, in virtue of which (and not in virtue of blood-relationship) he shares in ownership of the household goods. When these are divided, a married daughter, living with her husband's family, has no share, not having worked for it. Her share is in the other family. So the name by which the head of the house is designated (Khozaïn) means not paterfamilias, but simply administrator, and when he dies, as the author says, "there is properly no inheritance or succession, but simply liquidation and distribution of property among the members." Of the Mir—the constitution of their village commune—Mr. Wallace says that the Russians are very proud, which they may well be, as they take to themselves the comfort of deeming that it is a guarantee of the non-development of a proletariat; its characteristic feature being the allotment of a certain amount of land to each family of which the village is composed. When Mr. Wallace asked an intelligent peasant "What is the Mir?" he scratched the back of his head and said, "How am I to tell you." And yet, though he could not give a definition of the affair, he was, like his fellows, a perfectly submissive factor in its operation. The simplest definition is to say that the Commune is a magnified family, inasmuch as it is extremely cohesive and interdependent (ploughing and reaping, for instance, can only begin on a certain day, when all the villagers agree to begin), and inasmuch as the village elder is an administrator, very similar to the Khozaïn, ruling with an authority limited by the other heads of houses, as the Khozaïn's authority is limited by the adult members of his own house. This rule—or rather that of the Commune itself—is tolerably rigid, and implies all the submissiveness of temper for which the Russian peasant is celebrated. He cannot leave the village without a written permission, and if, having left it, it becomes known that he is elsewhere earning large wages, he receives a summons to return, accompanied by an intimation that a sum of money will do as well. Supposing it were possible in a new country, having plenty of land, to organize village communities on this system, it would seem that they could

succeed only on condition of the villagers being endowed with the obliging and accommodating disposition of the Muscovite rustic. You must first catch your hare. Each Commune gives in to the Government at certain intervals, known as "revisions," a list of all its male inhabitants, and pays an annual sum proportionate to the number of names on the list—otherwise of "revision souls." It then divides its communal acres among the families, after its own discretion, in pieces proportionate to the number of males in each. It usually has more than one kind of land, sometimes several, and of this each household receives a straight, narrow strip, measured by primitive but unerring means. No family has its land all in one place; it has specimens, as it were, of the communal soil scattered over the whole appanage, which it cultivates independently of all the other families, so that the land of the Commune presents a highly variegated appearance—an appearance which would probably be very dreadful to an Anglo-Saxon agriculturist fond of a fine continuity of crops. No family ever thinks of appealing, says Mr. Wallace, from the manner in which the land has been allotted, and this is because of another of those paradoxes of which Russia is so full—the fact that "in 'the great stronghold of Caesarian despotism and centralized bureaucracy' the village communes are capital specimens of representative constitutional government of the extreme democratic type." And Mr. Wallace adds that he here uses the term constitutional government in the fullest English sense. The village is, in other words, a deliberative assembly, extremely informal, but extremely thorough. It stands out in the village street and talks over its affairs, giving every man a right to set forward the manner in which they should be arranged as regards himself. The women, too, have a voice—though female suffrage is theoretically discountenanced; the Russians having a homely adage to the effect that in the sex that wears chignons "the hair is long but the mind is short." The elder is appointed by his fellows—usually greatly against his will, as the post is deemed onerous and invidious. But each one takes his turn and plays his part conscientiously, and rebellion among his fellows is never known. All this, in the most meddling-some of all states, goes on completely without state interference, and as the villager has had full voice to argue and urge, to object and protest, he has the less voice to complain.

Mr. Wallace remarks that if the proletariat, where it exists, has been formed by the expropriation from the soil of small landholders, no system so effectual as the Mir for preventing such expropriation has yet been devised. "About one-half of the arable land of the empire is reserved for the peasantry, and cannot be encroached upon by the great landowners or the capitalists, and every peasant, by the fact of his birth, has an almost inalienable share in this land." As it is extremely difficult for a peasant to sever his connection with his commune, Mr. Wallace concludes, apparently with justice, that whatever dangers and troubles may be in store for Russia (and they are sufficiently various), the rise of pauperism will not, for a long time to come, be one of them. The author does not deny the possibility of the formation of a town proletariat, but he says that it has been greatly retarded by the fact that the peasants who come to towns to work continue to belong to their villages, and, having usually left a wife and children behind, sooner or later return to them. He mentions, however, the regrettable results of this separation of the temporary town-peasant from his family—results not favorable to good morals on either side. It is to be added with regard to pauperism that its development is further held in check by the paucity of towns in Russia—a point as to which the author's statistics are surprising. In European Russia, proper, there are only 127 towns, of which only twenty-five contain more than 25,000 inhabitants, and only ten more than 50,000. The urban population is but a tenth part of the whole.

We have been able to touch upon but a small number of the matters discussed by Mr. Wallace; we can only commend his book as a very valuable account of a very interesting people. We have barely alluded to the contents of the second volume, which contains among other things a detailed account of the emancipation of the serfs, preceded by a picture of their condition before this event, and followed by two chapters of considerations upon its consequences as regards the proprietors and as regards the peasants themselves. Upon these consequences, in their fulness, Mr. Wallace thinks it early to pronounce; as yet they strike him as less favorable to the peasantry than the enthusiasts of the measure expected. Russia is an interesting country (in spite of her natural meagreness of attraction), because the existence of an autocratic power has rendered possible a series of deliberate social, political, and economical experiments, most of which were intended to be progressive, and many of which have been so, but which, at any rate, have a sort of distinctness that they would not have had elsewhere. Few countries care to experiment on themselves; but when

a country possesses an omnipotent czar, the thing may be done for the possible profit of his subjects and the certain entertainment of their neighbors. We may add that Mr. Wallace devotes an interesting chapter to the results of the Crimean War (as to which it is noticeable that few wars have left behind them so little rancor in the vanquished), and some final pages to the Eastern Question and the "expansive" tendencies of Russia. He views the advance of Russia in the East with less distrust than many Englishmen, and thinks that the natural solution of the difficulty is for England to go to meet her. Her advance has always had for its pretext the depredations of uncivilized races upon her frontier; let a civilized power come into contact with her and the pretext will cease, and with it, as Mr. Wallace thinks, the advance. So it is to be hoped! We conclude in congratulating the author on having written a book of which it may be said that, as to its topic, it has, in the French phrase, *fait époque*; it has made a difference in the intelligence with which a very important subject may be regarded.

The Intercolonial. A Historical Sketch of the Inception, Location, Construction, and Completion of the Line of Railway uniting the Inland and Atlantic Provinces of the Dominion. With maps and numerous illustrations. By Sandford Fleming, C.E., Engineer-in-Chief of the Newfoundland, Intercolonial, and Canadian Pacific Railways. (Montreal: Dawson Bros. 1876. Pp. 268.)—The artificial character of the union of the several colonies of British North America which formed the Dominion of Canada, is plainly shown by the public works which the Dominion Government was compelled to undertake as the condition of such union. The maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, though naturally intimately connected with each other and the neighboring islands, were entirely separated from the Canadian towns on the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. In summer the journey from Halifax to Quebec could be accomplished by a long voyage through the Gulf of St. Lawrence; in winter even this roundabout communication was closed, and it was necessary to make use of railroads through American territory. The Pacific province of British Columbia had but a small population, residing 2,000 miles from the western Canadian settlements. To overcome these natural divisions the Government committed itself to the construction of two grand railroads—the Intercolonial

and the Canadian Pacific; the former completed in 1876 at a cost of nearly \$22,000,000, the latter as yet but barely begun. The Intercolonial Railway extends from the Eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway at Rivière du Loup, 125 miles below Quebec, 561 miles to Halifax, with branches to St. John and Pictou; it is owned and operated by the Government. It was considered important to keep the railroad at a distance from the Maine frontier, and it passes through the northern part of New Brunswick, skirting the shore of the Bay Chaleur, being deflected about 150 miles north of a straight line from Quebec to the head of the Bay of Fundy. It runs for a large part of its length through a wilderness, and, while considered important as a political and military necessity, its business in times of peace must for many years be exceedingly small.

The history of this railroad prepared by Mr. Sandford Fleming, engineer-in-chief, is not confined to a review of the ten years spent in the location and construction of the line, but goes back to the treaty of Paris of 1783, and reviews at considerable length the old Maine boundary question, which was not finally settled till 1842, and whose final establishment compelled the adoption of the circuitous route on which the Intercolonial is built. The history forms a showy volume of 250 pages, handsomely illustrated with views of the most interesting works on the line. The first half is historical and descriptive and will be found interesting by any person whose attention is directed to the history and geography of Canada; the remainder is more technical and most valuable to engineers. The description shows the road to have been constructed in the most thorough and permanent manner, while some of the structures, especially the Miramichi bridges, are of sufficient magnitude to be worthy of independent memoirs.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.

Art Journal for March, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) \$0 75
Bezold (Dr. E.), Gesetzgebung des Deutschen Reiches. Part 3, Vol. 2, No. 4, swd.	(E. Steigler)
Bonnechose (C. de), Montcalm et le Canada Français, swd.	(F. W. Christen)
Burnaby (Capt. F.), A Ride to Khiva.	(Harper & Bros.)
Dana (E. S.), Text-Book of Mineralogy.	(John Wiley & Sons) 5 00
Darwin (C.), Cross and Self-Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom.	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Frothingham (Rev. O. B.), The Cradle of the Christ.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 75
Globe Encyclopedia, Part 10, swd.	(Estes & Lauriat) 50
Goldsammer (H.), Le Jardin d'Enfants, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Kaufmann (Dr. C.), Kampf der französischen und deutschen Schulorganisation in Elsass-Lothringen, swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)

Publishers.—Prices.

Wallace's Russia

WILL BE READY SATURDAY.

The *Fortnightly Review* says:

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1877.

The Week.

THE adjournment of the Senate and the nomination of Mr. Stanley Matthews to fill Mr. Sherman's vacant seat in the Senate have been the two principal political events of the week. Mr. Matthews is a man of a very different type from his predecessor, having all of his persistence and much more than his facility as a speaker. His appearance in a high public office at this time is as marked an indication in one way of the changed aspect and tendency of affairs as the disappearance of men like Logan and Boutwell is in another. With the advisers that Mr. Hayes has now called about him there is little likelihood that he will fall into the blunders that made a fiasco of General Grant's attempt to reform the civil service, and we shall look now for an early publication of definite rules of appointment, promotion, and retirement from which the words "Democrat" and "Republican" shall be conspicuously absent. Mr. Key's announcement that in selecting Southern postmasters the Administration will select Republicans if good men can be found, but if there are none such then Democrats, does not seem to indicate as clear a comprehension of the nature and objects of the reform as could be wished, and the unexplained substitution of Mr. Morrill for Mr. Washburne in the Portland Custom-House has also caused some wonder.

The appointment of Frederick Douglass as Marshal of the District of Columbia is picturesque, but not reformatory. It makes a pleasing event for those who are fond of poetic justice and dramatic denouements, but it does not help to reform the civil service. The fundamental principle of civil-service reform requires that places should be given to men not because they are old or have been badly used, or are virtuous, but because they are fit. Moreover, the use of subordinate offices to give confidence to or satisfy the "claims" of particular localities or portions of the population, is to perpetuate the central abuse of the old system. Mr. Hayes's desire to satisfy the colored people that his plan of conciliation does not involve forgetfulness of them is most praiseworthy, but he serves them, like other people, best by purifying the Government. He has promised to serve only one term, and he must remember that he is making precedents for those who come after him, who may not be civil-service reformers at all, and who will eagerly seize all his departures from his own policy to justify the restoration of the old abuses. On the other hand there is this to be said, that it is not likely that the standard of efficiency and responsibility in the Marshal's office will be lower under Frederick Douglass than under his predecessors; for in recent years it has never been high, and it has, we believe, in one or two cases been an open question with the bar whether the duties of the place were worse performed by a marshal who habitually stayed away from his office or by a marshal who went there regularly. The office, in the District, is identical with that of sheriff elsewhere. The holder of it must give bonds, and is personally liable, but the business is generally done by deputies. The most that seems to be expected of Mr. Douglass is that he will keep the office clean as far as the public is concerned, and lose money and involve his sureties so far as he is concerned himself. It is to be said also that, while his appointment to satisfy the "claims" of the negro population is highly objectionable, his color as such is not in Washington the serious disqualification it would be in a Northern city like New York or Boston. In a city with a large, turbulent, and disorderly white population, the appointment of a negro orator as sheriff would have a touch of burlesque about it; in Washington, where about two-fifths of the voters are black, and the whites are accustomed to

colored justices, policemen, and other officials, the appointment is not absurd.

A thoroughly amusing bit of *bouffe* was performed last week, in the course of which nearly every member of the Maine delegation to Congress appeared upon the stage. The public was informed—as a matter in itself of very little consequence, however; a sort of prologue, in fact, to the play—that Mr. Lot M. Morrill, late Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed by the President Collector of Portland. Almost immediately we learned from Mr. Blaine, who appeared alone for a few moments on the stage, that Mr. Morrill was appointed upon the personal request of Mr. Blaine, that, in fact, the affection of the President for Mr. Blaine and the latter's influence with the new Administration were strikingly illustrated by this appointment. Next came on Mr. Hamlin and Mr. Hale, who desired to inform the audience that they also had been concerned in the above appointment, and that modesty did not forbid them to believe that their recommendation of Mr. Morrill had had some effect upon the President. Next appeared Mr. Frye, who had listened to the foregoing speeches, and was evidently somewhat excited by them, who informed the audience that it was *his* word in the President's ear, spoken, moreover, a week in advance of that of Mr. Blaine, which had set the Presidential face Morrill-ward on the subject of the Portland Collectorship. But Mr. Frye's speech was longer than that of the preceding performers. He made a decided hit, in fact, by next asserting that at the time of his recommendation of Morrill, Messrs. Blaine and Hamlin and Hale were not in favor of the former's appointment, but were actively pulling wires for somebody else, whose name was Marble. Mr. Frye was followed by Mr. Reed, in the character of "end" man, who remarked that the President had responded to *his* request for Mr. Morrill's appointment "with a prompt cordiality which placed him (Reed) under a sense of personal obligation." The curtain then fell upon the Maine delegation, and unless Mr. Morrill's sense of humor is utterly extinguished by his career as a politician, he must have had amusement enough to keep him good-natured throughout all the years of his collectorship.

The late campaign, remarkable as it was in many ways, was chiefly memorable for the oratory it produced on the Republican side; and of all the Republican speakers none made a greater success than Col. "Bob" Ingersoll of Illinois. His politics were those of Mr. Blaine, and we confess that some of his harangues, reviving the memories of the war, and imploring us all not to admit to power the ignorant and wicked traitors at the South, whom we had fought and beaten, but to defend the flag and the Union, were at times stirring. Since the campaign ended we have been curious to see what attitude would be assumed by "Bob" as to politics, and he gave the public an opportunity of finding out the other night in a lecture at Steinway Hall. He discussed in a reformatory spirit the counting of the electoral votes, tenure of office, the frequency of elections, the demonetization of silver, the Southern question, the Cabinet, and the President, cordially approving Mr. Hayes's "new departure," warmly applauding the patriotism and good sense of the South, and letting out the important secret that "if the election had been thrown into the House of Representatives Samuel J. Tilden would not have been elected, but Rutherford B. Hayes would have been elected by Southern votes." As to the campaign, Colonel "Bob" made a clean breast of it, and, according to the *Times's* report, "the merry twinkle in his eye and the comical twist to his mouth prepared the audience for the humor which spiced his introductory remarks," and "for some time the laughter was frequent and uproarious." As an instance of the good things which set the audience laughing so immoderately we may mention his discussion of the right of the Vice-President

to count the electoral vote. "Bob" says that his "doctrine" was, that "if the Vice-President would count the vote right, he had the right to count it." His humor is in character somewhat like that of the late Artemus Ward, who certainly never conceived anything happier than the Colonel's opening remarks, in which, having described the campaign as "bitter, passionate, relentless, and desperate," he declared that he had somewhat "changed his feeling," and then made this manly declaration: "I am willing to forgive, and do forgive, with all my heart, every person and every party that I ever said anything against." Altogether the speech was that of a man who had played a game with stocked cards for heavy stakes, and won the game but lost the stakes. This position of affairs always causes thoughtfulness and candor, though it does not generally produce as much good humor as is exhibited by Colonel "Bob."

Simon Cameron's transfer of the Senatorship to his son "Don," which seems to have been very easily accomplished, and must have appeared quite natural and logical to those who know anything of Pennsylvania politics, has called out from Republican papers some truths which have heretofore been modestly concealed within the party editor's bosom. We learn, for instance, from the *Boston Journal*—a paper which is surely nothing if not Republican—that "in all the years that Simon Cameron has been in the Senate he has not shown any evidence of the possession of a particle of statesmanship in its highest sense. His name is not connected with the origin of any great measure or policy," and "he has always placed his favors where they would do him the most good when the proper time arrived." Much more follows in the same vein, all going to show that Mr. Cameron has been a "wire-puller," a "caucus manager"—in short, a "practical" politician of the most perfect type; and then, after a strong illustration of Cameron's "crooked" ways in politics, the *Journal* sagely concludes, "We have only to remark that it [Cameron's policy] is a pernicious one, and that the American people are sick of it." All the above extracts we believe on our honor to be essentially truthful, and the story becomes an amusing one only when taken in connection with the attempt made to show that it is applicable only to Pennsylvania, and that "such a thing could not be done in any other State in the Union in which there is a Republican legislature." The wily Cameron is not the only politician whose course might be similarly described upon retirement from office; and the truth thus plainly spoken in an unexpected quarter of one of their number might well occasion tremors among some of Simon's school-fellows, should they happen to reflect upon the consequences of a sudden termination of their political career. One of the most promising effects of Mr. Hayes's Administration, thus far, is the great number of discoveries of defects in the character of party heroes recently made by party organs. Belief in a new race of politicians will soon become an editorial necessity.

The Commission to "devise a plan for the government of cities in the State of New York," appointed by Mr. Tilden, has made its report to the Legislature. It begins with an enumeration of the evil effects of bad municipal administration, especially as regards the accumulation of permanent municipal debt, and the excessive increase of the annual expenditure for ordinary purposes. Under this head it shows that the permanent debt of the cities in this State is upwards of \$170,000,000; that the debt of New York City alone is upwards of \$113,000,000, \$95,000,000 of this being the creation of the last seventeen years, and this enormous sum having produced little besides wharves and piers which must be rebuilt, badly paved streets, and shabby public buildings. What the debt in fact represents is long-continued embezzlement and waste. With regard to the increase of annual expenditure, it appears that in 1810, with a population of nearly 100,000 and a taxable value of \$25,000,000, the ordinary annual expenditure of this city was \$129,727.15, or about one-half of one per cent. on the valuation, and about \$1.25 for each inhabitant; while at the present day the tax

levy is \$28,484,269.44, and the rate 2.67 per cent. on the entire taxable property; that since 1850 the increase in annual expenses, as compared with the increase in population, is more than 400 per cent., and as compared with the increase of taxable property, more than 200 per cent. The direct causes of these evils pointed out by the Commission are wide-spread incompetency and unfaithfulness among officials, the introduction of State and national politics into municipal affairs, and the assumption by the Legislature of the direct control of local affairs.

The Commission next proceeds to a discussion of remedies; shows that penal statutes cannot be relied upon, because what is wanted is not law but the enforcement of existing laws, and the same laxity which breeds the abuses ensures also the non-enforcement of penal laws destined to correct them; that control of local affairs by the State, instead of being a cure, aggravates the disease; that the withdrawal of power from local governments, or its limitation by positive enactments (*e.g.*, limited debt and ratio of taxation), would not be remedial, because it could be evaded; that the abolition of the power of legislative interference, on the other hand, would be unsafe; that the plan of concentrating all power and responsibility in the hands of the mayor, with full authority over all subordinates, is in violation of the established principles of popular government; that the abolition of patronage and civil-service reform cannot be hoped for in cities until the State and National Governments have set the example; and that all expectations of a remedy being found in the general spread of enlightenment as to the effects of misgovernment among the masses should be abandoned as idle, being based on a false theory of the amount of time and attention the citizen will, under any system, withdraw from his private affairs and devote to the public. The report then discusses the point "whether the general application of universal suffrage in the election of the local guardians and trustees of the financial interests" of cities is "in accordance with sound principles," and comes to the conclusion that it is not, but that the choice of these officials should be lodged with the taxpayers; the reasons being chiefly that while such general concerns of state as the administration of justice, legislation, etc., etc., affect all alike, whether they pay taxes or not, the local affairs of cities—the paving, lighting, police, etc.—affect simply taxpayers—and that to leave them in the hands of non-taxpayers is merely to put a premium on spoliation. They show that the limitation of the right of suffrage on matters of this sort to taxpayers is in accordance with the established policy of the State with regard to villages, in which the vote of the taxpayers is, with trifling exceptions, always necessary to authorize the raising of money by taxation.

The Commission accordingly recommends a plan of reform through a constitutional amendment, embracing the following heads: *First*. The delegation of municipal government to the people of the cities themselves. *Second*. A mayor, clothed with general supervisory powers, the power to appoint the other executive officers, except those two (finance and law) whose duties immediately affect the public expenditures, and the power of removal, subject to the governor's approval. *Third*. A board of aldermen, as at present, except that they are to have no power over taxes. *Fourth*. A separate body, to be called the Board of Finance, to be elected by tax and rent-payers, clothed with the taxing power, and controlling the appointment of the law and finance officers. *Fifth*. A detailed plan for securing good management in the board; and, *Sixth*, a prohibition against incurring debt except under specified conditions not likely to arise often. It is a curious illustration of the way the government of the city is actually managed that this plan, designed by the governor of the State as a comprehensive scheme of reform for crying evils, whose existence is denied by no one, and which has received the endorsement of the press without distinction of party, instead of being taken up and discussed, and either adopted or rejected, is quietly pushed aside by the Legislature, while that body sets to work on a scheme of reform of its own, which consists of

"fixing" the offices in this city by the usual means of what are facetiously termed charter amendments. There seems little hope that the plan of the Commission will even be taken up by the Legislature unless a determined stand is made on the subject by the public through meetings and committees.

The subscriptions to the new U. S. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds continue active, and during the week the Treasury notified the holders of another \$10,000,000 5.20 6 per cent bonds that they will be redeemed ninety days hence. The sales of the new $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. are about two-thirds in this country and one-third in Europe; of the 5.20 6 per cents. called in about two-thirds are held in Europe and one-third here. At the Stock Exchange bearish influences are still in the ascendant, although prices for railroad stocks have declined little during the week. It is undeniable that investors are buying few, if any, even of the stocks which have stood highest for years, but that, on the contrary, they are selling. There has, however, been no such general selling movement here as indicates wholesale distrust of railroad property. According to the English journals, there is in London a growing feeling of insecurity on the part of English holders of our railroad stocks, and, considering the frightful decline in the securities of the Reading, the Jersey Central, and the Illinois Central, it is not strange that there should be uneasiness lest other good securities should follow in the same course, particularly as in London there does not appear to be that accurate knowledge respecting our companies which enables the market to discriminate between the good and the bad. It is justly complained that our companies do not furnish the full and explicit information respecting their condition which they should. In every other respect, however, railroad management here has been improved, and is improving. There is now believed to be no danger of another trunk-line war, and the rottenness of which the leading companies are accused is believed to exist only in the imaginations of the bear speculators. The coal companies have not yet passed through all their troubles, and some of them may not be able to stand the full test to which their credit will yet be submitted, the coal trade being still far from settled. During the week one of them, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, sold at auction 225,000 tons, and the prices obtained were only 5 to 10 cents per ton below those of the last sale, which was much better than was expected, all things considered. A feature of the week was the decline in the price of silver in London to $53\frac{1}{4}d.$ per ounce, in consequence of the cessation of exports to China and India and sales by the German Government. At the New York equivalent price the bullion in the trade dollar has a gold value of only \$0.9135, and that in a $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain dollar \$0.8971, the gold value of a U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar being at the same time \$0.9545.

The annual meeting of the stockholders of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern Railway Company took place at St. Louis on Tuesday, March 6. It was understood that an attempt would be made to change the management by electing a board of directors in which the past management would be represented, but of which they would not have the control; it was also understood that the officers of the company had determined to do everything in their power to prevent this change. About two years ago the president and vice-president of the company had transferred to Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. 25,000 shares of stock, to be held in trust for the purpose of voting at elections, the consideration of the transfer being the acceptance of a funding scheme by the bondholders of the company which enabled the president and vice-president to apply the revenues of the road to the extinguishment of debts on which they were personally liable. When votes upon this trust stock were tendered to the inspectors of the election, the inspectors refused to receive them, avowing that no such stock appeared upon the list of stockholders authorized to vote at this election, which list of stockholders was not made up as of Feb. 3, 1877, the day on which the transfer books were closed by order of the president, but as of Nov. 30, 1875. The election was stopped by an injunction granted by the Circuit Court of St. Louis County, and the

matter is before the courts. The reason ascribed for producing this stock-list was that the new constitution of Missouri, which came into effect Nov. 30, 1875, required a stock register to be kept in the general office of the company in the State of Missouri, and that, inasmuch as the transfer office had always been kept with the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company in New York City, all transfers made since the new constitution became operative were illegal and void. Over 40,000 shares of stock were thus deprived of their voting power.

Gen. Ignatieff's progress with the Russian protocol in England appears to have been rapid, but no conclusion has been reached at this writing. The anti-Russian press find their fears in regard to it confirmed by the premature rejoicing of the Russian press as if over a Russian diplomatic advantage. On Monday the Sultan opened the Turkish Parliament in person, and renewed the great promises of the past few months in regard to peace, reform, and financial honor. Meantime all reports agree that the internal police was never more ineffectual, and that disorder and pillage are rife, while at Constantinople the discontent with the Government is daily becoming more pronounced and turbulent. The insurgents in Bosnia, in the neighborhood of Livno and on the Servian frontier, are again active, and part of the Turkish force in the province is being concentrated opposite Brod and Gradiska, as if to meet an expected Austrian crossing of the Save at those points. We hear nothing more of the insurrection of the Albanian Mirdites—a bold and hardy race, well calculated to be the centres of revolt for the countries south and east of them. Meantime the treaty with Montenegro hangs fire. The principality makes a stand on Niesies, and though it yields its cherished desire for the port of Spizza, demands a cession of the right bank of the Moratcha as far as the Lake of Scutari, and in addition the free navigation of the Bojana, the outlet of the lake.

The Reichstag reassembled for the third time on February 22, and listened to the usual address from the throne, read by the Emperor himself. He attributed the business prostration to world-wide causes for which his administration was not responsible. For the Social-Democrats he had the further pointed remark that "the organization of the Empire and the sound sense of the German people formed a strong bulwark against whatever perils anarchical endeavors might contrive for the security and regular development of the constitution." As for foreign affairs, his language implied the probability of war, and hinted at non-interference on the part of Germany so long as Russia did not overstep the mark. On the 11th inst. the first reading of the Budget gave rise to a lively debate. It calls for \$5,000,000 more than last year, to be raised not by forcing the present imperial revenues, but by "matriculatory contributions"—that is, contributions from each of the States. Lasker, speaking for the National Liberals, and Richter, for the Progressists, demanded an Imperial ministry with responsibility. This was opposed by Bismarck, who insisted that the time was not yet ripe for it, and that the particularist feeling was still too strong. He inveighed against this spirit in Prussia, and said that his office of Chancellor would be powerless but for his uniting with it that of President of the Prussian Ministry. He gave deep offence to his colleague, the Chief of Admiralty, by reproaching him with having needlessly increased his burdens on a former occasion, and in general he complained of a lack of support and consideration in a tone which he knows how to adopt on occasion. The Reichstag has taken two votes of some significance: it has refused, by ten majority, to increase the expenses of the Chancellor's office \$7,500, for the German Embassy in England; and it has voted the second reading of a bill authorizing the Emperor to publish laws for Alsace-Lorraine after they have passed the Federal Council and the Alsace-Lorraine Committee, and without reference to the Reichstag. In these provinces all the men who have served in the French army have been summoned abruptly to quit the country or accept German nationality.

SHAM GOVERNMENTS.

IT may be safely said that ever since governments first began the possession of some amount of physical force has been inseparably associated with legitimacy. The most unblushing asserter of the divine right of kings has never ventured to maintain that his title to the throne was so good that he ought to reign even if he had not a vestige of power, even if in his whole dominions he could neither raise revenue nor provide guards for his person. The complaints and lamentations of dethroned monarchs and pretenders have always been based on the allegation that, if not the bulk of the people, at least a considerable portion of the people, were willing to stand by them, and that their overthrow was due to the sudden success of a conspiracy or combination or foreign invasion too powerful for the moment to be resisted, and that if they were once set up again they would surely be physically able to make their authority respected. Even those, too, who have been unable to claim any respectable moral origin for their rule, have at least sought to justify it by showing that they had fleets and armies and police sufficiently strong to protect life and property. The Turks, for instance, have not, as against the Christian Powers, the smallest reason to give for their political existence except this. They say, simply, that however unworthy they may be in other respects, they have fighting men ready and able to enforce the Sultan's decrees and put down revolts. In fact, government without force has, wherever through foreign aid it has managed to exist at all, been always looked on as a monstrosity, without better claims to respect than a galvanized corpse. The petty states of Italy were during their last years governments of this description, and they were for this reason condemned by the opinion of the civilized world as possessing no title to obedience.

Under no political system is this association of force with legitimacy stronger than under ours. It is the very foundation of American republicanism. It is the assumed possession of sufficient physical strength to make its will respected, and to bear down all opposition, that gives the majority its right to rule, and this right preceded all charters and constitutions. The majority has highly respectable moral claims to authority, but the first and greatest claim is drawn from the fact that it can hang, or imprison, or exile those who refuse to obey it. On this fact all American political arrangements rest. When it is said that all power is derived from the consent of the governed, what is meant is, that a lawful government always has men behind it who are willing to fight for it. Every vote cast at our elections has in theory, and if necessary would be found to have in reality, an armed man to back it up. The custom preserved in some of the Swiss cantons to this day of attending the Landsgemeinde with swords buckled on, is simply the outward and visible sign of the thought which presided at the foundation of all popular governments, and to which they still owe their maintenance. And long may it hold its place in men's minds. It is a constant reminder to the turbulent and designing that human society exists for the orderly, industrious, and law-abiding, and that those who disturb it must expect to suffer where they are most sensitive—in the flesh.

The reconstruction process at the South has had many curious results, but probably none so curious as the setting up of governments, called "republican," which not only have no majority ready to defend them but no minority willing to make any sacrifice for them whatever in life, limb, or estate. This forms a situation which may be called absolutely unprecedented. Even in South-American revolutions and disturbances there are always two parties, one of which attacks something and the other of which defends something, and there is usually a battle or two. The Parisian Commune even, paltry as it was in its origin and composition, found thousands of men ready to suffer wounds and death for it. The Emperor Soultouque was not driven from his dominions without loss of life, and King Koffee Kalkalli, when his territory was invaded by the British, ferocious tyrant as he was, had warriors who, up to the very gates of his thatched capital, resisted with smooth-

bore and slugs the remorseless hail of the Enfield rifles. We have, however, evolved in South Carolina and Louisiana, in ten short years, a pair of governments possessing all the paraphernalia of power—the high functionaries, the public seal, the forms and statutes and ordinances and other machinery of state—but for which nobody is willing to pull a trigger or spend a cent; for which not only the majority cares nothing, but the minority cares nothing; in which, to all outward appearance, nobody but its highest officers takes any interest whatever, and which can only punish theft with the consent of the thieves, and only protect life by advising everybody not to commit murder. The like of this, it is safe to say, was never before seen; let us hope that we shall never see the like of it again.

The President is now asked and expected to maintain these simulacra by the use of the troops under the power given the general Government by the Constitution and the laws to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and to protect the States against insurrection and domestic violence. But it is to be observed that the powers of the Constitution neither contemplated nor could possibly have meant to provide for such a state of things as exists at Charleston and New Orleans. The guarantee of a republican form of government is a guarantee to one party in the State against the machinations or successes of another party, and the promise of protection against insurrection and domestic violence supposes the existence of an armed conflict between the forces of the State government on the one side, and those of the rebels or rioters on the other. It supposes, in short, that the State Government has a certain amount of physical force at its disposal, though not enough for the moment to restore order, and that all that is needed to enable it to resume its functions is the *suppression* of the insurrection or violence; that this done, the machinery of justice will once more begin to move, and the constituted authorities to exact and receive general obedience to their lawful commands. It does not and cannot contemplate the permanent maintenance by regular troops of a government which, without those troops, would have no power whatever, which nobody would obey and nobody defend, because a government so maintained is not republican in form, and in fact is not a government of any kind known to American jurisprudence. It is hard to know what name to give to the present régime in South Carolina and Louisiana. It may be described periphrastically as anarchy modified by the protection of a few persons by the standing army. The service rendered by the troops can indeed hardly be called political at all. In so far as it is political it may be said to consist in preventing certain claimants of offices from flying from the State.

Its danger as a precedent, if any precedent is dangerous, need hardly be pointed out. The successful assertion of the right of the President to use the army, and to set up and keep up State governments possessing no physical force whatever, with no armed minority even to fall back on, would amount to the virtual abrogation of all State governments, because if he may recognize and, for an indefinite period, support governments which can produce neither of those two ancient, well-settled, and indispensable signs of legality, a revenue and a militia, he is as much master of America as Napoleon was of France. Under our system there is no place provided for governments which rest simply on the moral approval of any portion of the population, however large, even though this approval be expressed never so clearly at the polls. All our constitutional arrangements rest on the assumption that the voter is a fighting man, and that if called upon he will follow the sheriff in the posse, and follow the governor in the militia, and that, making due allowance for rawness and want of discipline, he will stand his ground and shed his blood for the enforcement of the law. If this assumption should ever prove groundless, American liberty and order would be at an end. To attempt to dispense with it or ignore it in any part of the country, is to strike a serious blow at both one and the other; and yet this attempt is made by all those who now oppose the withdrawal of the troops from the divided states.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS.

II.

AS a practical result of their report on the strike of the Boston & Maine locomotive engineers, the Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts contented themselves with recommending the passage of certain laws intended to guard the rights of the public in case any more strikes occurred. The community was to have the free and safe use of its railroads secured to it, no matter what quarrels might arise between employers and employed. This, of course, was as far as the Board could go, occupying the position it then did. Its members were not there to arbitrate or to suggest remedial measures looking to a removal of the root of difficulty. Their business was to act in such a way as to secure to the public the full and free enjoyment of its rights, and there, for the present at least, to stop. What was then to follow must, if it was to be of any value, result from careful investigation, and assume the shape of a thoroughly-matured plan.

One thing we do not hesitate to say, and it is a conclusion to which we believe not only all the leading railroad men of the country have come, but also every one who has given any thought to recent events—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has got to be broken up. In view of its course of late in connection with strikes, in which every right of the business and travelling public was brutally disregarded; in view of its avowed policy as defined in the recent threatening and almost incendiary speeches of its Chief Engineer, it is safe to say that its usefulness is wholly gone, and that it has become a mere common nuisance, the longer existence of which is a standing public menace. The only question is how to proceed so as to break it up most quietly and most effectually. It now numbers in its divisions nearly ninety per cent. of the experienced locomotive engineers of the country; they are bound together by a strong *esprit de corps*, and have an even inordinate faith in the really great power of their combination; the treasury of the order is well supplied, and its discipline, founded on a strong class feeling, is very effective. Altogether, it is a formidable opponent, one with which no railroad corporation would care to grapple if it could help it. Even if a strike fails, the cost of victory is something at which directors may well stand aghast. In the recent Boston & Maine strike, for instance, though the question practically at issue was whether the Brotherhood or the officials were to operate the road, it was nominally only a matter of \$6.70 a day: if the officers of the road would have allowed ten cents a day increased pay to sixty-seven men, there would have been no strike. To do this, however, involved a submission to the Brotherhood, and injustice to some 1,500 other employees whose pay had also been reduced. The directors very properly, as we think, refused to yield, and the strike ensued. The corporation was completely victorious, but its victory cost it probably not less than \$50,000, and possibly \$100,000. On the other hand, to the Brotherhood the cost of the strike will probably not exceed \$300 a day, or about two cents a day, while it lasts, to each member of the order.

Under such circumstances as these the Brotherhood enters on every contest with the chances enormously in its favor. The larger and more unwieldy its opponent the better. If they can but paralyze it for forty-eight hours they are sure of success. The road has got to be run; and if the corporation cannot rally from the knock-down blow and stagger to its legs at once, it is lost. Accordingly Mr. Arthur has reduced the system to a science, the cardinal principle of which is instantaneous action with utter disregard of the public. A strike is secretly decided upon. Two hours, and two hours only, of notice is given, at the expiration of which every engineer stops his locomotive where it then is; stays by it two hours to give the corporation time to yield, and, if it does not, he blows out the boiler and abandons the train. Indeed, it is well if in so doing he does not take the locomotive with him. Then comes the short, sharp struggle. The road from end to end is blocked with abandoned trains, and the whole force, not only of the striking engineers but of the Brotherhood, is directed to keeping it so. In the case of the

Grand Trunk strike, the passenger trains were stopped, amid Canada's December snow and ice, at 11 o'clock at night; locomotives were disabled, tracks obstructed, and those who undertook to work the abandoned engines were mobbed. Grand Chief-Engineer Arthur was dealing with "the enemy," and the unfortunate passengers happened to come between him and it; for what ensued he did not hold himself responsible. Like the Prince of Denmark, he doubtless thought that

" 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
Between the pass and fell incensed points
Of mighty opposites."

In the case of the Boston & Maine road the tactics were exactly the same; fortunately the circumstances were different. The corporation by a desperate effort succeeded in mustering enough men who could not be frightened, and did not care to be bought, to enable it to keep a few trains in motion during the two decisive days. To one of these men \$1,500 in cash was offered, if he would leave his engine; another was assaulted and beaten; all of them were cajoled and coaxed, or jeered at, threatened and insulted from one end of the road to the other. In two days the company had caught its breath; in four days it was master of the situation. At first, however, the chances were four out of five against it; and each of those days cost it tens of thousands of dollars.

Whose turn comes next?—This is a question which we have reason to know is now exercising the minds of nearly every railroad president and superintendent—except those of the Boston & Maine and the Pennsylvania Company—in the country. These officers all know perfectly well that the majority of their engineers are members of the Brotherhood; that, as such, they cannot be relied on; and that the presence of Chief-Engineer Arthur in their ante-rooms means simply submission or fight. Of course, such a condition of affairs cannot last. It means anarchy. The only question is, how can the engineers be gotten away from the Brotherhood? Had any steps been taken to carry into effect Mr. Arthur's threat of a general strike on the Boston roads, in aid of the Brotherhood's waning fortunes on the Boston & Maine, we have understood that it would have been immediately met by the introduction into the Legislature of a law forbidding any corporation, under heavy penalties, to entrust a locomotive to a member of the Brotherhood. Such a measure, based on the principle that these men recognized an allegiance higher than the law of the State, and could not be relied upon not to abandon trains full of passengers in dangerous positions, was, we have understood, drafted and ready for immediate submission. Practically, its passage would have broken up the Brotherhood in Massachusetts, as its members would have had to choose between leaving the order or seeking employment out of the State. Mr. Arthur, however, paused in time, and did not provoke this violent remedy. It was a measure, also, not likely to pass a State Legislature except under circumstances which are not now likely to occur, since Mr. Arthur has been taught a little discretion.

But this is a question which ought to be settled by the railroad corporations, and not by State legislatures. Indeed, it never can be properly settled on a basis of penal legislation; it must be made a matter of kindly and friendly adjustment between the employers and employed. The proper course to pursue is also a very simple one, and one which we wonder some of our rich and powerful corporations have not already adopted. They should constitute their own benevolent and life-assurance associations for the benefit of their employees. They should not leave this work to trades-unions; to do so, and thus invite outside influence, is neither sound policy nor good economy. Take, for instance, the Boston & Maine road. It had in its employ at the time of the strike 1,556 persons, of whom 67 only were locomotive engineers. Had all of these been bound together in one Boston & Maine Benevolent and Life-Assurance Association, into which a percentage of monthly wages was regularly paid, no strike could have taken place. All occupations connected with running a railroad are hazardous. Both life and limb are in continual danger. Our railroad corporations are now old enough, large enough, and rich enough to take this into consideration, and systematically provide for it. The eight roads, for instance, running out of Boston,

all of which only a few days since were in imminent danger of a combined strike, represent a permanent investment of \$100,000,000, with an annual income of \$20,000,000, and with 12,500 persons in their employ. The Boston & Albany alone employs 4,500. And these enormous corporations let trades-unions steal their men away from them! The thing seems hardly credible, and yet it is so. Plainly, therefore, it is wholly their own fault if the officers of these corporations stand in terror of Mr. Arthur and his Brotherhood. It is not legislation, but wisdom that they need. They have no business to call for penal statutes, or to look to the Government for protection. Let them protect themselves.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is, therefore, as we look at it, now engaged in its last and most useful work. It is driving our larger corporations into creating brotherhoods of their own, turning their present mobs of employees into a regular graded service, with its promotions, its life insurance, and its pensions. The men would then be tied to the corporations by something more than the payment of monthly wages; nor would they lightly sacrifice by joining in strikes what represented the accumulation of years of service. It is no part of our business to work out the details of such a scheme. We can only say that what Mr. Arthur and his associates have done, we believe that Mr. Vanderbilt or Mr. Scott or Mr. Chapin can do a great deal better. Perhaps, however, in the whole railroad connection there is no man so well calculated or in such an excellent position to mature successfully the desired system as President Hinckley, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore. It wholly rests in the power of these gentlemen to destroy the Brotherhood they now dread so much. If a few more strikes are necessary to start them in the work, we sincerely hope that Grand Chief Arthur may, with as little delay as possible, supply the needed incentive.

BORDER-RUFFIAN AND CARPET-BAGGER.

WE did hardly more than suggest last week the parallelism between the two epochs which may be designated either by the dates 1856 and 1876, or by the symbols Kansas and Louisiana. The points of resemblance are, in fact, so numerous and so striking that they would furnish forth an essay, and will easily admit of another article in this journal. Nor ought it to be considered a wasted labor to compare these times with those, scarcely a generation back, since there must surely be some instruction for us in discerning why Grant's Administration recalls Pierce's, in spite of the tremendous revolution which has intervened. Historical retrospect is never so pertinent as when we are forced to exclaim, with Madame Roland: "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Such an exclamation was heard twenty years ago (July 24, 1856) at the convention of Republican Democrats in Syracuse, when its spokesman apostrophized the Democracy as "that glorious party of glorious memory, which once spoke and acted for Freedom, but has fallen into the hands of office holders and political adventurers, serving as the tools of the slaveholding oligarchy"; and if he were now (for he is still living, and figured in the last Congress) to frame an indictment of the "party of Freedom" as we have known it under Grant, he would need to alter but a single word of his apostrophe, substituting for the "slaveholding" the *Senatorial* oligarchy—the Group.

That is one key to the similarity between the two epochs; the other, on which we shall particularly insist, is the substantial identity of the Border-ruffian and the Carpet-bagger. Abstractly defined, each was an invader of a State not his own, in an interest hostile to the interests of the State, and maintained only by fraud and by external force. Each, too, was the creator of a provisional government—a real *gouvernement de combat*—resting either on the majority given by stuffed ballot-boxes or on that given by voting cattle, and so keeping its equilibrium only as long as the Administration was willing or able to prop it up. But it would be unjust to the Border-ruffian not to add that he made war openly, taking all the risks, while the Carpet-bagger simply planned the campaign, and left its execution to the army and navy of the United States. This distinction must be kept in mind not only in fixing the moral reprobation to be visited on each, but in judging which of the two most jeopardized our institutions. For our own part, we have no hesitation in saying that Atehison and Stringfellow were petty evils in comparison with Parker and Casey. We go further, and say that the Free-State men of Kansas in their darkest hours had an assurance of relief absolutely denied to the South at the height of the

Carpet-bag rule, or to Louisiana and South Carolina less than a year ago. Why? Because the invasion of Kansas was flagrant, rifle in hand, was avowed and gloried in, while the proconsular subjugation was subtle and sedulously concealed under the forms of law, and resistance to it, it was urged, even by those not unfriendly to the South, should only be made in a lawful way. In like manner Senator Douglas tauntingly bade the Free-State settlers—"If they desire to have any of the [Border-ruffian black] laws repealed, let them try to carry their point at the polls, and let the majority decide the question." To which Schuyler Colfax replied, in a speech delivered in the House June 21, 1856:

"Where are the 'ample' means of obtaining relief from the unendurable tyranny that grinds down the Free-State men of Kansas into the dust? How can they carry their points at the polls? Let facts answer:

"I. The council which passed these laws has extended its term of service till 1858; so that, if the entire representative branch was unanimous for their repeal, the higher branch has the power to prevent the slightest change in them for two long years.

"II. The Free-State men in Kansas are absolutely shut out from the polls by test-oaths, etc."

"In such a state of affairs as this, to talk of going to the polls and having the laws repealed is worse than a mockery. It is an insult. It is like binding a man hand and foot, throwing him into the river, and telling him to swim on shore and he will be saved. It is like loading a man with irons and then telling him to run for his life. The only relief possible, if Kansas is not promptly admitted as a State, which I hope may be effected, is in a change of the Administration and of the party that so recklessly misrules the land; and that will furnish an effectual relief."

It is hardly necessary to point out that this rejoinder reads as if ready-made for the condition of the South during reconstruction. How could the people of those States regain their self government at the polls so long as the whites were reduced in numbers by test-oaths and divided by temptations to share in the official plunder, while the blacks were held together by the same sort of bribery and by the sedulous deepening of the color line by their cunning leaders? How could they hope to overcome peacefully a self-perpetuating Returning Board bent on keeping them subjected to the party in power? And apart from revolution, what relief could be imagined except a change of Administration and of national party rule? "The question of the canvass," said Mr. Colfax in 1856 (letter to his constituents, who had renominated him, July 17), "is not so much whether black men shall be slaves, but *whether white men shall be free*." In the Presidential canvass of 1876 the question was inverted, and, for the South at least, was not so much whether black men should be free, but *whether white men should be slaves*.

The admission of Kansas as a State, it is further to be noted, was justly expected to put an end to her troubles; and strange as it may seem, although both Louisiana and South Carolina were solemnly readmitted to the Union after the war, they have never yet been treated as States, but as conquered provinces. We are just now beginning to see that the readmission of the entire South gave us back not States but disorganized Territories, and that only so fast and so far as they achieved self-government and became, as Mr. Seward expressed it, *de-facto* Republican communities, did they become States in truth as well as in name. Neither the theory of once a State always a State, nor the other that a State can be made by Congressional patent, no matter what its political condition, has been found to hold. The war and the reconstruction policy annihilated the Southern States, and no test-oath or prescribed Constitution could restore them to being. The artificial reorganization of society had slowly to give place to a natural readjustment of power and responsibility, and as this was contrary to the wishes of the Administration, the process is fairly to be called a revolution. It is now complete except in Louisiana and South Carolina; and grant these States but one year of self-government—government, that is, not by superior numbers but by superior power; it may be by a minority of the voters—and we shall have heard the last of Federal interference to determine State elections and settle State squabbles.

The view which Grant's Administration has taken of resistance to Carpet-bag rule in Louisiana and South Carolina, even down to the order forbidding the celebration of Washington's birthday in the latter State, has been similar to that which Pierce's Administration took of the Free-State resistance to Border-ruffianism. It has been regarded as rebellious and treasonable, although entirely confined to State objects. We have not, to be sure, found a Judge Lecompte to deliver a charge of this nature, but the North has been led to believe, and with no great difficulty, that the products of Federal reconstruction like Packard and Chamberlain were really invested with a Federal origin and sanctity, and that those who resist them "resist the power and authority of the United States, and are therefore guilty of high treason," and that where "combinations have been formed [like the White League and Hampton Rifle Clubs] for the purpose of resisting them," there is constructive treason. It will not be

twenty years before we shall see the folly of this view, or begin to wonder at the apathy with which we have watched the proceedings based upon it. Only in a few great cities of the North was any public protest made against De Trobriand's military dispersal of the Louisiana Legislature, while the more recent military exclusion of members from the South Carolina Legislature elicited no unpartisan protest whatever. When Col. Sumner had dispersed the Topeka Legislature the *Tribune* said (July 10, 1856): "Acts of high-handed tyranny, each more flagitious than the preceding, follow each other in such rapid succession that *there is reason to fear that the public sense will be dulled rather than awakened by them.*" This precisely describes the effect on the Northern Republican mind of the doubtful and unconstitutional measures which grew out of the war and of Grant's ignorance of the limits of his constitutional functions. No party paper in the past eight years has ventured to approve the uprising against Carpet-bag misrule at the South in terms as bold, unequivocal, and indignant as these from the *Detroit Free Press* of February 9, 1856, described by Mr. Colfax (who quoted the passage in his speech) as "the organ of General Cass, and one of the leading Democratic papers of the Northwest":

"The President should pause long before treating as 'treasonable insurrection' the action of those inhabitants of Kansas who deny the binding authority of the Missouri-Kansas Legislature; for, in our humble opinion, a people that would not be inclined to rebel against the acts of a legislative body forced upon them by fraud and violence would be unworthy the name of American. If there was ever justifiable cause for popular revolution against a usurping and obnoxious government, that cause has existed in Kansas."

The change of Administration which the Republicans of '56 and the South of '72 desired in vain has come at last when least expected. We have a President courageous enough to break with the Senate and throw himself unreservedly upon the people of the whole country. The partnership between the Upper House and the Executive had grown so intimate and so strong that it seemed to defy assault. Mr. Seward reminded his colleagues, in 1856, that

"The Senate, by force of its constitution as a council of the President in appointments to office and in the conduct of foreign affairs, is more readily inclined towards combination with the President, and of course to dependence upon him, than the House of Representatives. It is to the House of Representatives, therefore, that the people must look, and it is upon that House, and not upon the Senate, that the people must rely mainly for the rescue of public liberty, if the time shall ever come when that liberty shall be endangered, with design or otherwise, by the exercise of the Executive power."

The close connection which the *Nation* has ever maintained existed between civil-service reform and the solution of the Southern problem, is now manifested by President Hayes's notice of dissolution of partnership in the making of appointments. Without such notice, the South would have had no assurance that the President's desire to purify the Federal offices among them would end in anything but smoke. They would reasonably have expected a repetition of Grant's good intentions, speedily followed by a contest with the real appointing power, and an unconditional surrender after a feeble resistance. Now, the Senate has been relieved at once of its prerogative and its responsibility; the President resumes what is rightfully his, and no one need doubt where the blame will lie if his pledge of a patriotic, unsectional, unpartisan Administration goes unfulfilled.

Correspondence.

THE PROVIDENCE POSTMASTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The version you give of the rulings of the chairman of the State Central Committee of Rhode Island upon the organization of the Republican Convention, lately, is not strictly correct.

His decision was, that when two delegations appeared from the same town it was the duty of the chairman of the State Central Committee to recognize as entitled to seats in the temporary organization those delegates who appeared to him to have a *prima-facie* case by virtue of their having been recognized as the rightful delegates by their town committees, which *prima-facie* right was, of course, subject to revision by the Convention as soon as organized.

I must confess that, while the question is not free from difficulty, I see no better plan than the one adopted. *Ex necessitate rei* there must be some authority at the organization of a body with legislative or quasi-legislative powers to determine who is *prima-facie* entitled to a seat. In the House of Representatives, in Washington, I believe the Clerk of the old House is that authority. To adopt the plan suggested by a "leading citizen" in the Convention, that only uncontested delegations should be called

by the chairman, might result in a failure to have any convention, by reason of the existence of contesting delegations from every town, and it would certainly offer a premium to unprincipled persons who desired to control the convention to get up contesting delegations from towns whose lawful delegations were opposed to them, and so dictate which should be admitted.

Upon the vote on the admission of the contesting delegations the ruling of the chairman was sustained in one case by a unanimous vote, and in the other two by a vote of three to one.

DELEGATE.

NEWPORT, R. I., March 15, 1877.

THE ARMY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Few of us, I presume, are entirely uninfluenced by our personal interests in our political views, and this may be my excuse if the following points in civil-service reform shall not seem to you to be a just argument. If the true basis of the new Administration and the new Congress is to be civil-service reform, the task must no longer be to prove the existence of wrongs, but to correct them by positive appliances. Assuming this, then, what should be the qualifications of officials in a good service? In the first place, a feeling of duty must exist so strong that the line of action will be the same in work that is unpleasant, or even dangerous, as in the most attractive of situations. To secure this, men must have a hope of reward before them; a reward which may be immediate or prospective, and which may appeal to all of the better impulses or instincts of our nature. They must also have a fear of punishment, which shall be properly severe and reasonably certain on the conviction of a dereliction of duty. As incidental to these requisites, men, to be efficient officials, must have a due regard paid to their comfort and must receive a fair share of respect from their neighbors, due them for their position and merits.

Now, the past year has been a very trying one on the Army, and the officers and men have been tested on all these points. Regiments and companies have been taken at twenty-four hours' notice, and sent for hundreds of miles to the most disagreeable of political duties, that of police. At expense of health, mind, and purse this has been done. Against the wish of the Army, and with its knowledge of the opprobrium which this movement has stirred against them in the hearts of the people to whom they were sent, has this duty been performed. Regiments and companies have been sent into a thankless and dangerous Indian war, through deserts of burning summer and the most bitter storms of winter. Families have been broken up, left anywhere and everywhere to secure the rapid movements necessary. Nearly three-quarters of the Army have been concerned in these duties. In every case in which an Army officer of rank and position has been called upon to express his opinion it is found that the Indian policy is and has been unfair to the Indians, and the sympathy of all is felt in the very men whom their duty calls them to fight. In every case the hardships of Indian warfare, and the lack of reward or glory therein, are pointed out as the universal feeling in the Army. Lastly, with a bitter hostility against the Army felt by the lower House, and anything but a warm support given by those who are *accused* of being its friends, the Army has gone on with its duties, how? The most virulent of its opponents has not been able to point to a misbehavior of an officer or man in the delicate political situation. In every case it has been acknowledged that the instructions given were carefully followed, and in a non-partisan spirit not exhibited elsewhere in this whole broad land. In its Indian warfare danger and death have been as cheerfully encountered as hardship and privation, and whatever charges have been brought against the Army, never has it been even stated that its members have not been efficient, faithful, and cheerful servants of this Government.

And now what the reward? It is not admitted by the Army's friends that if the Army should be reduced it would be well to employ these faithful and efficient officials in the duties of the Pension Bureau, a position which Army officers are eminently qualified to fill. It is not admitted by the Army's friends that the Indian Bureau can be efficiently and economically administered by the War Department, and that army officers would be as good business men as preachers are. It is not admitted by the friends of civil-service reform that officials as faithful and conscientious as these men have proved had better be retained in the Government service, anywhere, rather than risk new men. It is not admitted by the Administration and the Senate that such rewards as the Army may have in itself should be given to the faithful officers of many years, but the majors and paymasters are appointed from civil life to a place which few men of the Army hope ever to reach. It is not admitted that military justice is jus-

tice when the action of military courts, approved by the President, is counteracted by the special legislation of Congress, approved by the President also, and men properly dismissed are reinstated with their former rank, and even without the President's pardon. It is not admitted that the reasonable hope of promotion which should extend throughout everything in our Government should apply to the Army, and the number of private soldiers who attain a commission as a reward to them and a hope to others, may nearly be counted on the fingers of one hand, while the qualifications for the office from civil life are —.

With the distrust of its friends, the hatred of all others, and the contempt of the Administration, what hope for the Army? And if the Army receives this reward for the past ten years' services—wherein sectional feelings should not enter—how can it be possible that civil-service reform can exist?—Yours truly,

E. H. RUFFNER, First Lieut. Engineers.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, March 15, 1877.

Notes.

SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO. have reprinted the 'Letters and Memories of the Life of Charles Kingsley,' already noticed in the *Nation* (No. 604), in a very presentable volume of 500 pages, which has been abridged to advantage from the London edition (2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1,000).—D. Appleton & Co. issue a timely reprint of Bagehot's 'English Constitution and Other Political Essays,' to which Prof. Youmans furnishes an introduction, pointing out the usefulness of the work for American statesmen and voters.—A new edition of the 'Tribune Almanac' contains an appendix giving the proceedings under the Electoral Commission Act skilfully condensed by Mr. McPherson.—Macmillan & Co. will publish for Mr. Matthew Arnold a new edition of his poetry, together with some of his recent papers in the reviews on questions of the day; also 'The Ottoman Power in Europe; its Nature, Growth and Decline,' by Mr. Edward A. Freeman.—We received too late for notice last week a catalogue of the anonymous library of which the sale began on Monday, 19th inst., at the rooms of Messrs. Bangs & Co. The collection embraced 5,562 numbers, and was fairly rich in Americana as well as in other lines. It is not too late to remark on the title-page of this catalogue, which is a Cruikshankian design by Mr. J. F. Sabin, son of the compiler. This is a small matter, but the example is one we should like to see imitated, and not in catalogues alone. Since we have spoken lately of American etchers, we may notice here that Mr. Edwin Forbes's "Life Studies of the Great Army" have earned for him an honorary membership of the London Etching Club.—Prof. Comstock, of Ithaca, corrects our statement (*Nation*, Feb. 22) that his proposed summer school upon the Great Lakes will be limited to thirty students. A much larger number can be received, and if necessary two steamers will be chartered.—The *Gazzetta d'Italia*, Florence, February 24, ridicules Prof. De Gubernatis's statistics of the circulation of the Italian press, which we summarized from his article in the *International Review*. It says if he can be thus inaccurate in teaching foreigners contemporary Italian history, his professional teaching must be little worth: "Ecco come un professore italiano insegna agli stranieri la nostra storia contemporanea; figuriamoci quello che insegna a' suoi discepoli in fatto di studii orientali."—Petitions against the repeal of the N. Y. State Survey have been presented to the Assembly from the faculties of Cornell University, Columbia College, University of Rochester, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Vassar College, Union University, Hamilton College, and the Chamber of Commerce of this city. We cannot believe the Assembly will be unaffected by this unanimous expression of sentiment by the wealth and highest culture of the State.—There are in the State of Iowa "eighteen so-called universities or colleges, largely denominational in their origin and constituency, with varying standards of scholarship and each and all alike possessing the degree-giving power." The Board of Trustees of Griswold College, with the Bishop of Iowa at their head, have petitioned the Board of Regents of the State University to provide for giving degrees, in addition to those of the college, to such of its graduates as shall submit to the requisite examination; and to make the same provision for the other colleges of the State. This is a scheme which has been often broached in this country, but never carried out, we believe. It ought to raise the standard of the colleges.

—We rub our eyes on receiving Vol. I. of 'Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana'—a volume neither meagre nor inelegant, but

the reverse, with Robert Clarke & Co.'s imprint of manufacture. The Society, we learn, is twelve years old, or but little younger than the Territory itself, which was set apart in 1864. It was incorporated by the Legislative Assembly, and given "the trust of accumulating information illustrative of the early history of the region embraced in what is now the Territory of Montana," and naturally it seemed "a barren and thankless" trust. In fact, apart from the Geological Notes (about geysers and gaudy Yellowstone clays and wonderful fossils and more wonderful deposits of gold and silver) there is but one article in this volume which deals with a period prior to twenty years ago, and that is the Rev. E. D. Neill's paper on the earliest discovery of the Rocky Mountains *via* the Missouri River (1743). For the rest we have lists of steamboat arrivals at Fort Benton (1859-1874), of Territorial officers to 1876, of inhabitants of Montana during the winter of 1862-63, after the mines had become notorious, etc. This last does not include Indians not taxed, but we find in it very "shady" characters like William Graves ("Whiskey Bill"), one of a dozen hung by Vigilantes, "Bummer Dan," "Great American Pie-Eater," etc., etc. We know who was the "first man murdered by road-agents," who perished at the hands of Indians, or by "caves" in the gulches; who was the first white child born within the Territory, who the first married couple, and who furnished the first execution. But the chief interest of these 'Contributions' centres in the narratives of mining exploration and adventure, and especially in the career of the remarkable character James Stuart, of whom a steel portrait is given. His journal of the disastrous Yellowstone Expedition of 1863, of which he was captain, annotated by two of his surviving comrades, exceeds, for pioneer romance and melodramatic possibilities, anything that Poker Flat has produced for us through the genius of Mr. Bret Harte. Stuart's little band was attacked at night by Indians, and several were killed outright. One man, Bostwick, was fatally wounded, and blew his brains out in order not to burden the retreat of his comrades. On the retreat, another, Geery, accidentally shot himself, and then insisted on following Bostwick's example, putting the muzzle of his pistol against his breast:

"He was about to fire the fatal shot when Jim said: 'For God's sake, Geery, don't; but if you will do it, don't shoot yourself there; it will only prolong your agony. If you must do it, place the pistol to your temple.' To which Geery replied: 'Thanks, Jim; and may God bless you all, and take you safely out of this.' As he placed the pistol to his temple the men, with weeping eyes and full hearts, turned to walk away, as they could not bear to see him fire. He pressed the trigger, and the cap only exploded. . . . I then appealed to him, saying, 'Geery, for God's sake desist; this is a warning.' To which he paid no attention nor made any reply, but rather seemed to be soliloquizing, and said, 'I know not what to think of that; it never snapped before.' Cocking his pistol again, he engaged a few seconds in mental prayer, and again pulled the trigger that launched him into eternity."

—Scribner's for April opens with an article on Chincoteague, a small island lying off the northeastern shore of Virginia, about five miles from the mainland, and boasting a peculiar breed of wild ponies and men. According to an Indian tradition a vessel loaded with horses bound to one of the early Virginia settlements was wrecked on the southern point of the island, where the horses escaped and became wild (also, it seems, degenerating into ponies), while the human beings were carried to the mainland by the friendly Indians. Why these horses should have been left on Chincoteague when their services must have been very much needed on the mainland, tradition does not say, and it will probably be safe for the student of the subject to maintain an attitude of purely Pyrrhonic scepticism as to the whole matter. With regard to the human inhabitants there is no mystery and not much interest; the one romantic incident in their history having been their refusal to join the Southern Confederacy. Only a single man among the loyal islanders voted to ratify the secession of Virginia, and he, we are informed by Mr. Howard Pyle, the author of the article, straightway died, thus making the political sentiment of the island unanimous. On top of a Bell and Everett flag-pole a hundred and twenty feet high were raised a bell and a United States flag, which rung and flapped defiance to the mainland through the rebellion. The Chincoteaguers had their share of suffering through the war, being besieged from across the channel by secessionists, losing oyster-boats bound North, and being for a time cut off from supplies, for which the island relied upon New York and Philadelphia. From flour, clothing, tobacco, and, worse than all, whiskey—the simple islanders' staff of life in times of peace—they were cut off by the war, and how they managed to live at all before they succeeded in getting a naval reinforcement from Washington it is difficult from Mr. Pyle's account of their habits in ordinary times to imagine. Mr. William M. Tileston contributes an article on "Some American Sporting Dogs" which will be found interesting to all those who have got beyond the point at which the Cockney had arrived when he remarked to his friend "Sam"

that "if this fool of a dog is agoin' to stand still like this 'ere in hevery field he comes to, we may as well shut up shop, for we sha'n't find no partridges." Mr. Tileston writes very well and with apparent learning, though he now and then allows himself to be betrayed into those excesses of style which are apt to disfigure the literary productions of sportsmen and fishermen. "But whatever the Roundheads did, the Cavaliers who went to Virginia certainly carried their amusements with them, though tradition says not whether John Smith had dogs with him, or if the gentle Sir Walter discovered the nicotian weed through the medium of a sharp-nosed hound,"—is a sentence conceived in a manner which owes its inspiration to dogs, guns, rods, and flies. The dialect is one which may possibly be explained as an attempt made by persons unskilled in the employment of written language to reproduce the style of Walton (otherwise known as "Old Izaak Walton"). It is a lingo in which the modern hotel proprietor masquerades as "mine host"; Shakspeare is generally spoken of as "Will," or "Gentle Will"; "verily" and "forsooth" play a great part in sapping the life of phrases they are intended to strengthen, and many needless things are said which, when closely examined, prove to be utterly devoid of meaning. *Punch* had some years ago a burlesque of what we may call the piscatorial dialect, in which "the Master," "Piscator," "Venator" were introduced as *dramatis personæ*, and given an opportunity of behaving themselves in the way in which people who used habitually the piscatorial language would be likely to act; in other words—like born fools. There is a close resemblance, we do not know why, between the piscatorial style and that indulged in by a certain class of reporters, but the motives which lead the latter to amplify their periods are much less difficult to guess than those which induce, let us say, Mr. W. C. Prime to say in two pages what he might say in one; the subject is still further involved in mystery by the fact that the style does not grow naturally out of the matter, for all the technical phraseology of rod and gun is direct and simple. Mr. Tileston is not to be singled out as a great offender in this respect, for he writes generally plainly and sensibly, but if he wishes to keep on the safe side, we would recommend him, whenever he has composed a sentence that strikes him as particularly fine and destined to immortal life, to commit it without hesitation to the flames. Mr. Eugene Schuyler has an article giving sketches of Russian life as seen from a Moscow window; and several others, which we have not space to refer to, make up one of the best numbers of *Scribner's* that we have seen for some time.

—The life of Turner, which was fast passing to the state of legend, is rectified with some sharp and salutary shocks by Mr. Hamerton, in the article contained in the *Portfolio* for March; it is especially devoted to Turner's efforts at what he called "armonuous verse." Prof. Colvin's continued paper on the teachers and rivals of Dürer is turning out a most improving and thorough piece of study. The illustrations to this number include two photogravures, one by Durand and the other by Goupil & Cie., and it is hard to say which is the better. It is fortunate for subscribers that Mr. Hamerton has returned to this simple and indisputable way of representing whatever picture he may have under discussion. Of the two photo-proofs now furnished, the first is from an early engraver, to illustrate Prof. Colvin's article, and the other repeats one of Frederick Walker's delightful water-colors. The number opens with a fine etching by F. Flameng from Lawrence's bust-portrait of Mrs. Siddons in the National Gallery; and it concludes with a review, less critical than some that have appeared in the weeklies, of the new life of Titian by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

—We have before us copies of two new English periodicals which made their appearance on the 1st of March. One of these is entitled the *Portrait: a Weekly Photograph and Memoir*. It forms the second number of the publication, and is devoted to Mr. William Black, the novelist, of whom it contains a very neatly-executed photograph, a biographical notice from the author's own hand, and a fac-simile of two pages of the MS. of 'Madcap Violet,' Mr. Black's latest production. It seems a little unexpected, from the point of view of a fastidious taste, that Mr. Black should himself be his exhibitor in the publication of which we speak; but there seem to be no logical reasons to oppose to it. His little autobiography, moreover, is brief and graceful. We learn from it that he was born in Glasgow in 1841, and, after having embarked in local journalism, went up in 1864 to London, where he was for a while editor of two weekly journals, and whence he was despatched in 1866 as correspondent of a daily paper at the seat of the Prusso-Austrian War. As to this last episode, however, Mr. Black says that his nearest glimpse of fighting was seeing the corpses on the field of Königgrätz. He enumerates his novels, mentions the difficulty many people have in pronouncing the title of 'A Princess of Thule,'

and affirms that 'Madcap Violet' "undoubtedly contains the best work of which I am capable." He adds that he has been urged by his friends to try something more serious. "Perhaps I shall satisfy them in time. Perhaps I shall end as I began—with a series of suggestions for a better government of the universe. In fact, I have now in my eye a scheme. But we will not anticipate."

—The other periodical of which we speak is of a more important kind—is, in fact, a new recruit to the already formidable array of "first-class monthlies." It is called the *Nineteenth Century*; it is published by Messrs. Henry S. King & Co., and edited by Mr. James Knowles; it has a pale-blue cover, and presents a page almost identical in type with that of the *Contemporary Review*. It appears under high auspices, including among the contributors to its first number Mr. Tennyson (who furnishes a sonnet startlingly like a prospectus), Mr. Gladstone, Sir John Lubbock, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Cardinal Manning, Mr. Grant Duff, and Mr. Matthew Arnold. The number is rather too heavy, we should say, to catch the fancy of a luxurious generation. This is especially the case with Mr. Gladstone's article, which treats of "Authority in Matters of Opinion," propounds the views of the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis on this subject, and concludes (the authority in question being that which bears upon acceptance of the main body of Christian doctrine) that "the law which fixes the equation of the mind of man in the orbit appointed for the consummation of his destiny" deserves more serious study than it usually receives from people who are nevertheless "often found the slaves of Mr. A., or Mr. B., or of their own paper, or of their club." The most readable article is that of Mr. Matthew Arnold, who treats of Viscount Falkland, the Moderate Royalist who fell in the Civil War in 1643, and whose admirers are proposing to raise a monument to him on the field of Newbury, the scene of his death. In these few pages Mr. Arnold illuminates a secondary historical figure with the light of his beautiful style, and strikes his familiar chord as to the "dreariness" of Puritanism and its small value or merit in the formation of the subsequent England. The article will probably be found charming by every one but British Dissenters. The *Nineteenth Century*, we may add, has at least this element of success, that it has already been before the courts. The proprietors of the *Contemporary Review* applied on the 22d of February for an injunction from the Court of Chancery to check the publication of the new magazine. The ground of this application was that Mr. Knowles had formerly been editor of the *Contemporary*, that he had deserted it for a rival periodical, and that, in the advertisements of the latter, while he took to himself glory for his anterior functions, he made statements prejudicial to the *Contemporary*, and held it up, generally, to scorn. This application was completely fruitless, and the *Nineteenth Century* came off with flying colors. It was proved that Mr. Knowles's prospectus had said nothing but what was perfectly true, and that if there was a cruel satire in the statement that the limited company into whose hands the *Contemporary* had passed had formed itself "for the purpose of editing, managing, and publishing the *Contemporary Review*, the *Day of Rest*, *Good Things for the Young*, and *Peepshow*," the fault here was only in the facts themselves. As it was furthermore proved that Mr. Knowles had raised the circulation of the *Contemporary* from two thousand to eight thousand, it was concluded that he was not so much under obligation to Messrs. Strahan & Co. as they were to him. It is probably to the less prosperous days of the *Contemporary* that malicious persons refer an anecdote (the accuracy of which we do not guarantee), which affirms that during a time when certain contributors were not "hearing from" the publishers after the appearance of their articles, Mr. Tennyson was appealed to for a poetical trifle, and sent in something which he had on hand, a sonnet beginning—

"Thus far we have advanced without a check."

This first line, according to the scandalous tale in question, was held to disqualify the sonnet for appearing.

—The veteran Dante scholar, Karl Witte, has recently added another contribution to the subject to which he has devoted a long life. We refer to his edition of the 'New Life' (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1876. Pp. xlv.—120). The editor explains in the introduction the meaning of the title in the manner in which it is usually understood by scholars, *i.e.*, the new life which began when the poet first saw Beatrice. Other questions, as the one in regard to the *donna gentile*, are discussed in a masterly manner, and a complete bibliography of the manuscript and printed editions of the 'Vita Nuova' is given, from which we learn that the present is the thirty-second edition. Then follows the text corrected by the best MSS., and accompanied by a comment which is a model of clearness and conciseness, the critical notes on the text being kept separate from those illustrating the

meaning of the work. This edition, which for convenience and neatness of typography far exceeds all others which we have seen, is dedicated to Charles Eliot Norton of Cambridge, *profundo conoscitore di Dante ed ingegnossissimo interprete della Vita Nuova*.

—While speaking of Dante we may remind our readers of one or two continuations of works we have previously mentioned. Scartazzini has issued the second volume, containing the 'Purgatory,' of his edition of the 'Divine Comedy' mentioned in No. 498 of the *Nation*. He has radically changed his plan and enlarged materially the scope of his work, so that the new volume will be found valuable not merely for beginners but for the most advanced scholars. The 'Bibliographia Dantea' of Petzholdt has also been continued by a 'Supplementum Bibliographiæ Danteæ' (Dresden, 1876), which with the original work brings the subject from 1865 down to the end of 1876. Worth noticing is a recent translation of Dante by Karl Bartsch (Leipzig, 1877). The translator has followed the rhyme of the original, and produced a version at once poetical, easy, and faithful. The introduction and notes make this translation, with its readable qualities, one of the best of the recent German translations of the 'Divine Comedy.'

—Mr. Christern is receiving subscriptions for M. Vivien de Saint-Martin's 'Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle' and his 'Atlas Universel de Géographie Ancienne, Moderne et du Moyen Age.' The Gazetteer will make two quarto volumes in triple columns, similar to Littré's Dictionary, and containing 1,600 pages each. At least five parts (400 pages) are promised yearly. M. de Saint-Martin announces as a separate future undertaking a Gazetteer of Antiquity and the Middle Ages; and these two works will find their complement in the Atlas above named, which will contain 112 maps. The first *livraison*, already issued, contains a map of Turkey in Europe, as well as one of the Arctic regions, and a chart of the heavens. Another important work of which Mr. Christern sends us the prospectus is also being published by Hachette (in parts of 80 pages each, large quarto, double columns), namely, an elaborate 'Dictionnaire de Botanique,' edited by Brillon and a dozen collaborateurs, and profusely illustrated with those capital woodcuts for which the French have a special knack. It bids fair to be voluminous, for the third part and 240th page do not bring us the end of the letter A, so full is the treatment. But the work takes the place of a botanical library, is cheap indeed at five francs the fascicle, and will be most valuable to teachers.

—Of M. Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures' two more parts have appeared, making six in all, and bringing the work down to the letter I and the 1056th page. An examination of these two additional parts and actual use of all six show that we have not overestimated the value and utility of the undertaking; and, at the same time, we see more clearly its defects and its deficiencies. It was, of course, to be expected that French literature would be treated more abundantly and more accurately than any other; but it is something of a surprise to find that German literature is considered almost as fully and as carefully. Both of the articles are by M. Vapereau himself. M. Joubert is responsible for the general article on English literature, and it is by far inferior to the other two. The literature of this country is most inadequately treated; the article is written apparently from the English point of view of a quarter of a century ago; even the minor articles on individual American authors often show a sad want of perspective. Jonathan Edwards, for instance, is crowded into a scant six lines. When we announced the work from the prospectus distributed in Philadelphia, we referred to it as "seemingly to be a sort of universal Allibone," and we confess to great surprise at discovering that M. Vapereau is not acquainted with "Allibone"—at least, there is no mention of his work under "Bibliography" or "English literature," and it is nowhere cited among the many bibliographical references. A liberal use of "Allibone" would have materially improved the articles in English and American literature. At least the earlier pages seem to have been in type since 1873. No mention is made under Dante of Mr. Longfellow's translation; under Dryden, of Mr. Lowell's essay; under Burke, of Mr. John Morley's study. M. Octave Delepierre's interesting monographs are not noted either under "Cento" or "Lunatic Literature" ("Aliénés"). Dodd's important collection is omitted under "Epigram." Mr. Edwards's varied works on libraries receive no notice. William Dunlap's works are all given except the 'Life of George Frederick Cooke' and the 'History of the American Theatre.' We hope that the early completion of this work will leave M. Vapereau the leisure to issue another edition of the 'Dictionnaire des Contemporains.' The latest is now seven years old.

—Those of our readers who are given to grumbling at Germans for

publishing elaborate scientific works without adequate indexes, may pause and consider carefully the fourth (final) volume of the third edition of Fick's 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen.' Pages 1-120 give Fick's essay on 'Wurzeldeterminative,' reprinted from the second edition; but pages 123-503 bring the promised indices to the preceding three volumes of this third edition. In point of fulness and method it would be difficult to demand better work than this, performed by Dr. Führer for the author. There are two alphabetical indices for Sanskrit, two for Iranian, three for Greek, three for Latin, three for "Deutsch" in general, one each for Norse, Gothic, Old Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, English, Althochdeutsch, Mittelhochdeutsch, and Neuhochochdeutsch, four for Lithuanian, four for Slavic, four for Lettish, one for Prussian, and two for Celtic. The value of the 'Wörterbuch' itself, we are safe in saying, will be quadrupled by these indices. Now, for the first time in the history of Indo-Germanic philology, the student will have in his possession a practical and reasonably complete apparatus for readily tracing cognate words. Concerning the perfect accuracy of the work, time alone can decide. We can assert, however, after having made daily use for a month of the "Deutsch," "Gotisch," and "Althochdeutsch" parts, that we have found them in every instance correct and full.

—M. Kertbeny, the author of thirty-five books and pamphlets in German and French, and we know not how many in Hungarian, has collected 60,000 titles for his projected Hungarian bibliography, and proposes to publish them with a German translation and German notes. The work will be divided into twelve parts, each complete in itself: (1) Translations of Hungarian works, 419 Nos.; (2) Works in other languages about Hungary, 3,000 Nos.; (3) Translations into Hungarian, 2,000 Nos.; (4) Hungarian poetry, 1,500 Nos.; (5) Drama, 500 Nos.; (6) Fiction, 1,200 Nos.; and so on. The first number has been issued, and is a list of 419 versions from the Hungarian into seventeen different languages. It is apparently carefully prepared, though the proof-reading, at least in the French part, leaves something to be desired; we notice thirty mistakes in nineteen titles. At the end are three very valuable lists; the first, giving in alphabetical order short biographical sketches of the Hungarian authors mentioned; the second, similar sketches of the translators and editors; and the third, containing simply the names of the publishers.

—The reform in the National Museum at Rio, to which we alluded last summer, does not appear to have been thorough, if the efforts of some of its professors published in the *Archivos* (2d and 3d trimester) may be taken as examples of scientific research. Not long since the Director of the Museum learnedly deciphered a Phœnician inscription forwarded to the Historical Society of Brazil as having been traced "by a boy having some knowledge of drawing" from the face of a stone found in the River Paraíba; and now Dr. Pizarro, Director of the Section of Zoölogy and Comparative Anatomy in the Museum, and lecturer on Natural History in the Medical School of Rio, is betrayed into publishing five octavo pages describing, with portentous gravity, a common *tadpole*, which, not having parted with its tail, had fairly-developed legs, and, calling the attention of Darwin, Haeckel, and the whole field of modern evolutionists to his illustrations of the "curious little animal," seriously discusses the question whether it is not a missing link, intermediate between the fish and batrachians. The tendency of the Brazilian scientific mind to the broadest and most liberal generalization from a paucity of facts is also exemplified in Drs. Lacerda and Peixoto's article (four full page illustrations) entitled the "Anthropological Study of the Indigenous Races of Brazil," in which, from the mere description, careful enough in itself, of ten skulls (apparently the whole collection of the Museum) the learned doctors arrive at the following conclusions: (1) The primitive race of Brazil was dolicocephalic; (2) The existing races represent a mixture of two different types; (3) Of the races examined by us, that which approximates most closely to the primitive type is that of the Botocondos; (4) There existed in remote times in Brazil a race characterized by an extreme depression of the forehead; (5) The practice of artificially deforming the forehead was foreign to the greater part of the indigenous races of Brazil. Imbued as these doctors seem to be with an uncontrollable ambition for original research, it will not be amiss to suggest that the closest study of natural history and ethnology, perfect training, in fact, together with the fullest information on the scientific progress of the day, will enable them not only to detect the impostures of wags and avoid the laughably crude generalizations indicated above, but to shine with a steady light as modest investigators in science. We must, in fairness, add that, besides these articles, the *Archivos* contains a creditable paper on the physiological action of *Urari*, by Dr. Lacerda, and an article on certain crescent-shaped Indian axes (illus-

trated) by Prof. C. F. Hartt, who, we learn, has severed his connection with the Museum.

—The governor of the Ebaragi Province, in Japan, lately displayed great ingenuity of invention in a method he adopted for putting down a disturbance. Several hundred farmers, disaffected with the regulations in force for the collection of the land-tax, had risen against the authorities, and had carried matters so far as to kill a tax-collector and to beat his police guard. They were headed by a *shizoku*, or noble, named Ono, and under him had attained a degree of organization greater than could be arrived at by an unaided concourse of mere peasants; so his cutting off was deemed to be of the first expediency, and was resolved upon. It was brought about by a most singular stratagem. Half a dozen convicts were selected on account of their bodily strength from among the inmates of the provincial prison, and, having received their instructions and promises of freedom and rewards, were turned loose. In their prison garb they made their way to the camp of the rebels, where they gave out that they had escaped from bondage, and volunteered to serve with the rioters. They were received with cordiality and armed. The first use they made of their weapons was to cut the leader, Ono, to shreds; and the insurgents, deprived of his leadership, were disheartened and dispersed. Europeans might entertain doubts as to the morality of this method of suppressing an insurrection; but this is not what seems to have troubled the Central Government. It has ordered Governor Nakayama to resign "for his bad management of affairs during the insurrection"; and it appears that his "bad management" consisted in his employing "to kill the ringleader of the rioters, without reporting the matter to the Central Government, six prisoners who had themselves merited decapitation or hard labor for life." This censure is almost as ingenious as the governor's scheme; but it is hardly worth while speculating whether the governor would have improved his position by "reporting the matter," or whether he should have reported the scheme after or before he put it in execution, or, if before, whether it would have been approved by the "Central Government," or, if approved, whether the approval might not have arrived too late to be useful.

WHITTAKER'S LIFE OF CUSTER.*

IT is related by Plutarch that some one once saw Phocion walking with an air of deep abstraction, and ventured to address him and to ask him what he was thinking about, and that Phocion replied that he was considering how he could shorten what he had to say to the Athenians. It would have been well for Captain Whittaker if he had heard this story, and laid it to heart before he began to compose the life of Custer. He has written a very good book, but it is repellantly large and heavy. A solid octavo of 650 pages is a serious matter to take in hand in these busy days, and it is certainly doubtful whether the American public takes sufficient interest in Custer to dispose of it to welcome such a ponderous memoir. Custer gained a brilliant reputation in our war, he was a successful Indian fighter in the succeeding years, and his tragical end shocked and interested the whole community; but the highest rank he ever reached was that of commander of a division of cavalry; he never exercised a large, independent command, and his fame as a cavalry leader is obscured by that of Sheridan, and shared by that of several other able leaders. Yet, all deductions made, he was certainly a very brilliant and successful soldier, and he seems to have been a man of merit in all ways, and he deserved a memoir.

He was born in Rumley, Ohio, in December, 1839. His father was first a smith, and then a farmer. At the close of 1856, or early in 1857, the son obtained, through his own exertions, a nomination to West Point. He passed the next four years there, and graduated thirty-fourth in a class of thirty-four in 1861; but he says that the resignation and departure of some Southern cadets took away from the academy a few who might have contested with him the debatable honor of being at the foot of the class. The very end of his stay at West Point was attended with an incident which illustrated his love of a fair fight, but was for the moment unfortunate for him. As officer of the guard, he not only failed to stop, but actively encouraged, a fight between two cadets. He was court-martialled for this offence, but the need of officers at that time was great and his friends were active, and before the decision of the court was announced, he was released from arrest and ordered to report for duty to the Adjutant General of the Army at Washington. Upon his arrival there he was assigned to Co. G. of the Second Cavalry, and ordered by General Scott to proceed at once to his company, then with General Mc-

Dowell, and was entrusted with some despatches for that officer, which he delivered between two and three o'clock on the morning of the day of Bull Run. He served with his company during the battle, and he says that his company and another of cavalry, and a section of regular artillery, moved off the battle-field in good order, and were the last organized bodies of Union troops to retire across Bull Run.

Soon after the battle of Bull Run, Custer accepted the offer of a position on the staff of General Kearney, and he served first in that capacity and afterwards with his company till October, when he was ordered home on sick-leave, and was absent about four months. This period was an important one to him, for circumstances led him to promise his sister never again to drink liquor, and this promise, his biographer tells us, he kept in letter and spirit to the last. Not long after his return to his company the Army of the Potomac was transferred to the Peninsula, and Custer was ordered to report as assistant to the chief-engineer on the staff of General "Baldy" Smith. He rendered distinguished service in leading the way on horseback when Hancock made his successful assault at Williamsburg, and soon after had the good fortune to attract the notice of McClellan, who was so much pleased with a reconnaissance he made that he placed him on his own staff, and obtained for him from the President the rank of captain. This was early in June, 1862. At about the same time he conducted a dashing attack upon the enemy's pickets across the Chickahominy, and took arms, prisoners, and one color. This, the author says, was the first ever taken by the Army of the Potomac, and was captured by Custer himself.

From this time Custer was engaged in doing his duty as a staff officer with McClellan till that general was superseded by Burnside, and he then went home for a while, and was afterwards busily occupied in aiding McClellan in the preparation of his report. At about the end of April, 1863, he was ordered to rejoin his company, which he did with his army rank of first lieutenant. In June, 1863, Pleasonton was placed in command of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, and Custer accepted a position upon his staff, with the rank of captain. The battle of Aldie, the first considerable success of our cavalry, took place on the 16th of June, and for his part in determining the favorable issue of that day, and for his past services, General Pleasonton sent in his name for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers. He was assigned to the command of the Michigan Brigade. He joined Kilpatrick's division, the Third, of the cavalry corps, on the 29th of June, 1863, at Hanover, with his brigade, and distinguished himself highly, both as an officer and as a soldier, in the Gettysburg campaign. At Falling Waters he captured a whole Confederate brigade, with some guns and colors. He was active and successful in all the operations of the following summer and autumn, except during a short interval of absence from the field, caused by a wound received in the advance on Culpepper. In November, 1863, a long and difficult courtship terminated in his engagement to the lady whom he afterwards married, in February, 1864. When he returned to the camp, a few days later, he carried with him his young bride.

In the spring of 1864, Custer was transferred, with his "Michiganders," to the first cavalry division, now under Torbert; Buford, its former commander, having died. Opportunities for distinguishing himself were rare at first, in Grant's movements from the Rapidan to the James, but he availed himself of such as he found or could make, especially in Sheridan's advance on Richmond. He went with his brigade to the Shenandoah Valley, and was brilliantly successful in the battle of Winchester. On the 26th of September, 1864, Custer was assigned to the command of the Second Division West Virginia Cavalry. Before he could join it, however, he was transferred to the command of the Third cavalry division, Army of the Potomac, the same division in which he had originally served. He was obliged to fight in retreat most of the time for some days, but on the 9th of October, under orders from Sheridan, he at last had a chance to attack, and to fight his first fight as a division commander. It was the day of "Woodstock Races," the day when, as Sheridan says, "the enemy was defeated with the loss of all his artillery but one piece, and everything else which was carried on wheels. The rout was complete, and was followed up to Mt. Jackson, a distance of some twenty-six miles." Custer had his full share in gaining this brilliant victory; and rendered important aid in the battle of Cedar Creek. The captures of his command during the campaign in the Valley were 29 guns, 30 caissons, 44 wagons, 23 ambulances, etc., 602 horses and mules, and six battle-flags. In the following winter he received for his brilliant services in this campaign the brevet of major-general.

The winter of 1864-5 gave Custer little to do until he joined the great raiding column which Sheridan led up the Valley at the end of February. A few days after, Custer, with his single division, attacked Early and Ros-

* A Complete Life of General George A. Custer, Major-General of Volunteers, Brevet Major-General U. S. Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel Seventh U. S. Cavalry. By Frederick Whittaker. Brevet Captain Sixth New York Veteran Cavalry. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1876.

ser at Waynesboro', and his promptness, energy, and skill were rewarded by the capture of eleven guns, complete with caissons, teams, etc., two hundred wagons, sixteen hundred prisoners, and seventeen battle-flags, with trifling loss to himself. On the 26th of March the column joined Grant at Petersburg, its long and useful journey accomplished. He had plenty of hard work to do before Five Forks was reached, and led his division, riding straight at the breastworks, in the final rush by which those works were carried. In the pursuit which followed he had the advance. At Sailor's Creek and elsewhere he was indefatigable, daring, and successful, and it was he who received Lee's first flag—a towel on a pole—and then and there his active career in the war terminated. In his farewell order to his division, dated April 9, 1865, he tells them that during the past six months, although in most instances confronted by superior numbers, they have captured from the enemy, in open battle, one hundred and eleven pieces of field artillery, sixty-four battle-flags, and upwards of ten thousand prisoners of war, including seven general officers, while they have never lost a gun, never lost a color, and have never been defeated.

During the war Custer had been brevetted major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in the army, and towards its close he was commissioned major-general of volunteers, to date from April 15, 1865, and brevetted brigadier-general and major-general in the army, to date from March 13, 1865. In the reorganization of the army, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry. He was mustered out of service as a major-general of volunteers in March, 1866.

Custer lived for eleven years after the war ended. He was stationed in Texas for a while, but soon transferred to the Indian country, where the greater part of the rest of his active life was passed. He seems to have displayed in this new field the same intelligence, industry, and talent which had characterized him in the war, and to have rapidly made himself a most accomplished and successful Indian-fighter. A third of the book, more or less, is given to an account of his deeds and experiences during these years, but they do not possess sufficient interest to make it seem worth the while to follow his career step by step. The story of his last campaign and of his death is told with fulness and clearness. The country can hardly have forgotten the leading facts, but it takes little space to reproduce them.

General Terry ordered Custer to proceed up the Rosebud with his regiment in pursuit of Indians whose trail had been discovered. The orders indicated (to employ the very language used) the general's own views, but expressly stated that he placed too much confidence in Custer's zeal, energy, and ability to wish to impose upon him precise orders which might hamper his action when nearly in contact with the enemy. The twelve companies of the regiment left camp on the afternoon of June 22, 1876, and the command kept together on the 23d and 24th, and until about half-past ten in the forenoon of the 25th. Then Custer gave three companies to Reno and three to Benteen, and retained five under his immediate command, besides one company, McDougall's, in rear of the pack-train. It is to be remarked that from this time on there is no order of Custer's known to be in existence. The account of what happened just before the battle and after it, as well as of the fight itself, is made up from the statements of Major Reno, Captain Benteen, Trumpeter Martin, the last living white man who saw Custer alive, Curly, an Upsaroka scout, and Kill Eagle, a chief who was in Sitting Bull's camp. We propose to give a summary of the author's account of the battle, with the remark that it seems to us plausible, and consistent with itself and with all known authorities.

At about eight o'clock on the morning of the 25th the command was in the valley of one of the branches of the Little Big Horn. This stream is an eastern affluent of the Big Horn, and after their junction the river runs nearly northward to the Yellowstone, in Montana Territory. When the division of the command before mentioned took place, Major Reno assumed command of the companies assigned to him, and, without any definite orders, moved forward with the rest of the column, and well to its left. Benteen moved further to the left, and told Reno, as he passed, that he had orders to move well to the left and sweep everything before him. The command moved down the creek towards the Little Big Horn Valley—Custer with five companies on the right bank, Reno and his three companies on the left bank, Benteen further to the left and out of sight. At about half-past twelve, Reno was informed by Custer's adjutant that the village was only two miles ahead and running away, and was ordered to move forward at as rapid a gait as he thought prudent, and to charge afterwards, "and the whole outfit would support him." He at once took a fast trot, and moved down about two miles, when he came to a ford of the Little Big Horn. This he crossed, and presently engaged the Indians, but not closely, and drove them with great ease for about two miles and a half. Then he seems to have lost heart, and he sought shelter in some timber, and, after some

very undecided movements, he retreated to the river, suffering considerable loss as he did so, recrossed it at a lower ford than that by which he first crossed it, and was presently joined by Benteen and McDougall. The seven companies, thus united, made a feeble effort to follow Custer down the right bank, and then the whole command retreated to a line of bluffs, and there sustained an attack which lasted from six to nine p.m., with a loss of eighteen men killed and forty-six wounded. Reno had previously lost three officers and twenty-nine men killed and seven wounded, principally in his retreat from the timber across the river to the bluffs, from the fire of their pursuers.

Benteen, from the time he left Custer till he joined Reno, seems to have been occupied as follows: He found no Indians on the left bank of the stream, and recrossed it, and rejoined the main trail. At some time not far from noon he met a sergeant bringing orders to McDougall to hurry up the pack-train, and a mile further he was met by a trumpeter bringing a written order from Custer's adjutant to this effect: "Benteen, come on; big village; be quick; bring packs." A mile and a half further on he first came in sight of the valley and Little Big Horn, and there saw a few dismounted men fighting a large body of Indians, and a mounted party retiring across the river. He joined this party, found that it was Reno's, and that Custer was not in that part of the field. He says that no one in Reno's command was able to inform him of the whereabouts of Custer. He remained with Reno from this time.

Custer moved rapidly down the right bank of the Little Big Horn till he reached a ford, about opposite the middle of the long Indian village, and there he made an unsuccessful effort to cross. Reno had retired from the field by this time, and the whole great force of Indians was free to concentrate on Custer. They did so, and the fight was not finished till near sunset. Custer left some dead men and horses at the ford. From this point he was driven back to make successive stands on the higher ground. Calhoun's company seems to have been thrown across the line of retreat to check the Indians. At a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the river the whole of it lay dead, in an irregular line, with its officers, Calhoun and Crittenden, in place in the rear. About a mile further to the rear Keogh's company was found dead in position. A little further to the rear Custer seems to have made his last stand. Here were found the bodies of himself and of several officers, and of thirty-two men of Yates's company. The bodies of the officers and men of the companies of Captain Custer and Captain Smith were found, partly along a neighboring ravine, and partly at a point near the river, where a line drawn through the ravine terminates.

This is a sad story—five companies of cavalry of the United States Army, with Custer in command, put to death to a man by savages. Who was to blame? We are not able to study the question thoroughly, as we have not the means of hearing the *altera pars*, and therefore we limit ourselves to stating the substance of what our author says, without undertaking to pronounce judgment. Captain Whittaker says that Custer's rapid promotion had caused much jealousy, and that his severe discipline made him enemies; that the President had become incensed with him because of his testimony in the Belknap investigation; that his hostility caused his displacement from the command of the expedition from Fort Lincoln; that his loss of favor in high quarters, shown by this displacement, made Reno and Benteen slow to obey or willing to disobey his orders; that his plan of action on the 25th of June was consistent with his uniform system of attacking always on more than one side, and on all sides if possible; that the plan was appropriate to the circumstances, and would have succeeded but for the incapacity or disobedience of his chief subordinates; and, to sum up, that if Reno and Benteen had obeyed his orders, and attacked the southern end of the village heartily with their commands, he with his five or six companies would have taken the Indians in flank and rear just when the front attack was claiming all their attention, and would have made the battle of the Little Big Horn Custer's greatest Indian victory. So Captain Whittaker tells the story, with earnestness and conviction, and we leave it as he tells it, with but two additional remarks—that he makes a strong *prima-facie* case, but that he is such an admirer and panegyrist of Custer that his advocacy is to be regarded with caution.

For the pathos of the event itself no words can be too strong. Seldom in history can we find instances of such complete destruction of men, many of whom might no doubt have run away. The personal control of the leaders must have been magnificent to enable them to hold to their colors to the death every man of five companies of regular soldiers, not volunteers, not men interested in a cause, but men who went into the army for a living, perhaps a refuge. Nor is our sympathy with Custer and his men less

sened by the fact that we incline altogether to agree with our author in his view of the Sioux war.

"Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die,
Into the valley of death
Rode the six hundred."

Of the manner of the book we have little to say. It is well written, without possessing any positive charm of style. Much of it reads like 'Charles O'Malley.' The author quotes Custer freely, and does not always draw with sufficient clearness the line between what Custer says and what he says himself. He writes like a man who has not only seen service but has seen it with his eyes open, and retaining the full possession of all his faculties, including common sense. He is extremely partial to Custer, and his partiality is the great drawback to the satisfaction with which we read. He has done his work in many respects extremely well, and has probably done much to establish the fame of his *beau sabreur*. If the book ever passes to a second edition he will do well to reduce its bulk and to consider whether it is well to speak of Cæsar and Hannibal as deciding instantly and correctly *under fire*.

RECENT NOVELS.*

MR. HAMERTON is a writer of whom it certainly cannot be said that he wraps his talent in a napkin and puts it to no use. So far from the truth is this statement, indeed, that it would be hard to find a contemporary who gives the reader a more distinct impression of the faithful employment of what faculties he is endowed with. He writes acutely about art, and when he chooses a subject like that of 'Round my House,' he says what he has to say with clearness and some vivacity. Apparently, he has trained himself to put down on paper, with a certain amount of discrimination, whatever he feels, thinks, or sees. He is not a brilliant man, but there is something attractive in this faithfulness and in the lucidity of his writing which has won him many readers. He is a good guide, for he does not keep very far ahead of those he is leading, and he never makes the mistake of supposing that his readers know anything of the subject he has chosen to discuss. The writer who does this is pretty sure to be popular. He has tried his hand at a good many subjects, and, naturally enough, he has given the novel its turn. 'Wenderholme' is written with a good deal of care, and the aim of the book is to show the contrast between two classes of society in Lancashire. How accurate the drawing may be, it is out of our power to judge; but, although the book contains full descriptions of many local peculiarities, it has the fault of not being very interesting. It is not a really poor novel; Mr. Hamerton is too skilful with the pen to write one full of glaring faults, but there is nowhere anything that rises above the literalness of the account of the drunkard's evil behavior, the miser's meanness, and the gentleman's politeness. Everything is given which was promised in the preface, but nothing else; so that 'Wenderholme' reads much more like the work of a rather clever man who has made up his mind to write a novel than it does like that of a man who has something on his mind which he is burning to tell the world, or who sees distinctly some picture or series of pictures he is anxious to draw. In short, no good novel, however full of observation, has been written without imagination, and imagination is far from being Mr. Hamerton's strong point.

Mr. E. E. Hale, too, has made his name well known in various ways before undertaking to write a long novel. Many of his short tales are much admired, and probably none more than his 'Man without a Country,' which had the good fortune to appear at a time when a strong feeling of patriotism created a public which otherwise might not have existed. In his present novel we have another Philip Nolan, the real one, and, moreover, a story which carries along, in addition to the fates of lovers, a good deal of neglected American history. It may be questioned whether the book is not rather heavily handicapped by the somewhat unwieldy erudition. The perspective becomes confused, the background keeps running into the front, and the figures who should be life-like disappear into the background and seem no more than vague objects in the distant landscape. Riding two horses at the same time is always a difficult feat, and it is not performed here with a success that equals the ingenuity of much of the story.

In 'Noblesse Oblige,' which is the title given the story named in England 'L'Atelier du Lys,' this same problem is managed very differently.

* 'Wenderholme: A Story of Lancashire and Yorkshire. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton, author of 'The Intellectual Life,' etc.' Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876.

'Philip Nolan's Friends: A Story of the Change of Western Empire. By Edward E. Hale, author of 'A Man without a Country,' 'Ups and Downs,' etc.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

'Noblesse Oblige. By the author of 'Mile Mori.' Leisure Hour Series.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.

The scene is laid in the time of the Revolution, which has inspired so many novelists, but the history never impedes the action, and although there is plenty of what is called "local color," it always seems to have its place and not to be laid on with any other object than to further the telling of the tale. The general air of the time, the alarm in everybody's heart, the way in which the ordinary business of life went on in spite of the manifold interruptions, the certainty with which the different persons adapted themselves to new ways of living and dying, in a word, all the different impressions one gets from the memoirs of the time, are admirably recounted here without overburdening the story with details. The plot is an ingenious one, and the reader's attention never flags. The characters are drawn with great skill. A young girl, Edmée, is the heroine, and all sorts of dangers threaten her and her fortunes, and the reader knows no peace of mind, although his anxiety is never really too great, until the babbling tongue of her aunt and the clever machinations of the villain can at last do her no harm.

'Is That All?' is one of the well-advertised No-Name Series, and it will probably owe its success much more to the merits of its predecessors than to its own, for the story is as slight as possible, although in a very innocent and gentle way it approaches the amusing. It reads like the work of an inexperienced hand, of some one who is not overburdened with the results of long observation and study, and who yet in time may be able to fill out substantially the wavering outlines of figures introduced as human beings. The characters are as unsubstantial as paper dolls, they are only visible when one looks directly at them; when they are not just before the reader, there is only a faint line to denote their presence, whereas in 'Noblesse Oblige,' to recur once more to that excellent performance, one feels conscious of the people he reads about almost as if he were in the same room with them. A despairing sense of this feebleness of touch would seem to have inspired the author with the appropriate title of the story, which describes the social complications of a winter in an old-fashioned New England village. The plot, although as transparent as an enigma in a jest-book, manages to be the means of introducing some mild social satire. There is one little matter that needs attention, however; it is not of much importance, but even in so cultivated a place as the village in question were the people not too much ahead of the rest of the world in reading Mr. Wm. Morris's 'Earthly Paradise' in December, 1866? And was not that a singular date to be admiring Mr. Rossetti's poems?

Whenever Mrs. Edwards has no new novel ready at the time they consider suitable, her American publishers have a way of ransacking that shelf in their cupboard where lie her old, forgotten stories written before she had become well known, and, having found one to their taste, they brush the dust off it and send it to be reprinted. Sometimes this process of exhuming what the world had seen fit to neglect is well advised. Mr. Jules Verne's 'Six Weeks in a Balloon,' though at first it fell dead from the press, sprang into some reputation after his name became known, but there is nothing in this story—'A Point of Honor'—to make the reader wonder why he never heard of it before, or to lead him to blame the novel-readers of a dozen or twenty years ago for letting most of the copies go back to the paper-mill. The world would not be much poorer if all had gone, for the story is but a feeble one: Jane Grand and Gifford Mohun fall in love when they are very young, and are engaged to be married. Jane's origin is uncertain, and when the facts become known it is found to be undoubtedly nothing to be proud of. Gifford breaks off the engagement. Jane suffers from most protracted pining, until Gifford, who has become rather more disreputable than ever, is married by a clever adventuress, and then Jane takes up with the worthy vicar. The character of the hero and his wife is aggressively vulgar, he with his athletic coarseness and she with her reminiscences of life at various gambling-places, and this vulgarity, which so stains even Mrs. Edwards's best work, is of a sort that cannot, in a very inferior novel, wisely be made prominent.

There is a singular resemblance between two American novels lately published, 'The Jericho Road,' namely, and 'The Barton Experiment,' in that the authors of both have simultaneously given to the world in the form of a story the important truth that in trying to reform sinners something more is necessary than entreaty and advice, and that practical help is of great service. 'The Jericho Road' describes with a good deal of rough fun the adventures of a poor wretch who hangs loose on the outer edge of the respectability of a Western town, and who is worked to death by the hypocritical squire of the place. This suffering hero, Lem Pan-

'Is That All? No-Name Series.' Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

'A Point of Honor. By Mrs. Annie Edwards, author of 'Archie Lovell,' 'Ought we to Visit Her?' etc.' New York: Sheldon & Co.

'The Barton Experiment. By the author of 'Helen's Babies.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1877.

'The Jericho Road: A Story of Western Life.' Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1877.

kett, has every opportunity to learn how hard it is for a man without friends, without health, and without money to make any way in the world, and his manifold sufferings and adventures are described with a good deal of coarse vigor. The author lacks a certain amount of that polish which is considered desirable in the drawing-room, and there would seem to be no urgent need of his writing "to lay awake all night," nor for enriching the English language with the word "stoop-shouldered." Round-shouldered will do very well for the next one or two hundred years. These phrases the author is responsible for; they are not part of the dialect which almost all the characters talk with much liveliness. The scene of 'The Barton Experiment' is also laid in the West, and there is recounted with much enthusiasm the way in which apparently hopeless drunkards, moderate drinkers, and those who at intervals go "out on sprees" may be reclaimed to the paths, not of temperance, but of total abstinence. To accomplish this task, the liquor-seller of the town sells his valuable stock of wines and spirits; the richest man in the place lets himself be persuaded to lend money to the wretchedly poor; and the most vicious sinners, having reformed, make use of their intimacy with wicked companions to lead them to better courses. The best thing in the book is the un pitying way in which the author pursues hypocrisy, and especially that form of hypocrisy so common in this country, which tries to hide all sorts of meanness under much psalm-singing and frequent quoting from the Bible.

No one would ever pretend that the life of a sharper was good reading for the young, and no one would place in the hands of innocent people an account of a vicious man's attempt to seduce a silly girl, or the newspaper report of a trial in which the question to be decided was that of a woman's virtue—a question only to be satisfactorily answered by a great deal of conflicting testimony about the degraded society the woman unconsciously kept, her lover's drugging her, etc., etc. Yet, in spite of the natural abhorrence of such things when they are told as facts, a novel like Mr. Hatton's 'Clytie,' made up of these incidents, will probably be read by a great many people who will have no idea of the unsavory mess awaiting them. A more distasteful novel it would be hard to find. Apparently it is the fruit of several years' faithful study of the police reports. The only amusing thing in it is the introduction of a very life-like imitation of Joaquin Miller in the person of a young Englishman who, when disappointed in love, comes to this country, where he learns to handle a revolver freely and to talk in this way: "There is no loneliness with Nature, and you and she have seen the vaulted life of cities. Yonder among the oaks and the pines, looking down upon the Sacramento Valley, God, not the Devil, is master of the fashions. No club gossip, no drawing-room cynic, no envious woman breathes the pure air of the mountain and the plain. Jealousy shall not touch you, pride of birth shall not interfere with your happiness. Lonely, when you have your memories! Lonely with books; lonely with mighty rivers, with mountains when summer reigns at the foot," etc., etc. Those who are familiar with our last great bard can imagine the rest.

'Storm-Driven' is also enriched with descriptions of America, but they are conceived in a very different spirit, and treat rather of the drawing-room cynic and the envious woman. The scene opens in a Western town with the account of a ball-room, where we see the heroine very rich. In all the rest of the book we have her very poor, and exposed to all manner of ill-treatment from her purse-proud friends. Her own conduct is by no means beyond cavil; and as for the rest of the characters, with the exception of a noble young artist, John Bruce, it would be hard to say which is the worst. The part of the book about America is bad enough, but nothing can exceed the description of our fellow-countrymen in Paris. The whole story seems inspired by the faithful study of Mr. Frank Benedict in his rowdyish novels, or of the French novels which instigate him to do his worst.

Mr. Robert Buchanan's 'Shadow of the Sword' is cut after a very different pattern, and it is a real pleasure after toiling through dull society novels, to come across a book with imagination in it, and which treats of something besides loss of money, inability to perform one's social duties, and such prosaic incidents. The scene is laid in Brittany, at the time when Napoleon was making his final struggle with the rest of Europe and summoning every man to the army. The hero of the book, Rohan Gwenfern, is a handsome, brave young fellow with a detestation of war and bloodshed, who absolutely refuses to join the army after being drawn in the conscription, and the steps he takes to avoid going to the war make up the

action of the story. His course is the harder because the girl to whom he is engaged has a great admiration for Napoleon, and he has to endure the disgrace of being considered a coward by all his old friends. In spite of some traces of what a cynic might call "tall" writing, his indignation and his struggle against society are well described. Many of the other characters are ably drawn, and especially Ewen Derval, an old veteran, warmly devoted to the Emperor. The rhymed proem of the book is not a promising introduction; the story itself is much fuller of poetry. For once we have a book in which what is best in Victor Hugo is copied, though without servility; generally his noisy manner of speech is the thing imitated, but there is very little exaggeration of any sort.

Mr. Hawley Smart has bound up in one volume two short stories (romances he calls them), under the title of 'Courtship in 1720 and 1860.' The first one repeats at some length an anecdote told in Carlyle's 'Frederick the Great' about the tall carpenter who was kidnapped for Frederick's army by the ingenious device of the crimp who bade him make a chest large enough to hold himself, and then locked in it the beguiled mechanic, who had stepped in to prove it was of the right size. His betrothed intercedes successfully with the king for his release. Such was courtship in the first quarter of the last century. In 1860 courtship was different. The youthful Charlie Williamson thinks no small beer of himself; he is proud of his skill at billiards, but Sir Philip Lonsdale, a man between forty and fifty, can give him forty points in a hundred. He fancies he can do well in the hunting field, but again the baronet puts him to shame, and when they try pheasant-shooting Charlie brings down but twelve when Sir Philip counts twenty-seven that have fallen before his gun. Is it necessary to say that Sir Philip is equally successful at love-making, and snatches up the young girl Charlie is in love with from under his nose? It is sad to see how inartistic is the construction of this double-barrelled novel, when it would have been so easy for Mr. Smart to have made it homogeneous by putting Sir Philip's birth back to 1720. A successful lover one hundred and forty years old would have been something new in fiction, and the book would thus have been made infinitely more romantic.

'Frau Domina' is a slight but rather pleasing little German story, which is well translated. Unlike many of the novels from that country, the interest is very nearly proportionate to the excitement of the plot, so that the reader is not left cold amid all sorts of fantastic and improbable incidents. But it seems to owe its origin chiefly to the effect on its author's mind of other novels.

'The Widow of Windsor' is a novel about silly women and impertinent men which readers will do well to neglect. It is more galling and irritating than any story that has been published for a long time.

Russian Folk-Tales. By W. R. S. Ralston. (New York: Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)—The common source of European folk-lore, whether we regard it as of primitive Aryan origin or introduced later from India, produces a similarity that is often tiresome. Not only are the characters and plots of most popular tales very similar, but there is generally an almost total lack of local coloring. This is the case with the tales of the South of Europe, always excepting the Neapolitan 'Pentamerone,' which undoubtedly owes much of its attractiveness to the quaint conceits of the collector's style. The further north we go the better, as a rule, grow the popular tales, until we reach the incomparable collection of Asbjørnsen and Moe, translated by Dr. Dasent under the titles 'Popular Tales from the Norse' and 'Tales from the Fjeld.' Next to these we do not hesitate to place Mr. Ralston's 'Russian Folk-Tales.' The first edition was printed in 1873 and has become so scarce that we are glad to see an American reprint, made, we trust, by arrangement with the translator, and we hope that the lovers of popular tales will not overlook this valuable contribution to the subject. These stories are characterized by an individuality and local coloring wanting in most collections, and many of them possess great dramatic intensity. In fact, we hardly know in the whole range of popular tales more striking stories than those of "Vasilissa the Fair," who goes to the house of the Baba Yaga (the Russian Hag) to light her candle, and "Koschei the Deathless," the Punchkin of the 'Old Decan Days.' This dramatic element the author deems characteristic of the Russian people, who have, he says, a genuine talent

'Clytie': A Novel of Modern Life. By Joseph Hatton, author of 'The Tallants of Barton,' etc., etc. New York: Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.
'Storm-Driven.' By Mary Healy, author of 'Lakeville,' 'A Summer's Romance,' etc. The Star Series. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.
'The Shadow of the Sword': A Romance. By Robert Buchanan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. Also, Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.

'Courtship in Seventeen Hundred and Twenty and in Eighteen Hundred and Sixty. Romances of Two Centuries. By Hawley Smart, author of 'Breezie Langton,' 'Two Kisses,' etc. The Star Series. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.
'The Frau Domina. From the German of Claire von Glümer. Authorized translation.' Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1877.
'A Widow of Windsor: A Novel. By Annie Gaskell.' Boston: Loring.

or narrative which distinguishes them from some of their more distant cousins. From these tales an incomplete but accurate idea of the Russian peasantry may be acquired, and the translator has had this in view in selecting his stories. Some fifty-one are given, covering a wide range, from jests and genuine fairy tales to stories of magic and witchcraft, from ghost stories to legends of the saints. The characters are for the most part those dear to our childhood. We miss, however, dwarfs and elves, who seem to be peculiar to the Germanic-Keltic stories. There are some curious modifications of our witch and ogre in the Russian Baba Yaga and the male and female Snake, while the Norka, a fabulous beast, is quite unknown to us.

Besides the interest this collection has for the general reader, it has a positive value for the student of folk-lore. It is needless to say that Mr. Ralston is one of the highest authorities on the subject, to which he has made valuable contributions in his 'Songs of the Russian People' and 'Kriloff's Fables.' He has accompanied his translations by learned references to the tales of other countries, some of his notes, as for instance the one on the Russian "Blue-beard," being quite exhaustive. Scarcely any important collections, except some recently published in Italy, have been overlooked. The book is handsomely printed, and we trust the publishers may be encouraged to reprint, among other things, Dasent's translations of the Norse tales mentioned above.

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My Mother's Manuscript: Being a true Picture of the Private Life of a French Family during many of the most Eventful Periods of the Nineteenth Century. With Annotations, Prologues, and Epilogues. By Alphonse de Lamartine. Translated from the French by Maria Louisa Helper. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.)—This is a translation from the French of Lamartine's posthumous revelations of his family life; it is made up of extracts from his mother's journal, with many comments of his own, and with some of his verses translated into unrhymed, metrical English lines. The book is a curious one, not so much for the light it throws on the principal events of the first quarter of this century as for the picture it contains of French family life. Certainly that is a singular scene where Lamartine's mother goes into his room during his absence "to look over his books, and to burn such of them as I might deem detrimental to his morals. . . . I found on his table the 'Émile' of J. J. Rousseau, and permitted myself to read several pages in it. I do not blame myself for this, for those passages were simply sublime, and have really benefited me very much. . . . I shall burn this book 'Émile,' and also 'The New Héloïse,' which is even still more dangerous—in this, that it excites the passions, while giving, at the same time, a wrong direction to the mind." It is not surprising that on the same page we find the good mother bemoaning her young son's habit of gambling. The translation is generally smoother than in the passage given above.

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J. F. WHITNEY,
R. B. DUYCKINCK."

State of New York,
City and County of New York, } ss.

On this 25th day of January, 1877, personally appeared before me, John W. Jenkins, a Notary Public in and for said County (duly commissioned and sworn), the above-named Michael Chauncey, Daniel S. Arnold, J. F. Whitney, and R. B. Duyckinck, to me known, who signed the foregoing certificate and made oath, and each for himself made oath, to the truth of the said certificate.

(Signed) JOHN W. JENKINS,
Notary Public, New York County.

FACTS WORTHY OF NOTICE IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE STATEMENT.

1st—The Assets are stated at prices actually prevailing at present—in fact, at hard pan.

2d—The properties securing the Loans on Bond and Mortgage have been reappraised within the last 60 days, and the loans thereon do not average fifty per cent. of said appraisement.

3d—The unpaid Premiums only amount to \$14,822; and they have been reduced to the basis required by the Insurance Department of New York State.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1877.

The Week.

THE suspense about the President's action at the South was broken early in last week by the announcement that another commission would be sent down to investigate and report on the state of things in Louisiana, and that South Carolina would be dealt with after due deliberation. It is useless to deny that this caused great disappointment to those who had been rejoicing over the President's recent victory over the politicians, and, as far as our observation goes, this disappointment has found expression in varying degrees of strength in nearly every newspaper that supports him. The causes of it are obvious enough. The delay is, in the first place, taken to mean that the President has not, as people thought he had, made up his mind as to the nature and proper cure of the Southern troubles, although the subject is one with which it seemed impossible that he should not have had complete acquaintance before taking office; it is, in the second place, taken to mean that the remonstrances and threats of the set of politicians who find some sort of support in the perpetuation of the Southern troubles had made some impression on him and dampened the courage with which he began the work of reform. Finally, the plan of a commission to investigate Louisiana once more has seemed to those who know how thoroughly investigated Louisiana has been, and how little there is left in the politics of that State to find out, an expedient for putting over the decision indefinitely, and an evidence of inability to appreciate the situation. The apprehensions of Mr. Hayes's supporters have been aggravated by the ill-concealed joy of his Republican enemies, who have treated the delay as a victory for themselves, and as the first sign of weakness in what they consider his absurd system.

It must be admitted, however, even by those who have as little doubt as we have as to what his course should be, that there is a distinction between the cases of Louisiana and South Carolina. In Louisiana the courts, as well as the Governor and Legislature, are duplicated, and there therefore exists no State judicial machinery capable of trying the titles to office of the rival Governors. This unquestionably increases Mr. Hayes's responsibility in deciding which he will recognize, though, we confess, it does not seem to us any adequate excuse for the commission. A commission can discover nothing which is not already known, and who are the men whose recommendation about Louisiana the public will, after all that has happened, treat as conclusive? Certainly Mr. Wheeler is not one of them. He has already been over this ground, and tried his hand at a settlement, which has utterly and deservedly failed, and he has made a report on the Returning Board which, in the late canvass, he and his Republican colleagues on it tried to explain away. In short, both those who voted for Mr. Hayes and those who prevented his being "filibustered" out of his election expect him to shoulder the responsibility himself of settling this matter, and object to his putting it off on the shoulders of anybody else, however respectable, and think, in view of the enormous amount of discussion and examination it has undergone, and the evils its prolongation is inflicting on the country, that he ought to settle it promptly. South Carolina stands on a different footing, as in it there are courts whose authority is not disputed, and they have all, we believe, recognized Hampton. Here the President does not propose, therefore, to institute any enquiry, but has written to the rival governors, Messrs. Hampton and Chamberlain, requesting them to come to Washington, or send competent representatives, or communicate with him in writing "their views

of the impediments to the peaceful and orderly organization of a single and undisputed State government in South Carolina, and of the best methods of removing them." There is no harm in this, and both Wade Hampton and Chamberlain have accepted the invitation and will come to Washington. But of course it is easy to foresee what they will say. Chamberlain will say that the great "impediment to the peaceful and orderly organization," etc., is Hampton, and that the best method of removing it is to attack it with "troops." Hampton, on the other hand, will say that Chamberlain is the great "impediment," and that "the best method of removing it" is to let a Hampton sheriff take it by the collar and drag it out of the State-House. And when the conference is over, nobody will be any wiser than he was before.

We regret exceedingly, like most other people, the President's hesitation and delay, in view of its effects on business interests both North and South, and the encouragement it is giving, temporary though it be, to the corrupt element in the Republican party; but he has done nothing and said nothing to warrant any one in doubting his sincerity, or even in doubting what his final purpose is. It is perfectly natural and proper that he should wish, in whatever he does at the South, to carry public opinion with him unmistakably, and this furnishes some excuse, in the absence of local courts of undisputed jurisdiction to try the case, for his resorting to a new commission of enquiry in the Louisiana case. In South Carolina, however well satisfied any one may be of the propriety of recognizing Hampton, and of the legality of Hampton's title, one must admit the reasonableness of the President's desire to assure himself that the departure of the troops would not be followed by excesses of any kind, or, in other words, that there is no danger of a little crop of "outrages" or of a "massacre" or two, to lead good people at the North, who look at the Southern question in a purely sentimental way, to think that he has acted hastily or in-advisedly. There is, of course, every reason to fear that something of the kind will be got up by the Carpet-baggers to cover their retreat, and it is, therefore, very desirable to get from Wade Hampton every possible guarantee, and get it as publicly as possible, that his supporters will not be tempted into violence when the coast is clear. That he will himself enforce the law, and protect both life and property as Chamberlain neither has protected them nor could protect them, we have no sort of doubt. The President has already undergone in the choice of his Cabinet a very much more severe test of his sincerity as a reformer than that furnished by the Southern problem, and we therefore see no reason in anything that has occurred, even if we do not approve of his methods, for raising any doubt about his ultimate ends. Of course, it is possible that a man who has just given half his goods to the poor may commit highway robbery, but one is warranted in refusing to infer, from some signs of a penurious disposition on the part of such a man, that he will commit highway robbery before long.

Most of the new appointments of Mr. Hayes seem to meet with general approval. The Democrats in Tennessee are much elated, and the Carpet-baggers proportionately depressed, by the appointment of Mr. Waldron as Marshal of the Memphis District. Mr. Waldron is, we believe, an old Whig who joined the Confederacy, and obtained a high rank in the rebel army, and when his name was sent to the Senate at the recent session it was taken to be an indication of the new policy with regard to Southern affairs. Objection was made, and the appointment went over, but Mr. Hayes decided after the adjournment to issue this commission notwithstanding, as he had the right to do under the Tenure-of-Office Act; and the Senate when it reassembles will no doubt vote to confirm the nominee. The selection of Judge Hoyt A. Wheeler to fill

the vacancy in the Vermont judicial district has caused unalloyed satisfaction in that State. Judge Wheeler is not a politician, has a good reputation as a judge, and is promoted from the Supreme Court of the State. The District-Attorney, Mr. Fifield, it seems, wanted the office, or his friends did for him, and is said to have been supported by the railroad influence, which is usually potent in Vermont, and the "Ring." He may, for all we know, be a very excellent man, but in the present condition of politics it is just as well not to make United States judges out of district-attorneys, for most of these are great politicians, and the promotion of one of them to the bench is apt to spoil a good "worker" without making a good judge.

The report of the Joint Committee appointed by Congress to investigate what is known as the Chinese problem on the Pacific Coast adds little or nothing to what we knew of the subject before. It points out four principal difficulties in the way of a solution: first, the fact that the Chinaman does not assimilate with the native population, or, in other words, refuses to become a citizen, remains an alien subject as long as he stays in the country, indifferent to its affairs, and devoting himself solely to his own business; second, the immorality of the Chinese; and third, their unwelcome competition in the Caucasian labor-market. The last of these difficulties is undoubtedly the gravest, and is greatly complicated by the feeling of race-superiority. That a wretched Mongolian opium-eater, with a pig-tail and almond eyes, who is not only an idolater and barbarian, but who has no conception of what a "square meal" is, should intrude himself among the proud Caucasians of California and perform the labor of the community for a price that defies competition, is, to the average white laborer, a maddening thought, which leads him to look less for redress to reports of special committees than to the primitive means of vengeance afforded by slung-shots, knives, and derringers. Nor does the calmness with which the Eastern press, removed some two or three thousand miles from the scene of the troubles, announces that it is able at that distance to take a philosophic view of the matter and enlighten each party as to its rights, mend matters at all. We do not see what is to mend them except the general spread of enlightenment among the laboring class. If the Chinaman were a Mongolian machine, made with springs and wheels and levers, his persecutors would probably become reconciled to his importation, as they have to the introduction of other labor-saving inventions; but his being made of flesh and blood makes a terrible difference. Both political parties incorporated anti-Mongolian planks in last summer's platforms, and this probably seals the fate of Chinese emigration. We trust it will be remembered, to the lasting disgrace of the politicians who assembled at Cincinnati last year to nominate a Republican President, that they began their campaign for the succor of the oppressed with a hypocritical bid for the anti-Mongolian vote on the Pacific Coast, and the same platform which promised support and protection to the negro in the South egged on a cowardly and ignorant persecution of the unoffending Chinese in the West.

Proceedings at Albany this winter have not been such as to encourage reformers. According to current report, the Legislature is the worst that has assembled there since the Tweed period, and the newspapers have again begun to publish estimates of the number of bribable members, and some of those which we have seen have put them at a low figure. The rejection of Governor Robinson's appointments by a strict party vote has a bad look, though we cannot say that we altogether regret the failure of General McClellan's nomination as Superintendent of Public Works. The importance of the position, which gives the incumbent during his term of office almost autocratic authority over the canals, cannot be over-estimated, and it would be a pity to have it filled for the first time by a superintendent who did not command the entire confidence of the public. We have never seen any reason to doubt General

McClellan's honesty, but possibly his connection with the old Dock Department gives some reason to doubt his efficiency, and certainly it cannot be difficult to find another man, equally capable, as to whom the two leading Republican dailies of this city will come nearer to an agreement than did the *Times* and *Tribune* as to him; the latter pronouncing the appointment the best that could have been made, and the former declaring it as nearly as possible the worst.

The success of the Republicans in the New Hampshire election was not so complete as at first reported, Mr. Gilman Marston, one of the Republican candidates for Congress, being defeated by a few votes. The election of Marston's competitor may, however, be disputed, the Democrats having furnished a precedent which the Republicans are likely to take advantage of. The election of Mr. Natt Head to the State Senate two years ago was successfully contested on the ground that his Christian name should have been written "Nathaniel" on the ballots, and Republicans now assert that Mr. Frank Jones, the Democratic candidate, was baptized Franklin. Only one of the proposed Constitutional amendments appears to be defeated. The word "Protestant" is probably retained, and no Roman Catholic, therefore, can hold office in New Hampshire until after another constitutional convention. This decision, although curiously expressive of some well-known dogmatic qualities in the character of the average New Hampshire voter, is not in itself of great practical moment, the number of Catholics in the State desirous of holding office being exceedingly small; but it will give Catholic controversialists an excellent opportunity for "striking back" when accused of intolerance by evangelical theologians. The "religious test" amendment, which proposed to prohibit taxation for the support of denominational schools, succeeds by a very few votes; and the same is true of the amendment providing for the election of sheriffs, solicitors, and registers of probate, in place of their appointment by the Governor, the only one which should have been defeated. The cities and large towns, as might have been expected, were all in favor of both "religious" amendments, and the defeat of the one proposing to strike out the word "Protestant" was brought about by the small country towns, in which, however, it generally received a majority vote, two-thirds being necessary for adoption.

We are somewhat surprised at the tone taken by a portion of the press with regard to the case of John D. Lee, the Mormon butcher, who was shot last Friday for the Mountain Meadows massacre of 1857. This cold-blooded villain planned and executed, with the aid of Indians less revoltingly cruel than himself, a massacre of an unoffending emigrant train on its way to California. All the circumstances were of the most aggravating character. The emigrants, with their wives and children, were strangers in need of hospitable assistance. They surrendered themselves on a promise of protection made for the purpose of allaying their suspicions, and were then foully butchered in cold blood, with the women and children clinging to the murderers and begging for mercy. In the discussion of this case the opponents of capital punishment have missed an excellent opportunity to advance their humane doctrines. It is perfectly plain that an atrocious crime like this could never have been committed by any one who was entirely in his right mind, and it appears that poor Lee was, in fact, laboring at the time under a religio-moral hallucination, artfully fostered and kept alive by Brigham Young and the elders of the Mormon church, that murders of this kind were a religious duty when necessary for the sake of the church. He has now confessed that he was mistaken in this, and that he committed a crime. He acted, therefore, in what he did under a mistaken sense of right, and probably partly from the effect of moral depression, superinduced by religious over-excitement. There is not the least reason to suppose that, if let off with his life, he would ever have engaged in another massacre, and society, by taking his life,

gains, men and brethren, what? It gains nothing and it loses the services of a member who was already convinced of his crime, and probably only needed the reformatory influences of a few years' confinement to eradicate entirely his homicidal propensities. Notwithstanding all this, newspapers ordinarily opposed to capital punishment have gloated over his execution. The next time they plead for some highwayman who has killed his victim to steal a pocket-book we trust they will explain their present behavior.

It has been a dull week in the Wall-Street markets. The Treasury issued another call for redemption of \$10,000,000 5-20 bonds, which shows that there is yet a quick market for the new United States $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds. This call makes \$130,000,000 5-20s which have been redeemed or notified for redemption since the sale of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. began. There is no change in the relations of the trunk-line railroad managers, who are all working in accord. The managers of the coal companies and coal railroads have been endeavoring to reorganize the old combination, or to establish such a friendly understanding as will conserve all interests; but no arrangement or understanding has yet been consummated, and there is little chance of another combination, although there may be a better understanding between the companies. The receiver of the Central Railroad of New Jersey gave notice during the week that the interest due April and May 1, respectively, on \$15,000,000 consolidated and \$4,400,000 convertible bonds, will not be paid, but that he will be able to pay the interest due August 1 on the first mortgages, which amounts to \$5,000,000. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company have prepared proposals to submit to their creditors. These, according to newspaper statements, are in substance, (1) to pay in full the interest on the mortgages standing first and second in the order of priority of lien; (2) to pay one-half the interest coupons on the general mortgage, the other half to be deferred for three years; (3) to suspend for ten years the coupons on the debenture bonds; and (4) to pay in cash 10 per cent. of the floating debt maturing in April, the remaining 90 per cent. to be renewed for the same time as the respective existing notes. So far as heard from, the creditors of the company are willing to accept these proposals. The London market has been somewhat unsettled during the week by the turn which negotiations concerning the Eastern question have taken, and as the assurance that a settlement would be arrived at through diplomacy grew smaller, consols fell $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and Continental securities fluctuated widely. Silver has been during the week as mercurial in London as a fancy stock; the price fell to 53 to $53\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ounce, and recovered with intermediate stages to 54 to $54\frac{1}{4}$ d. At the close of the week the trade dollar has a gold value of \$0.9253; and a $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar is worth in gold \$0.9087. The United States legal-tender note for one dollar had a gold value of \$0.9546.

As well as can be made out from the telegraphic news, the various difficulties attending the wording of the protocol by which the great Powers were to agree on a settlement of the difficulties between Turkey and Russia, had been overcome in the early part of last week. Turkey received an extension of time within which she was to reform, and the Powers bound themselves by a vague form of words, which did not compel them to use force in case of non-fulfilment, to do something towards making her reform at the end of the period in question. What Russia apparently sought was rather the abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, which forbids interference, than any positive pledge to interfere. There then remained the question which side was to disarm or demobilize first. England proposed, and Austria is said to have supported, simultaneous demobilization, but of this Russia will not hear; Turkey, she says, must begin. But Turkey refuses to begin, and for the very good reason that, although she has made peace with Servia, she has not succeeded in doing so with Montenegro, which still maintains a menacing attitude, and insists,

in substance, on having ceded to her, including the town of Nicsies, all the territory she occupied or defended during the war, which Turkey steadily refuses, and the armistice has been prolonged until the 13th of April. As long as this imbroglio lasts a disarmament is not likely. Montenegro had the advantage in the operations of the late war, and is proud of her military prowess, and knows she really has Russia at her back. The Russian Government cannot press her too hard to make peace, because, as some one has remarked, she would appeal to the Russian people. It may still be said at this writing that the chances are, on the whole, in favor of war, or that war will only be avoided by a united pressure on Turkey strong enough to make her yield everything demanded of her.

M. Thiers, after prolonged retirement, has appeared in the Assembly, apparently with all his old vigor, as the opponent of the scheme for reducing the term of service in the French army to three years, which has had a respectable support as part of the plan of reorganization, mainly as a prominent part of the process of assimilation to the Prussian system. He assailed it on the ground that the Prussians owed their ability to work their short-term system to the possession of a poor nobility who were ready to serve as officers and were trained in habits of command, and of a submissive peasantry who looked up to these officers and were willing to be led into action by them with blows and objurgations. The French people, on the other hand, were not submissive, and had no class of acknowledged social superiority to supply officers. The habit of subordination had, therefore, to be acquired by longer service. He pooh-poohed the talk about the army's properly consisting of "the armed nation," and said that when war broke out "the armed nation" always ran away on the battlefield, and the country had to be saved by regulars while "the armed nation" was learning its duties, and he gave a well-deserved blow to the notion so long prevalent that it was the raw levies who saved France in 1793. It was, he said, the old royal regiments who saved her, and thus gave the volunteers time to learn drill and obedience. The separation of the Legislature from Paris has been practically broken down by permission being given to the committees to meet in Paris, and it was at the meeting of one of them at his own house that his speech was delivered. Paul de Cassagnac is to be prosecuted for libellous attacks on the members of the Assembly, and with characteristic impudence acknowledged that, although he would not concede freedom of the press were he in power, the Republicans were bound to accord it to him. The Comte de Chambord has made another address to his supporters, through a Marseilles deputation which went to call on him, in which he repeats that he is waiting for the moment when France, feeling that she cannot get along without him, will call on him to take his place on the throne.

The postponement of the triennial election of the French Protestant Synod, ordered by M. Dufaure last December, just before he went out of office, in order to give the hostility between the Orthodox and the Liberals time to cool, has not had the desired effect. A large number of the Liberals subscribed to the official tests in order to vote, but gave notice that they did so simply to secure the power of filling their vacant pastorates, which they could not do unless the congregations were officially recognized by the Government, and that they hoped no other synod would be convened under the same circumstances. Many of them, too, refused to take any part in the proceedings at all. The Paris Liberals did not vote. What the Liberals seek is recognition by the state as a separate body, with its own subvention, and this, which M. Dufaure sternly refused on the ground that he did not wish to increase the number of state churches, they hope to secure from Jules Simon, who promised it to them five years ago, when he was Minister of Worship, in case they were obliged to secede. The alternative talked of is "fusion" with the Lutherans; but they shrink from this as an abandonment of the great traditions of French Calvinism.

THE POLITICAL CHANGE OF TONE.

MR. WALTER BAGEHOT, in 'Physics and Politics,' describes the process of formation of the literary style of any particular age—that of Anne, for instance, or that of Elizabeth—which he considers, in brief, to be the catching by some one writer of the ear of the public and the unconscious imitation of this one by all other writers, until the age refuses to read or to regard as worthy of commendation anything written in any other style. The illustration is then applied with great force to the consideration of an important factor in the process of "nation-making"—viz., the influence of a leading statesman or group of politicians upon the tone of a community, and the rapidity with which this tone may be changed under certain circumstances. We may not accept in full the conclusion that unconscious imitation is so powerful a force that "scarcely any one can help yielding to the current infatuations of his sect or party," and that "soon the gravest sage shares the folly of the party with which he acts and the sect with which he worships"; but the truth of an essential portion of the theory has been strikingly illustrated by the remarkable change of tone in our politics which has taken place in the brief time that Mr. Hayes has occupied the Presidential chair.

The change is everywhere apparent. The general tone of Grant's Administration, as determined by Grant himself and his immediate defenders and hangers-on, was responded to by office-holders and newspapers in every part of the country, and the changed tone is also responded to with wonderful celerity. In few things is this more apparent than in the average Republican newspaper. It is difficult to recognize in the party organ of the past two or three weeks the same journal with which we had become familiar during the preceding six months or six years. Its distinguishing features have changed as markedly as those of a man will sometimes change when their possessor is rapidly recovering from a severe illness or prolonged debauch. We need go no further back than the Presidential canvass for abundant proof of this sudden and salutary alteration. The canvass was conducted, as we cannot yet quite forget, in accordance with a keynote furnished by Blaine, accepted by Chandler and Wheeler, and passed on to the rank and file of orators and writers who made up the great body of active workers. We were to advance against the Democratic hosts as we advanced upon the rebel army at Gettysburg. We were to remember the prison-pens of Andersonville, and resolve never to allow the defenceless freedman to be restored to the tyranny of his former master, etc. We were to ward off by our ballots the threatening burden of Southern claims with which a "Confederate" Congress would be sure to overwhelm us, and so on. But since the day of Hayes's first appearance in Washington we have seen in no Republican paper the slightest reference to the great purposes of the canvass. Even the poor negroes whom we heard weeping upon a street-corner in Florida when the count of the State votes was finally rectified, appear to have dried their tears, or, at least, fail any longer to make their sobs audible to Republican editors. The telegraph brings no news of "outrages" or of further developments of "the Mississippi plan." Every Republican has become disgusted with military control of States, and thoroughly convinced that a State government which cannot support itself should not be propped up by national soldiers. Indeed, it is no longer the freedman but the white man who is summoned most sweetly to repose in Abraham's bosom. Many a reader might hesitate to decide which was Dives and which was Lazarus. In fact, every issue of the war appears to be settled. Rebellion is dead; there are no rebels: it must have been a spook with which Blaine frightened us. The same change of tone is exhibited also in all references to the civil service. The urgent necessity of reform advocated by papers which have steadily approved every removal or appointment of the President, eulogized the statesmanship of Morton and Boutwell, and managed even to gulp down Butler, is decidedly encouraging even if somewhat confusing. But there can be no doubt of the practically unanimous opinion of party followers that the "spoils"

system must be abolished, that official patronage should not be controlled by members of Congress, and that the President must be sustained by all good patriots against all attempts to overthrow his policy of reform.

The special cause of these great changes is not at all difficult to understand in the light of the illustration referred to above. For a number of years our entire political system had been vibrating in accord with a low and dreary but well-defined tone. Grant went out and Hayes came in, and another tone was sounded. Immediately, as with Chladni's figures of sand on an undulating plate of glass, our political system responded and strove to rearrange itself. Some of the "grains," indeed, were not able to get into position with sufficient rapidity, but dropped out of the system and disappeared, and some others are likely to go in the same direction; but as long as the same tone continues to sound we may be sure that the old arrangement of figures cannot be renewed. Even Ingersoll and Butler in a blundering way are striving to accord with the change, and the former is preaching "peace and reconciliation," while the latter has actually promulgated a method of civil-service reform. It is not at all necessary, in recognizing Hayes as the occasion of this wholesome change, to suppose that he is a great man, or to approve all he has thus far done, or to believe that he will fulfil our ideal of a President. Nevertheless, he has already occasioned a purification of the political atmosphere. Nearly everything connected with our politics can be discussed more candidly and healthily than was possible a month ago. We can talk about the South and the negro without having a "bloody shirt" flung in our faces. We can discuss State governments without being accused of treason against humanity if we fail to approve of bayonet support. We may henceforth dismiss the subject of reconstruction, and shall not be called upon to sing the praises of a bedraggled civil service.

The moral of the change is to be found in a recognition of the great influence of the President upon our political system and, indirectly but no less importantly, perhaps upon society and morals. As our government is now constituted, the power of the President is enormous. The control of postmasters and mail-contractors, of district-attorneys; marshals, collectors, of the patronage of the Army and Navy departments, in the assignment of contracts for supplies, etc., gives to the Administration a powerful hold upon the interests and affections of a multitude of widely-dispersed and, as a rule, energetic men, who will either approve its course in all respects, or at least refrain from adverse criticism upon it. Nearly or quite one-half the newspapers of the entire country, moreover, will always strive to be in accord with the policy of the leaders of the party, and will not be able to perceive defects which may be plainly evident to an impartial observer. A large majority of those who call the party their own, also, though wholly without pecuniary or other especial interest in it, will always be ready to catch and respond to the tone of its leaders and slow to believe that their heroes are fallible or impure men. It is safe to predict that, had Blaine succeeded in his attempt to break down the policy of the President and confine him to the system marked out by the managers of the canvass, we should to-day have been reading the same dismal editorial articles with which we became so painfully familiar during the past Administration, and should be bracing our nerves to endure for another four years the afflictions of the last eight; and the same men who are now blithely writing eulogies of Hayes's new policy would be writing praises of his wisdom and courage as displayed in following the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. We have been ridiculed frequently by foreigners for the intensity of feeling displayed during our Presidential canvasses; but the feeling has more justification than we always care to admit. The President and his immediate advisers will always give a guiding tone to our party politics and to a not unimportant part of our society, and his influence will always be distinctly visible, therefore, in the formation of our national character. The ideals of the rising generation can never greatly surpass the accepted qualifications for the chief magis-
tracy of the Republic.

THE MANAGEMENT OF CORPORATIONS.

THE panic in England over American railroad securities is but an exaggeration of the distrust of them which is felt here, and which tends rather to increase than diminish among the class known as investors. This distrust has already received a great deal of discussion, but most of this discussion goes to throw the blame of railroad evils and abuses, like those of politics, on the "badness" of a considerable number of men known as "wreckers," and notably Jay Gould. The consolation offered to those who have suffered in purse by the recent railroad convulsions consists in the main of denunciations of persons who, for their own wicked purposes, play ducks and drakes with railroad securities, and exhortations to the well-disposed and upright to discountenance and frown on them. This, however, only covers a very small portion of the ground on which the mischief takes place. The reason why raids on American railroads are successful is only to be found to a very small extent in the character of the raiders. It is to be found in a still greater extent in the character of American investors. No portion of the community is remarkable for the possession of a fierce, uncompromising, and investigating spirit—the portion of it which has savings from which it wishes to draw interest perhaps less than any. The American investor is not, on the whole, so credulous as his English brother, but he is much less disposed to make a fuss after he has been cheated. Nothing is more remarkable in our financial history than the small number of grumblers left behind by the numerous railroad, banking, and mining catastrophes of the last twenty years. The American victim or dupe takes a certain pride in bearing his losses with silent dignity, and letting the thief run. He is, moreover, as a general rule, utterly hopeless about getting anything back, and therefore is very apt to look on all attempts to get redress at law as time wasted. He is as averse to complaining or vituperating over a swindle as to mourning over a fire, and tries as speedily as possible to forget all about it, and, if he has any money left, to "go into something else"; and, as a general rule, he has not much difficulty in finding something else in which he can secure at least partial compensation for his losses.

It is in this state of the public mind that "wreckers" and defrauders and embezzlers find their best security. For this legislation cannot supply a complete remedy, but there might be legislation which would produce a good deal of change for the better. Part of the apathy and disposition of the investors to let bygones be bygones is the result of the inadequacy of existing means of turning indignation or discontent to any practical account. Nothing, of course, could be better calculated to foster the disposition to put up with frauds and abuses than the knowledge that resistance or enquiry is very likely to have no other effect than the increase of one's losses. In the absence, for instance, of all legal regulation as to the mode of keeping railroad accounts, the possibility that accounts may be cooked rises into almost certainty that they have been cooked when anything goes wrong. The effect of this certainty in the minds of stockholders who know that, under any circumstances, they could not understand the accounts, is, of course, almost paralyzing when managers can charge almost every item of expenditure to almost any account they please, and cover up losses or mistakes in half a dozen ways known only to experts. An investigating stockholder feels that in trying to find out how things stood, he would most probably only succeed in making himself ridiculous. He occupies himself therefore, if timid, when the stock shows signs of sensitiveness or a fall begins, not in trying to detect guilt, but in discovering from some friend whom he supposes to be behind the scenes, whether there is anything wrong; and if he hears that there is, far from "assuming judicial functions," he sells out and keeps perfectly still. Whether there is guilt in the matter is not, he thinks, a question which concerns him, for the simple reason that the means of answering it are not within his reach.

Another potent cause of this apathy is the entire absence of legal protection for minorities. The law, in fact, in all joint-stock enterprises, treats the owner of a bare majority of the shares as,

for all practical purposes, the owner of the whole number. The "control" of an enterprise means not the entire possession of it but of a fraction more than half, and to anybody who gets this the law gives the power of ruining it from top to bottom. The minority drop into the position of the vanquished in ancient wars. They lose all rights which the victor is bound to respect and hold their shares completely at his mercy. He may—we have known of one such case—make himself president of the company and vote himself the entire revenue as salary, and the minority have no remedy. What is worse, they get very little sympathy from the public. The public thinks they ought to have been smart enough to have found out in time what was coming, and have sold out if they did not like it. The "controlling interest," indeed, usually behaves like a hostile invader in an enemy's country. It amuses itself by keeping the minority in ignorance of what it is going to do next; enjoys scaring them by sudden drops in the market price of the stock, and snubbing it when it asks for information. It is difficult to suggest a cure for this complete subjugation of the minority of the stock, but everybody must admit that its present practical confiscation by the holder of the majority is something which civilized legislation ought not to permit. The powers of a "controlling interest" ought to be limited, and its duties made plain and enforceable by some simple process of law. The possession of it ought not to make anybody complete master of the other interests, and stockholders who distrust his character, or are opposed to his policy, or think they are about to be sacrificed to some outside scheme, ought to have some readier means of deliverance than the sale of their property at a sacrifice. In fact, if there be anything to which recent railroad disasters point clearly as the great need of the day it is the creation of some sort of tribunal with power to secure the publicity of railroad management. Even if it had no power of interference, the power of letting the stockholders know clearly what was going on would be an enormous advantage to investors. It will be observed that hardly any breakdown in railroad securities is the result of anything very sudden or recent. The mismanagement which leads to it is usually the result of some years of secret "manipulations" or "operations" on the part of the "controlling interest," during which the outside world is kept perfectly quiet and peaceable either by the payment of dividends or the assurance of some "prominent financier" that it is all right, and that everything is going on satisfactorily, and that the road "was never in better condition than it is to-day."

If annual reports were examinable by a tribunal of experts whose duty it would be to dissect and expound them for the information of plain people, and if the books could at any time be overhauled by the same body on the demand of a certain small number of timid or suspicious stockholders, probably hardly any of the great wrecks would occur. Such a process, for instance, would have made the downfall of the Jersey Central impossible, because it would have put the public on its guard, and probably have opened the eyes of the managers themselves to the real nature of the course they were pursuing long before any irreparable mischief was done. There is something discreditable in the highest degree to our legislation in the possibility that a stock can continue at par in the investment market years after a revelation of the facts would have sent it down to fifty. It is very doubtful whether after the events of the last ten years complete confidence in railroad securities can be restored without the creation by the various States of some such supervising bodies.

PROGRESS AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

CHISHOLM'S ISLAND, NEAR BEAUFORT, S. C., March 21,

THOUGH a clergyman, I am neither a member of a Congressional investigating committee nor an agent of a missionary society, and perhaps on that very account can place more confidence in some of the impressions made upon me by a fortnight's unrestrained association with the Southern people of all classes. I am impelled to write from the feeling that, like myself, the majority of the Republican rank and file at the North

have been taking too hopeless a view of Southern problems. I write from that portion of South Carolina which has the largest preponderance of negroes. The extent to which these negroes, of all ages, have learned to read and write, and their eagerness to acquire the rudiments of knowledge, together with their industry, docility, anxiety to obtain real estate, and their political sagacity, are no less gratifying than surprising. Those of them who voted for Hampton reason as intelligently as anybody about the propriety and importance of having rulers who were brought up upon the soil, and they also remark on the little good which Chamberlain has accomplished. The only kind of intimidation spoken of in this region is the threat of discharge from employment, a species of intimidation practised abundantly at the North during the early days of the anti-slavery agitation. But the freedmen are fast working themselves into an independent position, and are familiar with the argument that the capital of the country is as dependent upon the labor as the labor is upon the capital. The Democrats secured many votes from the negroes through the well-known methods of flattering attention and patronage. Furthermore, it is currently reported here by the negroes that some wished to vote for Hampton but did not dare to face the overwhelming public sentiment of the immediate locality; the women gathered at the polls and heaped abuse on the Democrats. The pastor of the largest colored church in Charleston, formerly a slave, and now tolerably well educated, wielding in a modest way a good deal of influence, and having an intimate knowledge of the situation of things, says he shall feel easier about the interests of the colored people for the next two years under Hampton than under Chamberlain, believing that the antagonism of the races will be much less under the former than under the latter. What he fears, however, is, that eventually, under Democratic rule, their public schools will be abolished, as in Alabama. But Hampton *promises* to maintain the schools on the present footing. Virginia is keeping her faith well in regard to schools for the colored people. Georgia has an active party of native-born citizens, including the secretary of her present Board of Education, who advocate an enlightened policy regarding negro schools. Alabama treats whites and blacks alike in withholding all appropriations for schools, professedly for economical reasons. We at the North should not forget how slow has been the growth of our public-school system, and what an amount of indifference and opposition its most enlightened provisions still encounter. There is a far-seeing party of politicians at the South who, from considerations of policy, if not from higher motives, are determined to control the negro vote by giving them some things which they want. In the present state of things nothing conciliates the negro voter more than to furnish him at least with some semblance of educational advantages. The watchword of local politicians at the South is likely to be the very opposite to that of those who truckle to the Roman-Catholic element at the North.

It is plain, even to a superficial observer, that sentimentalism in the politics of the South can be productive, in the end, only of evil. A process of "natural selection" is going on which is surely and not slowly bringing to the front those of the colored people who are best fitted to lead. It is of the utmost importance to the colored people that those who come to be their leaders should rise to that position through the ordinary trials which fit men for such responsibilities. A sentimental attempt to bolster a man up, on account of his color, in a situation which he is not competent to fill, is the surest way to repress that struggle for excellence upon which the very salvation of the freedmen depends. In local politics and in matters of social influence, and in educational and ecclesiastical affairs, a very hopeful class of colored men are taking the lead, unconsciously simulating the rôle of the better class of whites with whom they have associated. It will be essential to the highest development of the negro that he have some chance of political preferment. He has such opportunity in those localities where the black race is largely predominant, as in this county. The ablest men of their race will very naturally gravitate to such districts, as Carl Schurz gravitated to the States in which the German element was powerful. There seems to be nothing in the way of a natural organization of the colored population into communities where they can have the freest opportunity for development. This tendency is already manifest here as well as in other places. A year or two ago a man of great influence in Georgia or Alabama (I am not certain which) started a scheme to form a negro colony in Texas. He was so far successful as to induce 1,500 or more to consent to emigrate, whereupon the white capitalists and citizens expostulated with him for depleting the country of its labor, and brought influences to bear upon him to cause him to desist from his efforts. Time and his own well-directed exertions are operating both to elevate the black man

and to reconcile the more intelligent of the whites to what is inevitable, the possession by the negroes of some degree of political power.

In default of a good public-school system at the South, and in prospect of considerable delay in establishing a general system of education here, it is extremely important to aid by private contributions the schools that are still maintained by the philanthropy of Northern people. It is astonishing how much such efforts can accomplish among a people who are eager for the rudiments of knowledge. On the Island of St. Helena, just opposite Beaufort, there are, in round numbers, 2,000 negroes, with but nine white families. Through the personal efforts of two wealthy Quaker ladies from Philadelphia, continued since 1862, aided by two or three assistants, almost the entire population can now read, and the families are largely coming into possession of homesteads of their own. Under the patronage of the American Missionary Association normal schools of a high grade, and largely attended, are maintained at Hampton, Va., Charleston, S. C., Macon and Atlanta, Ga., and numerous other centres. In some instances Democratic legislatures have made appropriations to these schools. These and similar institutions offer practical channels through which to help the Southern people while they are waiting to see how to fully help themselves. Nor should any one, even from a social and political point of view, omit to notice the progress among the colored churches of the South. There has been at the South since the war a great increase of colored churches and colored preachers. These unconsciously imitate the whites in everything. They are founding theological schools of their own, and are sending their preachers to other theological schools in numbers that are most encouraging. Their singing is of a high order. You hear in their Sabbath assemblies the slow, sustained movement of the genuine choral. Some of their voices are harsh, but in their great congregations the harmony is perfect and the effect is powerful. We smile at some of their prayer-meeting songs; but they are far better in sense and melody than the trash with which the majority of the congregations of the North are being deluged. While our Northern congregations are retrograding in this respect we find the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church resolving to "discourage the singing of common ditties and badly-composed penny ballads."

THE CHANCES OF LIBERAL ASCENDANCY IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, March 7, 1877.

PUBLIC interest on the Eastern question is, for the moment, suspended. The discussions in Parliament which were promised have come to naught. The wind has been taken out of the sails of the leaders of the Opposition and their good ship "Criticism" is lying becalmed. The policy which they advocated in the autumn, and which received the approbation of their followers, has been adopted by the Government, and a more energetic policy, which some among the leaders were ready to advocate—a policy of active interference, in conjunction with the Powers, in favor of the Christian subjects of the Porte—has been rejected by the left wing of the Liberal party, the peace-at-any-price people, including Mr. Bright and the representatives of the commercial centres. The faculties, therefore, of the leaders are benumbed. They sit on the front bench, opposite to the Treasury bench, powerless. Their opponents taunt them with their inability to move, and their friends decline to follow them if they do move. But what can they do? They say, and say justly, to their opponents: "You have been at your old tricks. You have stolen our clothes while we were bathing in the autumn—perhaps it might have been better for us if we had not bathed—and now you taunt us with our nakedness. You have no policy of your own, but you come to us for a policy, and sneer at us because we will not throw ourselves upon a division which, with your majority, is certain death to us. We answer you, as Sir Robert Peel used to answer the taunts of your present leader when he twitted him with a want of policy in opposition, that 'we will not prescribe until we are called in.' Go to the country and appeal to it upon this Eastern question and your conduct of the business, and we will meet you there. It is no function of an Opposition to formulate a policy for the Government. If the appeal to the country places us in power, as we have every confidence it will, then we shall have access to the Government offices and to all the official sources of information, and we will speedily show you what our policy is. As it is, you may go your own way to your own destruction. We will watch over the honor and the interests of the country so far as we can, and we will do our best to prevent you from imperilling these. But we refuse to do your work for you, and we decline to give you an opportunity of stamping out our criticisms by the brute force of your majority. A well-disciplined majority can do many things in the House of Commons. But there is one

thing it cannot do, it cannot compel the minority to show its hand before its own selected time." The answer seems to me to be complete, and the tactics of the Opposition—tactics, it may be, of masterly inactivity—seem to me to be, in the circumstances, perfectly legitimate.

But suppose that the Government were foolish enough to take the Opposition at its word, and appeal to the country, what grounds would the Opposition have for anticipating a favorable result?

The Parliamentary representation at the present moment is distributed as follows: The Tories hold 345 seats, the Liberals hold 247, and the Home-Rulers, 59. When the two last classes unite, the Government have a nominal majority of only 39. The contingency, however, of a union on any question whatever is now so remote that the Government may safely calculate on a secure majority of from 50 to 70 in any division in which the relative strength of the two parties is tested. The actual distribution of the representation is curious, whether it be regarded in reference to the country which is represented or in reference to the character of the constituency. In England the Tories have a majority of 109 seats; in Ireland they have a small majority over the Liberals, but both parties are outnumbered by the Home-Rulers. In Scotland the Liberals have a majority of two to one, and in Wales they have a majority of rather more than two to one. In the counties, and especially in the English counties, the Tories have it all their own way. There are 172 English county-seats, and the unfortunate Liberals have secured only twenty-seven of them. The bucolic mind is hostile to the spread of Liberal principles. In the Irish counties Home Rule is in the ascendant, the apostles of that creed holding no less than sixty per cent. of all the county constituencies in Ireland. Only the other day, in the latest Irish county election which has taken place—an election in the "historical county of Waterford"—it was proved to demonstration that where the priests and the Home-Rulers combine, neither Liberalism nor Toryism nor a combination of the two has a ghost of a chance of success. The priests and the rabble-bearded the country gentlemen of both parties, and left them in a minority of four to one. In Scotland the two principal parties are equally divided, and in Wales the Liberals hold seven and the Tories eight county seats. The vague doctrine of Home Rule finds favor neither with the astute Welshman nor the canny Scot.

In the boroughs, in contradistinction to the counties, the Liberals have considerably the best of it. But the commercial and manufacturing proclivities are not so pronounced in favor of progress as the bucolic proclivities are in favor of standing still. The Liberals hold altogether about fifty-three per cent. of the boroughs, the Tories forty-one per cent., and the Home-Rulers nearly six per cent. In the universities, to which nine seats are allotted, culture and light, or, it may be, professional, and especially clerical, predilections favor Toryism. Out of the nine seats only two are represented by Liberals—namely, London University, which in most things is ahead of the older universities, and two of the Scotch universities, combined for Parliamentary purposes into one—while seven are held by Tories. The two old seats of learning, Oxford and Cambridge, true to their ecclesiastical instincts, will not be decoyed away from their innate obstructiveness by any sound of Liberal doctrine. What are the Liberal dogmas of peace, retrenchment, and reform to them? The clergy are never slow to gird on the sword of Gideon—sometimes, even in an unjust quarrel. Lightly taxed, and, it may be, doubtful of their own utility, they do not like a niggardly administration which cuts down salaries and discharges useless servants. And as for reform, the thing is hateful to them and has been persistently opposed by them ever since the word was coined. The Dublin University seats have ever been and still are regarded as the strict preserves of the Tory law officers of the Crown.

Such, then, being the state of the Parliamentary representation, what grounds have the leaders of the Opposition for hoping for a change in the temper of the constituencies, and for desiring to drive the Government to perform the Japanese rite upon themselves?

In the first place, it is obvious that the Liberals cannot be worse off than they are. They have everything to gain, and nothing to lose. In 1874, in that to them unfortunate melodrama of the early spring when they were stricken root and branch, they suffered an unprecedented discomfiture. Nothing quite like it had ever happened in the parliamentary history of the country. They are unlikely to lose any, or at least any appreciable, number of the seats which they now hold, and they can hardly fail to gain a not inconsiderable number from their opponents. Constituencies are fickle, and they like to see a change of government. The Tories, they say, have had an innings—a pretty long innings; it is time that the Liberals, who have been fielding out in the cold, should have their turn at the wicket.

In the second place, the present Administration have fumbled over their

policy abroad, and have done nothing worth speaking of at home. If the Liberals had been in office during the past eighteen months, with Mr. Gladstone at the head of the Administration, it is almost certain that "the unspeakable Turk" (to quote Mr. Carlyle's expressive if hardly grammatical words) would have been less tenderly treated than he has been by the Earl of Beaconsfield and his pliable but timid Foreign Secretary. Mr. Gladstone was the only man of public position in this country who grasped the situation from the beginning. As early as the 8th of February, 1876, in his speech on the opening night of the session, he showed in unhesitating language that the time had come when our traditional policy towards Turkey must be radically changed. Whether this change of attitude would have been right or wrong, I do not say, but the country in the autumn seemed to show that it would have approved the change. The Opposition candidates at a general election would have a good deal to say on this topic to sympathizing audiences.

In the third place, the Liberal party throughout the country is better organized at present, so far at least as the machinery of electioneering goes, than it has been for thirty years. Since the days of the Corn-Law League the Liberal party has been resting on its oars. The local associations and clubs have been sleeping while their opponents have been expending money and energy in every constituency. The Liberals have been like the foolish virgins, and when they were called upon in 1874 their lamps had all gone out. They do not mean to be caught sleeping again. Even in the most Bœotian of the counties they are bestirring themselves. They expect to startle their opponents when they get the chance; and such elections as have recently taken place by casual vacancies show that these expectations appear to be well founded.

In the fourth place, there are indications within the House already that Sir Stafford Northcote is unable to keep his men together. The week before last he allowed a young Lincolnshire squire to make an insolent attack on Mr. Gladstone, which alienated the feelings of all the better sort of men in the House, and for the time consolidated the ranks of the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli never would have sanctioned such a piece of transparent folly. Last week he and twenty-two members of his Administration, including all the Cabinet Ministers in the Lower House, were outvoted by a considerable majority on a question relating to colonial marriages, showing that the present Tories have forgotten the lessons which their predecessors learned in their dealings with the colonies when George the Third was king. Last Friday a section of Tory malcontents went into the lobby against the Government and the rest of their party on a point of international law regarding the Treaty of Paris; and to day Sir John Lubbock carried the second reading of his bill to preserve ancient monuments from destruction against the voice of the Attorney-General and the votes of most of the Administration.

These considerations all tend to strengthen the opinion of the leaders of the Opposition that their game is to play for a dissolution. It is not unreasonable that they should adopt this course. But it is as unlikely that the leaders of the Administration will be taunted into advising a dissolution as it is that the leaders of the Opposition will be taunted into a premature disclosure of their policy on the Eastern question. Both parties will wait upon events. The lull which is now occupying our attention here and in the East will probably be followed by such a storm as will shake the foundations of more important institutions than a British Administration.

THE POLITICAL AGITATIONS OF GERMANY.

GERMANY, March 4, 1877.

THOSE parts of the Emperor's speech at the opening of the Reichstag which have been principally commented upon by the foreign press have attracted comparatively little attention in Germany. As to peace and war, the confidence in the policy of the Government has been all the time so general that the thoughts and the feelings of the people have been, and still are, almost entirely absorbed by the critical state of our internal affairs. With regard to this, considerable relief has been afforded the public mind by the Emperor's speech. The confident declaration, that "the organization of the Empire and the sound sense of the German people form a strong bulwark against any anarchical tendencies," has put a damper on the unbridled imagination even of the worst among the weak-kneed alarmists. There is now no more danger—if there ever was any—that any thing rash will be done or attempted in consequence of the result of the late elections. Those who must be supposed to have the strongest inclination to try a prompt cure by the aid of stringent laws are restrained by the calm attitude of the Government, and those who used to shrug their shoulders at the emphatic warnings of Count Eulenburg have learned to understand

and to confess that it is high time to stop joking over "the speech" of the Social-Democrats. So, while it seems certain that something will be done, on the other hand everything indicates that whatever may be done will be done calmly and with deliberation. Yet the agitation of the public mind is great. The short session of the Prussian Landtag, which has just been closed, has been almost one continuous storm of passionate crimination and recrimination. No law has been passed or even debated which, in itself, could provoke such an excitement; but no matter what the question before the House was, day after day the valve was opened as soon as the members had taken their seats, and in a few minutes the hissing and scalding steam hung like a heavy and dismal cloud over their heads. The Democratic—not Social-Democratic—*Frankfurter-Zeitung* describes the situation in the following words:

"Whether a Liberal or an Ultramontane takes the floor, whether Camphausen or Eulenburg takes part in the debate, behind every speaker from the House, as well as from the bench of the ministers, stands 'black care' in the shape of Social-Democracy. It is no longer a vain fear of spectres that presses heavily upon the public mind; it is the definite fear of a visible danger, the greatness of which can be measured by numbers. But what do these excellent archons do in their anxiety? They accuse each other in the strongest terms of having nursed this danger into such hugeness. The responsibility for the existence of Social-Democracy is charged by one upon the other, and by another upon all together; in a really Babylonian confusion of tongues and vituperation is exhibited an utter perplexity as to what to do."

There is a good deal of truth in this picture, but it is one-sided and exaggerated. So far as there really is any "fear" it is not caused by the Social-Democrats, taken entirely by themselves. Dr. Wehrenpfennig said in one of his speeches: "With great dexterity the Social-Democrats have hidden their genuine programme in all their campaign papers. . . . They only say: we will do away with the universal misery, with the misery which has been brought about by the laws of the Liberals." The moderate parties are, therefore, confident that the enormous gain of the Social-Democrats is partly only apparent, and that returning prosperity will thin their ranks considerably, though certainly not so fast as they have been swelled by the universal misery. But as to the time when the revival of trade and industry may be expected the sages widely differ among themselves. There are many Liberals who think Herr von Camphausen too sanguine in his prediction that the upward start must now commence, because we have undoubtedly "reached the bottom." On the other hand, there is among the Liberals no flagging as to the correctness of their economical principles, and the Emperor's speech is understood to warrant the belief that, in spite of all the hue and cry, the Government is resolved not to consent to any material change in the economical policy hitherto pursued. As the agitation is still growing in this respect, one may expect to hear again every few weeks the old story that Herr von Camphausen and Dr. Achenbach are about to resign, and the rumor will never fail to cause some anxiety among those who find the principal sources of our calamities in the French war indemnity and the general commercial crisis all the world over. If they cannot shake off the apprehension that, after all, the present Liberal system may not be able to outlive the crisis, the reason is, nevertheless, not that they are afraid of being overwhelmed either by the Social-Democrats or by any other single fraction of the Opposition: it is the unnatural and unholy alliance of all the Opposition elements which causes their alarm.

That such an alliance exists between the Social-Democrats and the Ultramontanes is no longer open to question. Herr Windthorst avowed in the House of Representatives: "At the supplementary elections (*Stichwahlen*) all the parties looked out for allies. In Solingen we voted for Herr Rittinghausen (Social-Democrat), because he could not do us as much harm as had been done to us by Herr Zung (National-Liberal)." To this he added the declaration that the Government had it entirely in its power not only to sever this friendship, but to secure the help of the Ultramontanes, who alone are able to crush the Social-Democrats. "Only the Church can curb Social-Democracy. . . . There is no help except from the teachings of the Cross, from the acknowledgment of authority. As long as you rejoice to see the priests locked up, you will not get rid of Social-Democracy. . . . Your schools cannot avail you anything." As a proof of the correctness of these views, the Ultramontanes adduce the fact that where Ultramontanism reigns supreme the Social-Democrats can muster but a dozen or two of followers. The fact is admitted by the Liberals, but their explanation of it is that the radicalism of the Ultramontanes is so much more violent and regardless of truth and moral obligations of whatever kind that, in comparison with their "alcohol," the Social-Democrats, who deem it wise to deal at present only in generalities, have to offer but an insipid lemonade. The Ultramontanes, however, still pretend to hope that the Government may be driven to accept their interpretation as the correct one. The *Germania* writes: "To-day it still de-

pends on the policy of the Prussian Government with regard to the *Kulturkampf* and the economical problems whether the alternative of the Social-Democrats—to break or to bend—is to become of any serious importance in Prussia." The end of the pastoral scene with which it was attempted to close the stormy session of the Landtag does not seem to justify this expectation. Dr. Lasker, who had been appealed to by some Ultramontane, thought fit to pour an unexpectedly large quantity of oil on the troubled waters. He went so far as to intimate his personal willingness to grant the Ultramontanes a revision of the "May laws." But he had to emphasize the fact that he did not speak in the name of his party, and neither the National-Liberals nor the Progressists sustained him. Professor Virchow taunted him with his "sentimental" mood, and Dr. Falk annihilated the effect of Lasker's speech by reminding the House that a slackening of the reins could not possibly render the Ultramontanes willing to become docile; as long as they were not willing to give up their principles, any yielding could not have any other effect than to render them more exacting. As no Ultramontane rose to controvert this opinion, the splendid *fata morgana* of returning peace and universal brotherhood vanished without leaving a trace behind.

"Mars is the ruler of the day"; the strife is waxing warmer and more complicated. The breach between the National-Liberals and the Progressists threatens gradually to widen into a chasm, and the left wing of the latter seems almost ready to lock arms with the Social-Democrats. In Berlin, Dr. Hirsch, one of the leaders of the Progressists, is already vigorously agitating for "the people's right to work"—i.e., the duty of the state to feed and house all those who, in consequence of the people's and their own folly, do not know how to earn their bread. Such teachings must find a countless number of eager ears, when *Suppenanstalten* and *Volksküchen* begin to spring up like mushrooms. Professor von Treitschke, the most hopeful of all in the gloomy days before 1866, now draws the following humiliating picture of our actual condition:

"Countless invidious accusations fill the air; that war of all against all, to which our Fatherland owes so many centuries of shame and impotency, threatens again to lay hold of public opinion. In about twenty-two per cent. of all the election districts the majority has changed in the last three years; numerous *Stichwahlen* prove the decay of party life; boldly, as in the worst days of the old Empire, particularism again gives out the parole, 'What the Empire gets, is taken from our liberty.' . . . The ugliest and meanest form of party organization begins. Small groups are joining—each of itself powerless, each so entirely devoted to its nearest selfish aim that the fulfilment of its desire must necessarily harm all other interests—but all together united in passionate accusations against the existing order of things, and powerful through the weight of their concentrated attack. . . . Statesmen out of service are the plague of every state which has passed through a revolution. The wheel of time has turned at a fearful rate, in the Empire as well as in the single state, throwing numberless deserving and undeserving politicians on the strand. Hundreds of invidious eyes spy out, with all the intensity of the German rage for blaming, every imperfection of the Empire, which, at all events, is guilty of advancing without the help of its critics; and nowhere does the *fronde* of the saloons luxuriate to such a degree as in the capital, where one stands in too close contact with things, and where the thousand frailties which are inseparable from every grand operation (*die sich an jedes mächtige Schaffen hängen*) hardly allow one to become aware of the mighty progress of history."

Those who take a more hopeful view of the future trust that all this will help the nation to the one thing it needs the most—i.e., that it will teach us to understand that the successes of one great statesman and of the army have not been able to make us politically a great people, and that this can be the result only of the arduous work of generations.

Correspondence.

VIVA-VOCE VOTING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Several of your correspondents have expressed themselves lately on the subject of the secret ballot and *viva-voce* voting. Nothing has been said in favor of the secret ballot, or of the ballot at all, except that its use expedites the collecting of the suffrages of the people. Against this small seeming advantage many and serious objections must be weighed; and the advantage itself is merely specious, as will presently be seen.

Beyond doubt, a judge, or judges, of election can, especially when many officers are voted for, receive ten or twenty ballots in the same time that a person could *viva voce* declare his preference for the different candidates. What then? I say multiply the polling-places. Let there be at least one to every two blocks of a city, and let the judges of election be residents of one or other of the blocks; let their service be compulsory and gratuitous, and let the polls be kept open for at least two days. But let each voter take his place before the judges, separate and apart from all others, and declare

in an audible voice his preference for the several candidates for whom he desires to vote. Also, let the same person appear only once, and let a pause of not more than — seconds be allowed during which he must name the candidate for any particular office. In this way the voters would be recognizable by the judges. Of course a strict system of registration is part of the plan. As to the time it consumes, I would only say that the due election of public agents or servants is either important or unimportant. If unimportant, abolish it. One way of doing this is to make many minor offices appointive. But if popular election be important, in the name of common sense bring its importance home to the mind of every voter. It is by no means a fault of the American citizen to devote too much attention to his public duties, however true it may be that many knaves make a trade of politics. Whatever makes the average citizen pay more attention to the share he has in the government of his State or city, will so far be a reforming agency.

The Liberal party contended for the ballot in England until, in an evil hour, they compassed their end. It was the old story of *numinibus vota exaudita malignis*. They strove (against the advice of some of their wisest friends—Sydney Smith for one) to gain it for many years. An experience of less than three years made some of its staunchest advocates lament their success. Such was the confession of Mr. Grote.

The *viva-voce* vote still remains the law in Kentucky. It was the law in Missouri outside of the large cities until 1865, when by a constitution forced on the people by military power, the ballot was adopted. I am bound to say, however, that the late convention (of Missouri) failed to restore the *viva-voce* vote, though it narrowly failed of restoration. Among the arguments of its advocates was the consideration that no one could vote who could not read unless, indeed, he committed to memory a longer list of names in connection with the different offices than most ignorant persons would be likely to do. It was said in debate—absurdly, as I think—that the *viva-voce* vote would deter some voters from expressing their true feelings. I profess no sympathy with such timidity. A freeman should not shrink from avowing his preferences. To enable him to vote in a manner which he fears to have known seems to me a very questionable advantage. It is corrupting. The man who hesitates to avow his choice has generally reason for being ashamed of it; and the exercise of the moral courage necessary for declaring his preference may strengthen the faculty—may accustom him to act like a man. I should be glad if every one who shrinks from this avowal were deprived of the elective franchise. I would not wish to multiply voters who sneak up to the ballot-box, deposit a paper, and tell one or more untruths as to its tenor. But the main advantage resulting from the open vote would be the check it would impose on fraud. Under the plan proposed every voter at any election precinct would be, presumably, known to at least one of the judges. No large crowd need assemble anywhere, for there could not be a serious delay in taking the votes of all the residents of so small a precinct. If it be said that the exaction of a day's service, gratuitously, from so many persons as would under this system officiate as judges would be onerous, the answer is that if the community be not willing to make this sacrifice for the sake of purifying the elections, they are really tired of popular institutions and representative government. Any citizen who grudges one day thus devoted to public service must at heart be in favor of a change in our administrative machinery. As the service will fall on each one in turn there is no unfairness in the distribution of the burden. It is among the benefits of the proposed plan that it compels each citizen to take some part, however imperfect, in public affairs.

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Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. have in press the first of a series of six volumes on Experimental Physics for children, very copiously illustrated, the joint authors being Prof. Alfred M. Mayer, of the Stevens Institute, Hoboken, and Mr. Charles Barnard. The volume soon to appear is on Light. The experiments are so contrived that they can be very cheaply made—no small desideratum.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. will publish next month a new edition of Forsyth's 'Life of Cicero,' in one handsome volume, uniform in style with their recent editions of Stanley's 'Life of Dr. Arnold' and 'Memoir of Dr. Macleod.'—The St. Louis *Southern Law Review* (G. I. Jones & Co.) will, beginning with the April number, be published bimonthly hereafter.—We learn from the circular of Niemeyer in Halle that the demise of the *Revista di Filologia Romanza* and the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, referred to in our issue of March 15, does not

"leave the field clear to the *Romania*." A new organ, supported by the best known German scholars in this field, has been straightway projected, and makes its first appearance as a quarterly on March 31. Its title is the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, and it will be conducted by Dr. Gustav Gröber of the University of Breslau. Westermann & Co. are the agents in this city.—Mr. Jerome Hopkins's Easter-tide Festival will take place at Trinity Chapel, in West Twenty-fifth Street, on Thursday evening, April 5.

—The second bulletin of Harvard College Library has appeared, covering the seven or eight months from April to November, 1876. The titles are much more cut down than in the first bulletin, in general gaining as much in clearness thereby as in brevity; but we doubt whether there is much advantage in the abbreviation of words. In most cases, if all the words had been spelled in full, the title would not have overrun the line, and, in printing titles, unless one gains a line one gains nothing. Similarly the shortening of titles is not so great an economy as it might seem to the inexperienced reader, for there is a page and a third blank at the end, for which, of course, the printer had to be paid exactly as if it were full of matter. The list is well printed on excellent, almost luxurious, paper, and only needs now a little more attention to typographical niceties to be clear and quite satisfactory. The black type for headings, though a little large, is not as offensively prominent as it is apt to be in catalogues. Mr. Fiske's new rules for the almost total exclusion of capitals are followed, and the unfortunate German nouns are reduced to a level with other parts of speech. There is as yet a certain want of uniformity, as where, on p. 2, "Early English Text Society" is almost immediately followed by "Acad. royale des sciences." We notice uniformly "8 aufl.," "2 éd." (instead of 8. aufl., 2e éd.), which, according to the general usage both of ordinary books and of catalogues, would mean 8 editions, 2 editions, just as "2 tom." means 2 volumes. We are sorry to see a library of the importance of Harvard College throwing its influence in favor of Roman numerals, which are well enough as long as one has only low numbers to express, as tom. i., iv., but are both wasteful of room and hard to read when magazines, transactions, etc., force one to use lxxxviii. or cccclxxxix., whereas 88 or 489 are little worse than 9.

—A number of reprints lie upon our table. J. B. Lippincott & Co. send us new editions of Contanseau's 'Practical Dictionary of the French and English Languages' (12mo, pp. 430, 529) and the same editor's 'Pocket Dictionary' (pp. 272, 350). In point of excellence they still fall below the pretensions of the preface, and below the standard of other dictionaries. Some of the "characteristics" of these works to which attention is specially invited are almost wholly absent, e.g., "the statement in every case of the preposition taken by each French verb and adjective respectively—a glaring omission not hitherto supplied" (!) This is doubly untrue: other dictionaries are very particular in this regard, and neither under *craindre* nor under *fear*, *demande* nor *ask*, *décider* nor *decide*, *aimable* nor *amiable* does M. Contanseau give the governing preposition or prepositions. What of this is done is wholly, so far as we have observed, in the English-French portion (on which much the greatest pains have been bestowed), and there it is the exception, not the rule. For the newer words and for idioms these dictionaries may be useful in addition to others, but we do not know why either should be preferred say to Masson's 'French and English Dictionary,' whose typography is strikingly superior. As M. Contanseau prides himself on saving the student from ridiculous blunders by discriminating for him between the numerous definitions of the same French word, we may point out an amusing error that lurks in the false pointing under *Covenleur*, which is defined as a "joint-vender or seller." Here the hyphen is clearly out of place. Longman's 'Pocket Dictionary of the German and English Languages' (from the same publishers) is excellent in plan and execution. It wisely employs the Roman character, and needs only a heavier letter for the catch-words.—From Ware & Co., successors of Brewer & Tileston, we have the revised edition of Samuel Eliot's 'History of the United States.' Instead of ending with the Compromise of 1850, it is now brought down to Grant's second term; and, as may be supposed, the events that have occurred in the meantime have necessitated not only considerable additions but a change of view and of perspective. A chapter on "Anti-slavery" appears for the first time, as ten years hence we may look for a chapter on "Civil Service." It is an error to say (p. 370) that Benjamin Lundy advocated *immediate* emancipation. This manual has been further improved by the insertion of maps; the dates still need to be kept more prominently before the reader.

—Lippincott's Magazine for April has no salient feature, and if we

mention Mr. Robert Wilson's "Wye Island," it is only by reason of his literary skill in investing a very slight subject with at least temporary interest. As part of his series of semi-historical, semi-statistical papers, descriptive of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, it has more importance than if it stood alone. In the new *Harper*, Dr. A. L. Gihon concludes his attractive account of "A Summer Cruise among the Atlantic Islands," or rather of the islands themselves, for of his cruise he has nothing whatever to say. In the March number he discoursed most agreeably concerning the Azores and the Madeiras, and in this number he tells us of the Canary and Cape Verd Islands. For the latter (which, by the way, are erroneously placed at six, instead of sixty, miles from the African coast) he has no praise, saying that the traveller who has visited the other groups need not extend his voyage to these, "except to be able the better to appreciate the former by contrast with the miserable sights he will encounter" in the Cape Verds. Dr. Gihon here speaks as a physician and sanitarian, whereas Darwin, while admitting that "the island [of St. Jago] would generally be considered as very uninteresting," could as a naturalist declare that "to any one accustomed only to an English landscape the novel aspect of an utterly sterile land possesses a grandeur which more vegetation might spoil." It is in the Madeiras that Dr. Gihon finds the invalid's paradise—at the foot of Teneriffe, in the vale of Orotava, a favored spot whose average mean temperature is 68.5°, with a maximum of 76.5° in July, and a difference of only 14.4° between the annual extremes; where stoves are not only unknown, but unnecessary, as is far from being the case in the Mediterranean health resorts; where one may wear linen garments all the year round (the aborigines went naked, except for the loin-cloth), and bathe in the sea "as well on the 31st of January as on the 31st of July." It rains at Orotava but 45 days in the course of the year, and the barometer stands almost invariably at 30.12. Living in the open air is here realized to the fullest extent, whether the consumptive patient stays in or out of doors. Dr. Gihon acknowledges his indebtedness to a work by M. Gabriel de Belcastel on 'Les Iles Canariennes et la Vallée d'Orotava, sous le point de vue médical et hygiénique.' Apropos of the Madeiras, an interesting discovery has just been made by Commander Gorringe, of the U. S. sloop *Gettysburg*. About 150 miles west of Cape St. Vincent, coming upon the submarine plateau connecting the Madeiras with Portugal, from 2,700 fathoms he sounded up to a depth of only 32, where he found a bottom of live pink coral affording anchorage (lat. 33° 29' N., long. 11° 33' W.)

—If the author of the 'Prostrate State' were contributing articles to the *Atlantic* on the condition of South Carolina he would not give a more shocking account of the state of affairs there (though his articles would probably have a different tone) than does the "South Carolinian" who, in the present number of the magazine, tells the public what he knows about "South Carolina morals." And yet it is not an unfair picture altogether, though without the accompanying reflections it would be better. The whites, he declares, are in ordinary matters of conduct governed by the ordinary rules of Christian morality. Their exact performance of duty is, however, interfered with by two or three "peculiarities"—a tendency to dissipation and duelling, a contempt for the rights of the negro, and an intolerance of difference of opinion or opposition, particularly in politics. These are old failings, chiefly produced by isolation and slavery, and no doubt the last of them has been kept alive since the war by the intense bad feeling developed, and the coincidence in the minds of the whites between the cause of law and order and decent government, and the cause of white supremacy. Tolerance of difference of opinion is one thing, and a very good thing, but when the matter in dispute is whether you shall keep your property, or somebody else confiscate it, there is apt to grow up a feeling of bitterness, which may be called by one side bigoted intolerance, and by the other honest indignation. The whites, too, are improving perceptibly, so that when we talk about the whites governing the State, we can form some idea of what sort of a state of society they are likely to develop. Turning to the negroes, we are somewhat at a loss to make out what, from this writer's description, is to be expected of them. They "believe in and practise the usual moral code," but "in obedience to moral laws they are far less advanced than the whites," e.g., "it is not considered wrong among negroes to steal from or in any manner cheat whites"; hence, as a natural corollary in politics, "they know that their legislators and other officers steal the public deposits, but, knowing the whites pay the taxes, they applaud the theft and every one is eager to be elected so that he may have a share in the spoils." As to truth, "they are the most barefaced perjurers ever seen in courts of justice"; as to private morality, "chastity is the exception among them"; as to honesty, "the bulk of the criminal business is supplied by the blacks." Whenever larceny, burglary, arson, and similar crimes are committed in

the South no one is suspected of the crime save negroes. . . . Out of three hundred and fifty-five prisoners now in our State penitentiary three hundred and twenty-five are colored." As to sobriety, the writer expresses the fear that "drink is destined to prove as much the bane of the negro as of the Indian," and the women "are almost as much given to drinking as the men." To complete this picture we must add that the writer naïvely mentions "two considerations which account for the vices of the negro." The first of these is, that the slaves were so continually "whipped and humiliated before each other, often for no cause, that punishment came to be looked on as no disgrace." The second of these is the prevalence of drunkenness. Now, of course, liberty and the sense of responsibility which comes with the acquisition of property may in the course of time make honest, law-abiding citizens out of people who are dishonest, drunken, lascivious, lying, and thievish; but, in considering the political aspect of the Southern question, the important thing to bear in mind is that to hand the government of a State over to them is simply to hand it over to its criminal classes; and the fact that this criminal class happens to be of a particular color, or that it has suffered great wrongs in the past, does not alter the case. The notion, too, that their having the ballot will in itself elevate them is a mistake. The ballot may protect them, but nothing short of the development of a sense of responsibility can possibly elevate them, and this can only come through education, suffering, self-denial, and the acquisition of those habits of thrift and economy which have given whites their capacity for self government.

—The March number of *Macmillan's* contains a noticeable article on "French Novels and French Life," signed by a name which a few years since made a slight mark in French journalism. Horace de Lagardie is, we believe, the pseudonym of a clever lady, the author of two volumes of 'Chroniques (or Causeries) Parisiennes,' published some years since by Charpentier. If the article we speak of is not a translation, Horace de Lagardie writes English almost as well as French; and if it is, he may at least profess to know England exceptionally well. His purpose is to point out the fact that French novels do not form an accurate portrait of French life in anything like the sense in which English novels are faithful in their portraiture of English life. This was worth pointing out, for French literature is very much better known than French society, and French novels are read all over the world by people who are likely to have as little opportunity as possible to correct the erroneous impressions they derive from them. We had long ago been struck with the very limited correspondence that exists in France between fiction and manners, but we had always supposed that its limitations were very obvious. We felt that there was an immense deal of humbug in French novels, but we fancied that every one perceived it. In fact, in France every one does perceive it, and it continues to flourish only under that extraordinary rule which, in the country of Balzac, gives validity to the "we know and you know, and you know that we know" system. French fiction, in other words, rests upon a certain number of conventions, which authors and readers agree together, for mysterious reasons, to pretend to take *au sérieux*. We say the reasons are mysterious, but they are probably connected with the desire, so strong in the French mind, to have certain types and categories and general heads definitely established. The author of the paper in *Macmillan's* points out some of the conventions we speak of. It is a convention that young girls living in châteaux roam the country alone on horseback; it is a convention that young *gentilshommes*, disappointed in love, embark on an extensive course of foreign travel; it is a convention that these same *gentilshommes* spend large sums of money, or have it habitually to spend. In fact, young girls in France are not errant equestrians, and young men, of whatever position and in whatever state of their affections, go abroad as little as possible. But these and a great many other things form part of the general romancer's stock, of which the novelist, with a propitiatory wink, as it were, invites the reader, for the sake of having a neat, artistic, well-rounded tale, to *assume* the reality. Horace de Lagardie points out the great difference between the novel-writing classes in England and France, and the way in which in the latter country novelists come to have very little knowledge of what is called good society. They belong to the literary class exclusively, and the literary class is apt to be poor, dingy, shabby, Bohemian. The novel is far less cultivated in France than in England, and is a form of literature to which people are rather ashamed to give much attention. Those clever amateurs—men and women of the world—who supply the fiction market so industriously in England have no correlative class in France. There the class which forms the greatest body in our novel-reading public—the young girls—are suppressed at a stroke: in France young girls never read novels. In England governesses write novels; but in France the *institutrices* who should permit herself such an intellectual

escapade would have little regard for assured employment. Presuming that he is writing for young girls in England, we suppose, Horace de Lagardie does not touch upon the most salient of the romancer's conventions in the list we have mentioned. We mean the convention of the inveteracy of the rupture of the seventh commandment.

—The Commission authorized by recent Act of Congress to investigate the grasshopper problem has been admirably constituted by the appointment, by the Secretary of the Interior, of Prof. C. V. Riley of St. Louis, Prof. A. S. Packard of Salem, and Prof. Cyrus Thomas of Illinois, and is connected with the United States Geological and Geographical Survey under Prof. F. V. Hayden. It held its first meeting, at the rooms of the Survey, on the 21st inst. The enormous economic interests involved render it a matter of congratulation that the Government has at length taken up the matter, while the character of the persons appointed to do the work makes us hopeful that the solution of the problem may be reached. We may now look to see at Mr. Hayes's hands the appointment of a *real* Commissioner of Agriculture. No important department or bureau of the Government has been so inadequately filled as this—we might almost say so disgracefully. It is high time that the "practical" agriculturists who have heretofore managed to control it should give way to scientists of recognized training and authority. Prof. J. M. Langston, a colored man, is one of the aspirants for the position, presuming, apparently, on the fact that the great majority of our colored population are engaged in agriculture. His appointment, of course, would be farcical. "Poetic justice" to the race would be gross injustice to the whole country, which demands the most enlightened discharge of all public trusts. Another claimant is Mr. J. M. Rusk, lately a member of the House from Wisconsin. Of his qualifications for the place it is enough to say that they are not notorious. A third candidate is Dr. John L. Le Conte, of Philadelphia, who is not only an eminent naturalist but the son of an eminent naturalist, and whose scientific reputation has been forming for thirty years. He is backed by the recommendation of almost the whole body of scientists in this country.

—In all the Tichborne literature nothing perhaps is more curious than the little pamphlet lying before us, 'From Chili to Piccadilly with Sir Roger Tichborne: The Santiago Daguerreotypes and the London Photographs Compared: Identity Demonstrated Geometrically, with Photograph illustrations,' by William Mathews, Editor, late of Weston-super-Mare *Gazette*, etc., etc. (Bristol, 1876). Mr. Mathews is a truly noble logician. He begins by quoting Lavater's dictum, that "all countenances, all forms, all created beings, are not only different from each other in their classes, races, and kinds, but are also individually distinct." Next he says that if we measure with the same linear unit "any two photographs produced from the self-same negative," "they must always minutely correspond"; that the same holds true of a portrait and its proportional enlargement or reduction; "and this granted, what remains [what, indeed!] but that, *ceteris paribus*, the incidence of the lines of subdivision must equally correspond in *any two portraits of the same person taken at even widely distant intervals*." There is nothing difficult after this assumption, but several still remain to be made. One is that the daguerreotype and the photograph (at least when the former is "of matchless excellence," and the latter "by artists of the first repute") are "in their several proportions as true to their originals as the sun that printed them is true to his diurnal journey in the heavens," and that they permit of a "microscopic accuracy of admeasurement." Another is that "the iris, at its exterior rim, when unaffected by disease, is a *permanent quantity* in a given individual." This geometrically demonstrative fact rests upon the testimony of "an eminent anatomist," name not given, who begs to say "that the extreme diameter of the iris, as well as the proportions of the other parts of the eyeball, have [*sic*] always appeared to me *much* the same in the youth as in the grown-up person." The italics are ours, but they cannot vitiate the author's conclusion—"hence, it must be obvious that in the instance of portraits of the same person taken at ten or at twenty years apart, and *measured by the multiplied width of their own iris*, the admeasurement will necessarily coincide in every particular." The demonstration is complete when coarse outlines of Tichborne, 1853, and Tichborne, 1873, cross-barred at intervals equal to the diameter of the iris, and showing in each case five diameters to the septum of the nose, seven to the mouth, nine to the crease of the chin, etc., etc., are set before us on the printed page. Portraits of Napoleon III. and of Prince Leopold, treated in the same manner, show that these facial proportions differ in different persons. And finally, accompanying the pamphlet we have the two Tichborne faces lithographed on card-board and slit longitudinally so that the two middle sections can be drawn out and interchanged, when iris fits iris, nose nose, mouth mouth, and we cannot

but confess that, as Mr. Mathews ingeniously says, "the 'Case of the Claimant' has been transferred from the heated atmospheres of the Law Courts and of Parliament to the more sequestered cloisters of the physiologist and the mathematician." We regret to add that we have been making some experiments with the iridian (as distinguished from the metric) system, and have found the same person's photographs vary to the extent of two diameters, even when the pose of the head did not indicate extreme foreshortening. This discovery has caused us such painful doubts as to our own identity that we cannot bring ourselves to admit the Claimant's.

—The Old French Text Society has recently published the third volume of the first year's issue, containing 'Brun de la Montaigne,' a *roman d'aventure* of the sixteenth century, published for the first time from the unique MS. of Paris by Paul Meyer. The poem is incomplete, though just how much is lacking is not known. Its value from a literary standpoint is very slight. It is interesting, however, for preserving some of the mediæval beliefs in regard to fairies, and for its versification, in which the modern French rule about the feminine cæsura is already adopted. The fourth and last volume for 1875 is in press, and will shortly be issued to members. It will contain the well-known 'Débat des Hérauts de France et d'Angleterre,' followed by 'The Debate between the Heralds of Englande and Fraunce,' compiled by John Coke. We learn from the *Bulletin* of the society that two of the publications for 1876 are nearly completed, and the others in press. The report shows a largely increasing membership, and a generally prosperous condition of the society.

RÜCKERT'S HISTORY OF MODERN GERMAN.*

THE first volume of this work has been previously presented to the attention of our readers in No. 551. The fears then expressed, lest the work might remain incomplete in consequence of the author's sudden death, have not been realized. Professor Rückert has evidently left his manuscript in such shape as to permit of posthumous editing, and the third (and final) volume will soon appear, if, indeed, it has not already appeared in Germany.

Concerning the character and quality of Professor Rückert's work we can only renew the general expression of our views given in connection with volume one. It is not easy to set a precise value upon such labors, for the single reason that all standards of comparison are wanting. There does not exist, to our knowledge, in English, or even in German, a work like the present in scope or aim. The author, a professed Germanist of no mean repute, as his critical editions and essays prove, has not attempted to sketch the evolution of the grammatical forms of the language after the fashion of Grimm, Heyne, Kehrein, Schleicher, and others, but rather to show the forces, social, political, and ethical, that have co-operated to make the present literary language what it is. These forces, or constituent factors, however, are depicted for us in the persons of the leading men who respectively represent them. Thus, in the present volume the lion's share falls, of necessity, to Luther. One hundred pages are taken up with Luther himself, and another hundred with the men, or sets of men, who were associated with Luther, whether as devoted followers or as quasi-independent thinkers, or as avowed opponents. The central figure of the great reformer is sketched with minute fidelity, and with sufficient vividness of coloring to throw everything else in the proper shade. The impression that the reader will gain from Rückert's analysis is one of enhanced admiration for Luther's extraordinary genius and tact in the execution of his mission. The secret of Luther's success in fashioning a language suitable for his purposes out of the floating, incoherent mass of dialects, chancery-jargons, and other effete modes of expression, is twofold in its nature. First, Luther made himself what no other individual, what no corporation, not even the Saxon chancery could be—to wit, an *authority*. After the dissolution of the so-called *Mittelhochdeutsch*, or language of the mediæval epics and lyrics, which Rückert has happily characterized as the exquisitely finished but narrow vehicle of an exclusive coterie, there was not in all Germany a single standard of literary taste or grammatical correctness. Each part of the country, each town, had its own fashion; each writer was a law unto himself. The amount of writing done was, for those days, enormous. Authorship ceased to be restricted to poetical themes; the vernacular was employed for everything, from the highest to the lowest subject, save only pseudo-science, for which, of course, Latin

* Geschichte der Neuhochochdeutschen Schriftsprache. Von Heinrich Rückert. Zweiter Band, vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig: Weigel; New York: L. W. Schmidt.

was employed. Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Erfurt monk affixed his theses to the church-door in Wittenberg. The man who had thus the courage to defy an all-powerful Church became by a single effort, so to speak, the leader of his nation. But it should never be forgotten—and our author is careful to impress the point—that Luther made himself an authority in religious matters before he undertook the troublesome task of continuing the movement by means of the vernacular, or rather of a vernacular which was still to be created. The consequence was self-evident. When Luther came to address the German folk directly in a tongue which was essentially their own, but which bore the distinctive imprint of his creative genius, his words had all the authority, all the halo, that encircled the man himself and his new doctrines. Writers of every class, inhabitants of every section of the country, accepted this new form of German speech, this long-hoped-for German *sermo communis*, partly because they recognized in it instinctively the fulfilment of their wishes, but chiefly because it was Luther's speech. They accepted it as joyfully and as unquestioningly as they accepted the Reformation itself. Even had Luther been less of a linguistic genius than he was, the immediate effect of his language would scarcely have been less. But, in the next place, Luther was a genius of the highest order, and qualified for his vocation as no other man has been before him or after him.

To prove this assertion would necessitate the translation of our author's essay entire. We can only single out a few of the main points. Luther came from the elemental class of society; not from the ranks of abject, degraded poverty, the proletariat, but from the class which earns its daily bread in the sweat of its brow, and which—next to the peasant class—is the basis of the social structure. Hence he retained throughout life a sympathy with the laborer and the peasant, and a power of adapting his expressions to their shrewd, idiomatic, and terse idiom; and hence, of course, the naturalness and vital vigor of his diction. Furthermore, his experience in matters of dialect was greater than that of any other man. No one of his contemporaries, not even a knight-errant of Protestantism like Hutten, was brought in contact with so many men of such varied conditions and such varied modes of speech. He was for years the father-confessor, in the truest and best sense, for all Protestantism. Whoever was in doubt of mind or distress of body or estate wrote or went in person to the great reformer, and was sure of a full and honest answer. Luther's modest and quiet abode was the goal of a pilgrimage second to none of the Crusades. All the secrets of the soul, all the troubles of social and political life, were poured into his sympathizing heart in every German jargon, from the rasping gutturals of the Swiss Rhine to the lisping sibilants of the half-Slavic Drina. Let us add to this an inborn gift of expression, a delicate ear for proprieties of speech and vocal utterance, a quick perception of what was most available, and sturdy common sense in recognizing what was attainable, and we shall begin to realize how it was that Luther became *the* Luther who personifies to us the abiding element of German thought and speech.

By the side of such a central figure all the Franks and Murners, Fischarts and Münsters, Hans Sachs and Aventins and Zwinglis become of necessity second-rate. They serve merely to swell the growing tide or to reveal—by hopeless opposition—its strength. What Luther did was done, in its essentials at least, for all time. Neither the Gallicizing tendencies of Charles the Fifth and his satellites and successors, nor the insufferable pedantry of the Aulic Court, nor the neo-classicism of the would-be learned, nor the priggish Pharisaism of the Calvinistic German courts, could quite strangle this new-born Hercules, although they did succeed in retarding its growth and inflicting upon it many a grievous wound.

We have not the space, much less the heart, for dwelling upon the period between Luther's death and the times of Opitz and the Fruit-Bringing Society. It was a period of reaction in every sense. The Jesuit party was slowly undermining the hold of Lutheranism in South Germany, while the nation itself, exhausted by the production of so many great talents at once, was recuperating its energies. The field of language and literature lay fallow, and the fruits of the Lutheran age seemed to be running to waste. The language itself was apparently threatened with barbarism. What and how much Opitz and his school did for its restoration has been set forth very clearly by our author. Opitz did what Luther had scarcely attempted: he made the German language *salon-fähig*. That is to say, he showed by rule and by example that it was possible to eliminate everything of a boorish or offensive nature and to write polished verses upon every theme of classic or neo-classic culture. The substance of such verses, as Rückert justly asserts, need not be taken into account in estimating Opitz's merits. The chief point was not to produce great

poems—the time for that had not yet come—but to demonstrate that the language was at least capable of superficial polish and no whit inferior to contemporary French or Italian in its conformity to the rules of good breeding.

But one thing remained—to show that German could also serve as the vehicle for the conveyance of rigorous scientific and philosophic truth. This office devolved upon Leibnitz and his successors, Christian Wolf and Thomasius. By the time Thomasius began his remarkable career as an academic lecturer in the vernacular, the wounds caused by the Thirty Years' War had begun to heal, the nation had begun to revive. South Germany was for the while lost to Protestant letters, but North Germany was homogeneous in temper and aspiration, and the foundations of Prussian greatness had been laid. Thenceforth Lutheran German, purified from the accretions of a century of turmoil and bloodshed and relieved from archaisms, was to run its career of renown, in the midst of which we now stand and the end of which no man can foresee. The concluding chapter of the present volume, treating of Gottsched, is in reality preparatory. It serves to prepare us for the coming of Lessing and Goethe. Yet we also learn from it to render more justice to the Leipsic pedant who, despite his pedantry, rendered invaluable service to German letters.

We have indicated in brief the drift of Rückert's work. As our readers will readily see, it is anything but an abstruse grammatical treatise. Nor is, it on the other hand, an essay upon German society, or German politics, or German literature. It is a work *sui generis*—an attempt, as we stated at the outset, to lay bare the creative forces that have made the language what it is. It would be premature to pass judgment before the work is published entire upon the author's success in the main. Reserving our final opinion, then, we may meanwhile qualify our measure of praise by a few criticisms. Rückert's style, we say it regretfully, is unfortunate. The structure of the sentences is at times involved beyond all rhyme or reason. The author seems very often to be afraid of trusting to the reader's good sense to supply needful restrictions or additions; the consequence is that he shrinks from hazarding a direct round assertion, and qualifies the main proposition with endless parenthetical and subsidiary clauses, swelling the sentence to the verge of unintelligibility. The underlying ideas are not in themselves difficult to grasp, but the reader's patience is wearied by a constant struggle with phrases and clauses that fit one with the other like a nest of pasteboard boxes. This idiosyncrasy of the German language, at all times to be regretted, is doubly unfortunate in the present instance, because it may diminish the acceptability of a work that should be in the hands of every lover of German literature, and because the author gives so many evidences of his ability to write to the point. In fact, his caustic remarks upon Charles V. and the Lutheran and Calvinistic court-circles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are so apt and so well put that they tempt one to suspect that the author has missed his vocation, and should have made himself a pamphleteer like Treitschke, rather than a plain Breslau professor of philology. There is a daintiness in his sneers at "König Carol, der echte Fransquillon," at the Calvinistic "Modereligion," at the gentle shepherds of Nürnberg on the Pegnitz, and other monstrosities and vagaries of German history, that equals the best *esprit* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

A Ride to Khiva. Travels and Adventures in Central Asia. By Fred. Burnaby. (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin; New York: Harper & Bros.)—Captain Burnaby's stout volume is what the French would call a book *de circonstance*. At a moment when the absorbing question in England is the degree of confidence in the Russian Government which may be consistent with patriotism this jovial and enterprising officer in the Guards offers a practical contribution to the discussion. His conclusion is very simple and definite: Not a grain of confidence, says Captain Burnaby. He is a very honest and straightforward, if not a highly philosophic, advocate of the policy of unlimited mistrust. He detests the Russian Government, thinks meanly of the nation, and while he holds that England has been already all but fatally outwitted and defied by Russia in Central Asia, deems that the English could still easily beat the Russians if they would try. His book offers a very entertaining image of a thoroughly English type of man—the robust, conservative, aristocratic soldier, opaque in intellect but indomitable in muscle, who has "done" the world in general in a series of shooting-excursions, and who takes his stand, with a sort of physical tenacity, upon the faith that, by the eternal fitness of things, England must be the longest-armed power in the world. The way in which he started upon his journey to Khiva is extremely characteristic. He was

at Khartum, on the White Nile, "having just returned from a visit to Colonel Gordon, Sir Samuel Baker's successor," when he read in an old newspaper that the Government of the Czar had lately forbidden all foreigners to travel in Russian Asia, and that an Englishman trying to do so had been turned back. The idea of an Englishman being turned back anywhere, or from anything, was too much for Captain Burnaby, and the circumstance in question seemed to him a cogent reason for proceeding directly to the prohibited districts. In fact, there was a slight delay in the execution of his project. "The following autumn the Carlist War was going on, so I went to Spain." Captain Burnaby does not inform us on which side his sympathies were enlisted in that struggle; but the reader ventures mentally to congratulate the blue-blooded Pretender on a doughty adherent. As soon after this as possible, in midwinter, Captain Burnaby repaired to St. Petersburg. Here, on application to the authorities, he found his journey, if not absolutely forbidden, at least much discountenanced. He pondered much, of course, upon the motives of the Russian Government in preventing honest folks from going to Khiva, and was bound to conclude that it was to prevent the discovery either that the cruelties and iniquities charged upon the natives of the annexed territories were false, or that those practised by the Muscovite invaders themselves were prodigious. Perhaps even the latter had acquired the most depraved of the Oriental vices, and wished, therefore, no tell-tale observers. Finally, however, from General Milutin, the Russian Minister of War, the author received a grudging and conditional permission to go his way.

Captain Burnaby treats of all the Russian officials, indeed of the Russians in general, with whom he came into contact, in a vein of irony which, if not remarkable for delicacy, has about it too much of the author's characteristic good-humor to be malignant. He succeeded in getting to Khiva—a good part of his road to which city two Americans, Messrs. Schuyler and MacGahan, had explored before him. He relates his journey in detail—with too much detail, for some of it is rather trivial. We have not the space to keep him company, but we can recommend his narrative. Rarely, surely, has the English specialty—the pursuit of the Anglo-Saxon ideal of pleasure under difficulties—been more surprisingly illustrated. Encased in a mountainous accumulation of furs and sheepskins, Captain Burnaby travelled for a month over the frozen steppes, by sleigh, on horseback and on camel-back, herding with filthy Tartars and Kirghiz, passing nights in the open air, snow-bound and frost-bound, with the thermometer at 40° below zero, and on one occasion narrowly escaping the loss of his arms through freezing. Of Tartar manners and customs, and in especial of Tartar dirt, he gives many entertaining illustrations. The standard of cleanliness must of necessity be modified, however, in a temperature in which even an officer of the Guards is unable to undress for several weeks. Such appears to have been Captain Burnaby's hard fate. To this and other discomforts he opposed, however, an exemplary pluck and cheerfulness, and as he possesses the rare accomplishment of understanding the Russian language, his observation, on various occasions, was profitably exercised. He had been assured by the commandant at Kasala, the Russian military post near the Sea of Aral (Fort Number One, as it is called), that the Khan of Khiva would probably gouge out his eyes; and he had been likewise instructed to betake himself first to the fort of Petro-Alexandrovsk, the post (near to Khiva) marking the present limit of the Russian advance into the heart of Asia. But he braved the warning and disobeyed the order; he managed ingeniously to go straight to Khiva without passing by Petro-Alexandrovsk, where he had reason to believe (and the impression was afterwards justified) that he would have been compelled to face about. Of Khiva and its Khan he gives a flattering, an almost rose-colored, account. The Khan treated him with honor, granted him two interviews, and presented him with a dressing-gown. "I must say," he writes, "I was greatly surprised, after all that has been written in the Russian newspapers about the cruelties and other iniquities perpetrated by the Khivan potentate, to find the original such a cheery sort of fellow."

Captain Burnaby stayed but three days at Khiva, and returned home across the steppes at short notice. His expedition was quite an escapade, and rather a snapping of his fingers at the Russian authorities; but it must be said that he does not pretend to have discovered any particularly startling "atrocities" on the track of the Russian advance into Asia. His book contains excellent maps, and an appendix illustrating the history of that advance, and expressing in lively terms his own sense of its minatory character with regard to British India. Captain Burnaby holds that it must be stopped, and stopped by force, and that the sooner the force is brought to bear the better. We may add that when this event comes about, the side which boasts the services of Captain Burnaby will have a very valiant champion.

A Manual of Marks on Pottery and Porcelain. By W. H. Hooper and W. C. Phillips. With numerous illustrations. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.)—Each new list of marks and monograms of ceramic ware is worth examining, as it may contain some newly-observed or newly-published marks, or new and more correct readings of certain old ones. Each new list may be worth possessing, because in some such way adding to our stock of information on the subject. The existing lists are so incomplete and so confused that each new one enables the diligent student to enlarge his knowledge a little. On the other hand, no one list has yet appeared which supersedes previous lists and renders them useless, and each enquirer is left to do the best he can by comparing Chaffers with his bitter enemy Demmin, Ris-Paquot with Jacquemart, and so stumbling along into a maze of doubt, with satisfactory results in isolated cases. Some marks are well known, of frequent occurrence, and not often counterfeited. The knowledge and use of them belong to the primer of the collector's science. Thus, the mark which is found on all, or nearly all, the pieces of the Japanese ware known as Kaga or Kanga ware—the inscription of from two to six characters, but always including the two which signify "made in K'tani" or "Kutani"—is useful when a large and costly pair of Kaga vases are found labelled and for sale as "Satsuma" ware in a first-class shop, as has happened in New York. The crossed swords of the Dresden or Meissen factory suffice at least to show what the piece under examination pretends to be, and what, indeed, it generally is. Maestro Giorgio's abbreviated name appears on so many pieces of his splendid majolica that students are enabled to become familiar with his style and handiwork, and, peradventure, to learn to recognize his work and his followers' work, even unsigned. It is good to feel sure that a plain S, with the two last figures of a date after it, means Sévres of the year indicated; and that a file-cut in the glaze, across the mark, signifies that the piece was sold undecorated, and therefore that whatever ornamentation is found upon it is from other painters than those of the Royal Imperial-National *Fabrique*. But the great majority of marks occur very seldom, and, being hardly ever exactly similar, are therefore of little use as means of identification. Many of them are continually forged, and the exact distinction between the original and the imitation—for there generally is a recognizable distinction—is not ascertained with certainty, or, at least, not stated where the statement can be easily found. Very many are wholly illegible; some have totally different meanings given them by different authorities; and, finally, where authorities agree, it is too often evident that they have calmly copied one another.

These limitations to the use of marks, in the study of ceramics, are especially noticeable in respect to the Oriental wares. Chinese and Japanese pottery and porcelain are more often not marked at all. The finer pieces are not always the ones marked, and the inferior left unmarked; no such discrimination can be made. It is true that in China the most delicate porcelains, or at least those which were originally meant to be the most precious and costly, are more often marked with the recognized characters of an emperor's reign, or with some leaf, flower, or emblematic device only half known to the European student; but this rule is not of universal application, and in Japanese work almost the reverse is true. Moreover, the habit of copying in one country the wares of another has brought into existence a great number of pieces whose marks are the least bewildering when they mean nothing at all, like pseudo-Arabic inscriptions used for architectural decoration; for when they have a meaning, it is evidently a false one. The makers of lists of marks are apt to reach conclusions too hastily. Somebody finds a lovely and certainly ancient Chinese vase, with a leaf of a certain shape painted in blue, under the glaze on the bottom, and draws the inference that that particular leaf is the mark of fine porcelain of the XVth century. It is lucky if he doesn't go on and assert that it is from such and such a province and factory! But the collector will find in some shop a bowl with the very same leaf painted on it, and then must beware of esteeming his bowl too highly; for it may well be one of those late pieces which no connoisseur can positively say to be Chinese or Japanese, or of Chinese ware imported into Persia and painted there, or painted in Northern India to gratify the English residents, or, finally, of some wholly outlying school of decoration.

The little book before us cannot be considered as a guide through this bewildering labyrinth, but it contains a great many marks, correctly engraved, as far as we have been able to compare them, and is portable and inexpensive. A copy of it, interleaved, would be a good memorandum-book for the collector. But a big volume of accurate observation and thorough research is needed for each separate department of the subject; and until we get those treatises, such little hand-books as this will be very unsatisfactory.

Epochs of Modern History. The Early Plantagenets. By William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. With two maps. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 12mo, pp. 300.)—Prof. Stubbs's 'Early Plantagenets' is one of the best of the admirable series to which it belongs. It is not in any sense an abridgment of his great work, but he seems to have derived a peculiar freedom and freshness from his previous labors, so that the story as here told is at once more graphic and animated, and sketched with even a firmer and surer hand. It is the period (from Henry II. to Edward I.; reigns of Stephen and Edward II. thrown in) of which he is, above all, master, and which he appears to admire above all periods. All parts of the book are well done. Perhaps the general sketch of Europe in the introduction is not equal to the other portions (Prof. Stubbs is an historian of England rather than of Europe), and, while all is good, the constitutional portions are of course pre-eminent. In this third sketch that he has given of the constitutional history of this period (for the 'Select Charters' contains also an excellent sketch of it) he is everywhere at his best. Nothing could be desired more clear, succinct, and well arranged than these portions. In virtue of them, this book may be pronounced the best existing brief history of the constitution for this, its most important, period.

The views presented would not be expected to differ materially from those given in his earlier work. We find, however, an important variation. In that work (vol. ii., p. 266) the step of separating the three courts of Westminster is "understood to have been taken shortly before the end of the reign of Henry III." Now (p. 225) he places it "in the early years of Edward I." Certainly this view is intrinsically much more probable; but we should be glad to have his reasons for it. While Mr. Stubbs is an authority upon all branches of constitutional history, he is probably most so upon the organization of the church; and one of the most thoroughly satisfactory passages is that in chap. iv., in which he sketches the history of the English church, by way of introducing the story of Becket. For this prelate he has no great admiration. Of the three leading schools of churchmen—the Secular, Ecclesiastical, and Spiritual ('Const. Hist.,' vol. i., p. 461)—he had already said that "Thomas Becket lived through all three phases," without undertaking to judge to which he most fairly belonged. Now he says freely (p. 69) "that Becket was most at home in his first position; that in the second he was ill at ease and awkward, divided between his aims, and failing in conduct as well as in cause. The third phase becomes him least of all"; as "a candidate for martyrdom," "there is in him some greatness of character still, some sincerity, we will hope, but no self-renun-

ciation, no self-restraint, no earnest striving for peace; little, very little, care of the flock over which he was overseer, and which was left shepherdless."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1877.

The Week.

THE President and the Cabinet decided on Monday, at latest, after fully hearing both Chamberlain and Hampton, to withdraw the troops from the State-House at Columbia and leave the contending parties in the State to settle their disputes without interference. This, of course, for practical purposes, amounts to a recognition of Hampton as the lawful governor, and is so looked on by all parties, including Chamberlain himself. The troops will retire to their barracks on Tuesday next, when Hampton will be in full possession of the government. On Saturday last Chamberlain, at the request of Mr. Evarts, addressed a letter to the President setting forth in detail his reasons for thinking that the troops should not be withdrawn, and that Hampton should not be recognized. We cannot say that the document will raise his reputation. He represents himself as having called for troops in October to "suppress violence and insurrection," and gives a somewhat vague account of the nature of the violence and insurrection; treats the election as a perfectly fair one, and the result of the canvass as undisputed, and says the troops were placed in the State-House simply to protect the lawful State government, of which he is the head, against attack and overthrow. His claim for the presence of the troops does not, in his opinion, involve "an assertion of a claim to the permanent presence and aid of the United States in upholding a State government," "because the present condition of affairs is the disputed title to the governorship"; the troops keep the peace while the dispute is going on, and until it is determined, and then if further aid of troops is needed it will, he says, "be demanded, extended, or denied under the well-known provisions of the Constitution, etc."

The substance of this is that he needs troops now because he is the lawful governor, and is afraid of Hampton and the rifle-clubs; he needs them, too, because he is having a dispute with Hampton about the governorship; and when the dispute is over, if he needs them again, he will ask for them, and so on. His idea evidently is that a State government is not "permanently" upheld by the United States troops if different reasons are given in succession for their presence, such as that there is insurrection against the lawful governor; that the governorship is in dispute, and the public peace threatened; that the dispute is over, but the beaten party will not submit. By keeping up a judicious supply of new reasons the troops might in this way be kept for ten years, or for ever, and we should come to have two kinds of State governments in this country—"troop governments" and "popular governments." His further objections are that the withdrawal of the troops will be practically a decision in favor of his opponent, because his opponent is physically strong enough to overthrow his (Chamberlain's) government—a fact which is very creditable, he says, to his own supporters, inasmuch as they are so "law-abiding" that they will not "resort to violence, even in defence of their rights"—a virtue which is admirable in the nursery, but which it is somewhat comic to see claimed with pride by a numerical majority in a free State as a solid title to power. He declares that the withdrawal of the troops is not necessary to enable Hampton to maintain his legal rights by peaceful means; that professions of this kind from that quarter are hypocritical; that the various investigations have shown that his (Chamberlain's) accounts of the condition of the State are not exaggerated, and that the removal of the soldiers will close the struggle which he and his supporters have been carrying on against "fraud and violence."

The plan of settling all disputed election cases by a High Commission has such strong attractions just now for Republican politicians that it was not surprising to find Messrs. Chamberlain, Patterson, and Corbin proposing it as a means of ending the South Carolina imbroglio. The compromise proposed to the Cabinet embraced the following details: First, a submission of all returns of the election for governor and lieutenant-governor, and other papers and evidence bearing thereon, to a commission of five persons, who should finally decide the contest, and declare the result of the election; or, second, the submission of all the returns of the election of members of the House of Representatives, and other papers and evidence, to a like commission, who should declare what persons had been duly elected members of the House, such persons then to organize, and the election of governor and lieutenant-governor to be submitted to the Senate and the House so constituted. Three different ways of selecting the commission were proposed: *first*, by appointment of the President; *second*, by the choice of two persons by each party, the Chief-Justice of the United States making the fifth; *third*, two persons by each party, the fifth to be chosen by the other four, by lot or otherwise. The advantages of this scheme, except that it created a commission, and would cause delay, were not obvious, while objections to the settlement of contested State elections, after the highest court of the State had already decided them, by the President, by the Chief-Justice, or by anybody else, selected by lot or in any other way, were serious, and necessarily led to the rejection of the proposition by the President.

The Louisiana Commission has been appointed and has started for the scene of its labors. It differs very much in composition from the investigating bodies hitherto sent down, as its members have not been engaged in the canvass as rabid partisans, and are known to the country as men of character and ability and moderate views. They are Messrs. Hawley, of Connecticut; Lawrence, of Illinois; Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Harlan, of Kentucky; and Brown, of Tennessee. Harlan is a Southern Republican; Brown, an ex-Confederate general; Wayne McVeagh has been long a Liberal Republican; Hawley was a Bristow man; and Lawrence was a highly-respected member of the Illinois bench, deposed for his honesty by the Grangers in their earliest and most dishonest period. There is hardly a possibility that they will report in favor of either permanent or temporary "troops," and will probably try to bring the disputants to an agreement by having the Legislature canvass the election returns of its own members, as it is constitutionally empowered to do, thus setting aside the decisions of the Returning Board, and then, perhaps, induce the Republicans to content themselves with a Senator or some other little thing, and let Nicholls keep the governorship if he is wicked enough to do so. He has, like Hampton, the preponderance of physical force, and the Packard men are too "law-abiding" to resist him, so that if accommodation is impossible the President will probably follow the South Carolina precedent.

In the various discussions about this matter we see the Cabinet frequently referred to by Republican papers as the President's "constitutional advisers," generally apparently with the view of shifting to them a portion of the responsibility of his action at the South, whatever it may be. It is proper to remind those who use this phrase, however, that the President has no "constitutional advisers" in the sense in which it is used in England. His taking counsel with his Cabinet or not is, therefore, a matter purely within his own discretion. Its members are not responsible to anybody for giving him bad advice, as the English ministers are, and the Constitution does not provide for his consulting them as a body on questions of general policy. It

is, of course, perfectly wise and proper that he should in most matters be influenced by what they say; but it is right to add that no opinion of theirs, even if unanimous, would justify him in disappointing any just expectation of the country based on the platform on which he was elected, or violating any pledge distinctly made to the voters before he was elected. The people voted for *him*; they did not vote for his Cabinet, and they have no means of calling his Cabinet to account. We do not make these remarks with any application to existing circumstances, but to guard against any apparent desire on the part of the newspapers to weaken still further what has for a good while past been weak enough—the sense of official responsibility in high places.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has indefinitely postponed the laws proposed by the State Board of Railroad Commissioners to protect the public interests in case of future strikes of railroad employees. This result illustrates one of the dangers of a too decisive victory. The defeat of the Boston and Maine strike was so sudden and utter that it seems to have excited a sort of feeling of sympathy and compassion in the average legislative breast. Meanwhile, though we do not see why the public should have no protection against self-willed railroad engineers, we are very glad that the legislation proposed did not become a law. It would simply have retarded the more important movement of the railroad companies towards protecting themselves, which we discussed in our issue of March 22. They must not be allowed to rely on penal legislation. To be of real value the remedy must be far more radical, and include the entire destruction by the companies of all trades-unions among railroad employees. This can only be brought about in the way recently indicated in the *Nation*. Penal statutes never will do it. Meanwhile, events in this matter are moving in the direction pointed out by us far more rapidly than we had anticipated. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is not disposed to rest satisfied with its defeat by the Boston and Maine, and accordingly the engineers of the Philadelphia and Reading road selected this very inopportune time to ask for a twenty per cent. increase in their pay. The alternative, it is fair to presume, was the usual one, and we are glad to see that Mr. Arthur was early on the ground making “addresses.” President Gowen of the Reading is, however, a gentleman of a good deal of firmness and has a large and varied experience in connection with “Brotherhoods.” He met the danger at once, fairly and squarely. The Reading engineers, some four hundred in number, were notified that they must once for all elect between the Brotherhood and their employers. That no injustice might be done them, the corporation declared its purpose of endowing a benevolent and life-insurance association of the character suggested by the *Nation*, securing to its employees greater benefits than they could derive from any trades-union. As we go to press, the indications are that the engineers will, almost to a man, remain with the road and abandon the Brotherhood. The example set by the Reading will doubtless be generally followed by the other large corporations.

The city aldermen have unanimously adopted resolutions looking to a removal of the capital from Albany to New York, and the scheme has sufficient support to attract some little discussion in the newspapers. There is a great deal to be said in favor of it apart from all questions connected with the new Capitol building. The separation of the State capital from the commercial capital of the State and country has always had the effect of making the largest material and intellectual interests of the State seem to its legislators remote and unimportant, and they have consequently got into a way of dealing with city affairs as if they were those of a dependency or province. Added to this has been the feeling, greatly stimulated by the war, that New York was a wicked place, controlled by an ignorant foreign vote, sunk in sin and iniquity of all kinds, the home of Jay Gould and the late James Fisk, Jr., and

consequently in need of a good deal of discipline and correction at the hands of the pure rural representatives in the way of new election laws, charter amendments, and license and tax laws; while the very just complaints that these arbitrary enactments have called forth have gradually come to be treated as of no more consequence than the writhings and foamings at the mouth of persons out of whom devils were being exorcised. This would probably be a good deal ameliorated by bringing the capital to the city, as the Legislature could not escape the force of the public opinion of the community in which they passed a considerable part of the year, nor of the papers they read, nor of the general tone of thought. It would probably also tend to clear up many of the confused notions they have on the subject of the public service, and convince them that efficient public servants cannot be obtained at bricklayers' prices in a place where the general scale of living is such as prevails in New York.

The plan of the Municipal Commission is beginning to attract the attention of those most interested in its being carried out, and the Chamber of Commerce and Produce Exchange have appointed committees to push the proposed constitutional amendments. If they can be got through the present Legislature they can be submitted to the people in the fall of 1879; but we doubt if the action of commercial bodies only will be sufficient to rouse the Legislature into action. The general mass of taxpayers, particularly the small taxpayers, on whom most of the burdens of taxation at present ultimately rest, are most deeply interested in the reform advocated by the Commission, and it is very doubtful whether the Legislature can be brought to take much interest in the matter until they see that the demand for action is general. Public meetings, concerted action among the large cities, and permanent committees to promote the passage of the amendments are now talked of, and seem to be necessary if anything is to be accomplished.

A call of the Legislature has drawn from the Comptroller a statement of the legal expenses incurred in suing the members of the Ring, and trying to recover some of the stolen money, and we venture to say it will cause a good deal of both surprise and indignation. The city has recovered \$690,849, of which, we believe, nearly \$600,000 was voluntarily surrendered by Watson's widow, and the remainder by Woodward; but the payments made to lawyers amount to \$135,264, and the total expenses, including the enormous sum of \$66,394 to an “accountant,” reach \$226,711. One lawyer, Mr. Peckham, got \$57,581; another, Mr. Lyman Tremain, who has not been very prominent in the litigation, \$25,000. The other fees do not seem large, but one cannot help asking why so much legal assistance was necessary. The most extraordinary items in the accounts are, however, fees of \$15,000 to Mr. Geo. T. Curtis and \$12,500 to Mr. John K. Porter. Is it not true that these gentlemen were retained in the sham suits against the Ring instituted by Mr. O'Gorman before the real *bonâ-fide* proceedings began, and if so, what services could they have rendered to the city worth \$27,499.70, and who was audacious and lavish enough to pay them? As things have gone, we fear taxpayers will conclude that it is more economical to let rogues get off with their plunder than employ lawyers to catch them.

Shortly after his return to this country, Tweed addressed a letter to Charles O'Connor, informing him that he was overwhelmed by his reverses—“an old man, greatly broken in health, cast down in spirit,” and unable any longer to bear his burden. He proposed to abandon altogether the legal struggle, to employ no more counsel, to deliver up his property and his papers, and to put himself at Mr. O'Connor's disposal in furtherance of the latter's aim to “permanently purify the public service.” Mr. O'Connor recommended to the Attorney-General the acceptance of this surrender, and negotiations

are now in progress looking to Tweed's release. The "permanent purification of the public service" is likely to involve some well-known characters, whose relations with the Ring have hitherto only been surmised, in lasting disgrace. Oakley Hall's flight to England is commonly attributed to his knowledge of what was coming. *Harper's Weekly* has published a minute account of Tweed's escape and subsequent life in hiding, based upon the "Old Man's" diary. It reads like a dime novel. The fact that Tweed kept a diary will be sad news to many of our "leading citizens."

A bill under consideration in the Michigan Legislature has for its object "to protect the elections of voluntary political associations, and to punish frauds therein." It provides that no one shall take part in a caucus, a primary, or a nominating convention who is not a resident of the locality, or entitled to vote at the next election held there, or who has on the same day voted at a "pre-primary," or has directly or indirectly received a bribe for his vote, or "has been promised any fee, or reward, or intoxicating drinks for his vote." The bill then empowers the chairman or clerk of the meeting to reject the vote of any person shown thus to be disqualified upon challenge and after examination under oath, and makes the penalty for voting after being challenged, or for false swearing upon examination, a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars, or imprisonment from ten to ninety days, or both; and the same penalty is prescribed for any disturbance of the meeting against the ruling of the presiding officer, as well as for the refusal, on the part of any officer, to receive or entertain any vote offered in compliance with the provisions of the act. Except as a sign of the times we cannot say that we attach any great value to this legislation. The standpoint of electoral reform nowadays is that the people who do not attend caucuses and primaries are more in need of protection than those who do; and as the former do and always will largely outnumber the latter, their case is the one which calls first for a remedy. Just now the course for States to pursue seems to us quite other than the regulation of the details of our political machinery. Let them rather put themselves in unison with the principles and policy of the present Administration in regard to civil-service reform; let them be more solicitous to keep State officers than non-residents away from the caucuses; and let them steadily seek to elevate and restrict the suffrage by taking it out of the hands of the ignorant and the vicious, and by making the forfeiture of it a real penalty and disgrace. When all this has been accomplished it will be clearer than it is now how much need there is for legislation like that proposed in Michigan, how far it can be enforced or evaded, and how much good it will do.

The Governor of Georgia has issued a proclamation submitting to the popular vote a constitutional amendment which has already passed two successive legislatures. It provides against the payment, under any circumstances, of some seven millions of bonds with arrears of interest for six years, amounting altogether to about nine millions. These bonds are of several different classes, and the debt which they represent was contracted during the reconstruction period for various purposes, and there is no question that some of the proceeds of their sale were squandered and misappropriated by the Bullock ring, while with regard to some of the issues there may be doubts as to the authority of the State to contract any debt. Under the idea that this was true of all of the bonds a feeling has been gaining ground in Georgia for some years that the entire debt ought to be repudiated, and has led to the passage of this proposed constitutional amendment by two legislatures. In reality, however, the State received the full benefit of a very large proportion of the total amount, the money having been spent in the construction of railroads and for other internal improvements. To repudiate these obligations *in toto* would undoubtedly produce great injustice and suffering. As an instance of what would be the effects of the passage of this amendment, we may mention the case of the holders of several

thousand dollars' worth of bonds belonging to an issue of \$2,200,000 authorized in 1870. The State compromised with the holders of all this class of bonds, but expressly excepted from the benefit of the arrangement these particular bonds (interest on which was accordingly stopped), on the ground that they were held by Henry Clews & Co., and that the State had an offset against them. An examination made by authority of the State showed, however, that instead of Clews & Co. being in the State's debt the State actually owed them money, while the bonds to which we refer were not in their hands at all.

The Stock Exchange markets have been unsettled during the week by trouble among the trunk-line railroads in reference to their agreement of last December to charge uniform rates to the seaboard; by the contest between the telegraph companies, and by the negotiations looking towards another coal combination. The trunk-line trouble arises out of allegations that the Baltimore and Ohio has violated the December agreement by according to favored Baltimore grain firms rates much below the schedule. This having been proved to the satisfaction of the Northern lines, they have threatened to be no longer bound by the agreement but to act independently, and as we go to press are only hesitating to carry out these threats because it is possible that the Baltimore and Ohio may make some amends. Should there be no settlement, the railroad war of last year will be renewed. The real trouble is that there is not business enough for all the roads, and the question is whether the respective lines shall be content with their share of the business at fairly remunerative rates, or shall in endeavoring to get more than their share reduce the rates so that the whole business will become unprofitable. The telegraph war is of less importance. It involves only two companies, one of which has nearly all the business, and the other just enough to be able to control rates, which have already been reduced fully three-fourths what they were a year ago. The coal companies are all in such straits that even the best of them seem willing to forego sound methods for a recovery of the trade, and to enter into a combination in all respects resembling that of last year, except that it does not propose to endeavor to put the price so high as then. As we go to press it has not been decided whether there will be a railroad war or another coal combination. A feature of the stock speculation was a sudden break-down in Panama stock from 120 to 80, and in Pacific Mail stock from 21 to 12½, caused by the reported embarrassments of Mr. T. W. Park, who for several years has been identified with both companies. On the day when Panama fell from 120 to 80 the company declared a quarterly dividend of 3 per cent.

The news of the signing of the protocol does not seem to restore confidence in the preservation of the peace in Europe. In fact, as we pointed out last week, it seems to leave the final decision still dependent on the ability of Russia and Turkey to come to terms. The protocol is to be backed up by a *procès verbal* or rider containing Russia's declarations explanatory of the protocol, and one of these is that Russia is willing to demobilize and receive an envoy from the Porte for the purpose of arranging for disarmament on both sides, if Turkey will make peace with Montenegro and show a real desire to set about the work of reform. But then making peace with Montenegro is not an easy matter, and "reform" is a vague term, which Russia, if desirous of fighting, may construe as she pleases. The one certain result of the protocol seems to be that the immunity from foreign interference secured to Turkey by the Treaty of Paris is lost; all else is uncertain. The warlike signs are the growing excitement among the Mussulman population, and the growing counter excitement among the Russian peasantry, who are not as sensible of the financial inconveniences of war as the court and the nobility. In fact, it may be said that the probability of war is still strong. The most interesting news from Germany is that Bismarck has been granted a long release from the cares of the chancellorship.

THE POLITICAL SOUTH HEREAFTER.

THE dissolution of the last sham government at the South—an event which we have a right to believe cannot now be long delayed—will place the Southern States, as regards the rest of the nation, in a position which they have not before occupied for almost a generation. Heretofore, in the discussion of nearly all national questions, the most embarrassing and vexatious element at any time to be considered, and frequently an overwhelmingly important one, was “the South.” This term designated a number of contiguous States, bound together by mutual interest in the maintenance of a social system which was understood to be inimical to the feelings, at least, if not to the welfare, of the inhabitants of all other States; and “the South” was always, therefore, a more definite term than “the West” or “the North.” Slavery dominated every other interest, and held the Southern States together in political unity. The phrase “the solid South” was a legitimate one before, during, and even after the war, and only recently has it become a political bugbear. But the threefold cord which bound the Southern States together—the defence and perpetuation of slavery, the struggle for the establishment of an independent confederacy, and the trials of reconstruction—no longer exists, and nothing has taken or can take its place. For a time, perhaps, traditions of the dead “institution,” war memories, and the possession of a race of freedmen may together do something toward perpetuating a united South, but the union will surely be mostly in appearance, and any little reality which it may possess will speedily give way before opposing and stronger forces.

We believe the proposition to be almost self-evident, indeed, that hereafter there is to be no South; none, that is, in a distinctively political sense. The negro will disappear from the field of national politics. Henceforth the nation, as a nation, will have nothing more to do with him. He will undoubtedly play a part, perhaps an important one, in the development of the national civilization. The philanthropist will have still a great deal to do both with him and for him, and the sociological student will find him, curiously placed as he is in contact and competition with other races, an unfailing source of interest; but as a “ward” of the nation he can no longer be singled out for especial guardianship or peculiar treatment in preference to Irish laborers or Swedish immigrants. There is something distasteful, undeniably, in the idea of one who has played so important a part in our past political history making his final exit in the company of the Carpet-baggers; but for this unfortunate coincidence the negro is not to be blamed.

The disappearance of the factitious interest which made the South politically a unit will permit the rapid development of several natural and obvious disintegrating forces which, indeed, have been already in operation for some time, but the results of which have been obscured by the overshadowing interloper which has just been disposed of. Climate, soil, natural productions, diversity of pursuit, and varieties of race will certainly disintegrate politically the States of the South as well as the States of the North. The “sunny” South, of course, was a fiction, an agreeable convention only, for in the matter of climate the South presents variations comparable at least with any to be found in the North. St. Louis, St. Augustine, and New Orleans, for instance, are as diverse in climate as are any three cities which might be selected in the Northern States. The pecuniary ties, moreover, which unite some Southern States to the North are already stronger than any which bind them to their former political associates. Missouri, for instance, in its commercial relations and sympathies is a Northern State, as, in a modified sense, are Maryland and Delaware; and Florida apparently is set apart already as the winter home of wealthy and invalided Northern men, whose influence upon the tone of its politics begins to be perceptible notwithstanding the hubbub of its recent performances in counting electoral votes. Again, it is evident that the cotton, rice, tobacco, and cane-producing districts of the South will attract very different classes of people, and beget

very different manners and opinions from those inevitably associated with mining and manufacturing communities. Thus South Carolina will soon differ from Missouri even more than Vermont does from Pennsylvania or Minnesota from Massachusetts. Political disintegration at the South may show itself most plainly at first in connection with the discussion of economic questions. There is to-day throughout all the Southern States, probably, a traditional inclination towards free-trade, although the leaning is not a very decided one, and the change from this to an opposing attitude is a process which may be witnessed soon in several of them. Is it not possible, at least, that the cotton and rice States may increase their present leaning towards free-trade, while Louisiana, Virginia, and Kentucky demand protection against Cuban sugar and tobacco? Or, on the other hand, may not South Carolina yearn for Government aid in the establishment of manufacturing, and New Orleans sigh for free-trade in Mississippi products? Will the present great poverty of the Southern States, again, incline them to give ear to the jingle of “silver” theories, and make “greenback” delusions easy of belief, or will the memory of their own once plentiful “scrip” be a sufficient protection against indulgence in financial heresies? And will the South look with longing eyes upon visions of canals and railroads until it heedlessly begins the cry for internal improvements at Government expense, or will it be warned by the ghosts of *Crédit Mobilier* and Northern Pacific? It is evident, we believe, without lengthening the list of these enumerations or suggestions, that the Southern States may soon be as divided upon the subjects of tariff, currency, *laissez-faire* or paternity in government, etc., as we have been and still are at the North, and if New Hampshire and North Carolina should happen to join hands in defence of some political theory in opposition (say) to Louisiana and New York, the South would soon become as vague an expression, from a political point of view, as “the West” is now.

The future of the freedman will be bound up undoubtedly with that of the white man, and does not now require separate consideration. Great numbers of negroes will certainly remain upon the cotton-fields, rice-swamps, and cane and tobacco plantations, and, being employed as field-hands, their political opinions for a long time to come will inevitably reflect those of their employers. Others will learn to work in factories or become mechanics and small farmers, and, generally, all over the South for a long time, negroes will fill the places now filled at the North by Irish, German, and Chinese laborers. The political influence of the freedman, considered as distinct from that of the white man, will be almost imperceptible. His ultimate influence upon our civilization, as determined by the relative fecundity of the two races, and their action and reaction upon one another as the negro becomes better educated and more independent, is a subject which can be discussed more profitably a generation hence.

Generally speaking, while the political breaking up of the South will do away with a powerful barrier to national advancement, and will bring each State into closer sympathy with the national Government, nevertheless we hardly expect to receive any immediate and valuable aid from the South toward the solution of our present executive, judicial, and legislative problems. In this, however, we may happily be mistaken. It is true that the South has long been more “provincial” than the North, that it is far from possessing similar educational advantages, that it is now almost barren of literary productions or literary and scientific men, and that these facts would seem to indicate a natural soil for the germination and growth of all kinds of crude and coarse theories of society and government; but, on the other hand, it is not easy to imagine the South developing theories more crude than some now cherished in Indiana and Pennsylvania, and which find shelter even in New York and Massachusetts. We are inclined to believe, also, that the average man of the South is a more pliant and enthusiastic follower of his chosen leader than the average man of the North, and the Gordons, Hills, Lamars, and Hamptons may be depended upon to exert a widespread and, in the

main, healthful influence. We cannot forget that it was the well-digested plan of a Southern Gordon with regard to the collection of revenue to which a Northern Morton could give no friendly reception and could make no better reply than a taunt and a sneer. But the important point to be remembered here is the fact that *all* political contributions of the South, of whatever character, will hereafter go towards the upbuilding of a national as distinguished from a "sectional" unity. For the first time in our history we are entitled to assert that there is no danger of national dissolution. Heretofore our chief attention has been given to the saving of national life, and only incidentally have we been able to consider its character or to decide upon the best methods of perfecting it. We can now devote ourselves to legitimate politics—that is, to studies of governmental science—with a fair prospect of being able to throw some light upon many of the unsolved problems of modern life.

THE MORALITY OF THE STUMP.

THE change of tone in the Republican press about the relations of the Federal Government to the Southern States goes on more rapidly than ever. The use of "troops" to protect "the Republican party between the Potomac and the Rio Grande" appears to have absolutely no defenders left. The suffering and devoted Carpet-bagger is indeed told, in good set terms, that he is a pernicious person, that he has seriously damaged the party, and had better come home. There has not been since the outbreak of the war a more rapid modification of opinion, and we should welcome it with unalloyed pleasure if it were not for one thing. We are of the number of those who believe that in politics as in other fields of activity words should express convictions, and that, after making due allowance for the froth and exaggeration of campaign rhetoric, there should run through the speeches and articles of a Presidential canvass a distinct and substantial vein of truthfulness and sincerity; that writers and orators on the one side and the other, and especially on the side which professes most respect for principle as distinguished from mere expediency, should, if they do not believe all they say, at least believe a great part of it, and have a certain firmness of hold on their own doctrines. We have commented more than once on the dishonesty—we cannot use a milder term—of "supporting Hayes" in the late canvass by pretending not to see, hear, or know anything of the preachings and policy of the leading Republicans on the stump and in the Cabinet. We must now add, that to those who think there is any morality in politics, and that words ought to stand for ideas, the sudden conversion of those gentlemen to the President's policy, especially with regard to the South, is by no means a gratifying spectacle. Colonel "Bob" Ingersoll, for example, has been delivering a lecture in the leading cities in which he openly repudiates nearly every doctrine on which he laid stress in the late canvass as one of the principal orators of the Republican party. He acknowledges that he did what in him lay to arouse feelings of hostility in the North towards the Southern whites, and to strengthen the theory by which the South was treated as conquered territory, and its constitutional rights overridden in the supposed interests of the blacks. He is now engaged, however, in recommending a policy of conciliation, kindness, and strict legality, and treats his sudden conversion as a capital joke, over which he invites the audience to laugh. There have of late been several exhibitions of this kind, though perhaps none so gross in their cynicism, and a large part of the public is not unnaturally disposed to overlook the moral repulsiveness of them in consideration of the assistance they give to what is considered the wise and prudent course of the President. Of course we do not underrate their practical value, but we cannot overlook the great stimulus they are likely to give to political charlatanism. Party politics is in a bad enough condition we all know, but politicians had not hitherto reached the condition of complete shamelessness which is involved in the joking abandonment in March of opinions which they promulgated in October with the utmost solemnity; and we do not think

the more sober and honest portion of the public can calmly witness this shamelessness without a certain loss of self-respect.

Of course, men may honestly change their opinions within half a year, but decency requires that the change should take place on subjects which they do not profess to have maturely considered. The Southern problem was not at the late election in this category. It had been a burning question for eight years, and the Cincinnati platform was an implied condemnation of the course of the late Administration. We can see the possibility of an honest man's believing the platform to be pernicious and mistaken, and trying to destroy its effect while advocating Hayes's election; but the man who does this up to the day of the inauguration, and then, finding that he is on the losing side, comes out and declares his past preachings to have been in the nature of a joke, plays a part which is usually assigned to "confidence men." Parties are a necessary agency in a free state, but to be in any sense salutary they have to be carried on by persons who, even if they do not believe what they say, are sure to stick by their colors, and stand or fall with their own doctrines. Without this, party responsibility is not possible, and irresponsible parties are little better than gangs of condottieri. The fatal objection to the plan of "reform within the party" was that it involved either a humiliating confession by the party leaders of complicity in abuses, or else an impudent readiness to adopt whatever seemed to be the winning opinion. Leaders capable of this are only fit to head factions in a jail-yard; they are not fit to lead any portion of a free people in a trial of strength in debate and at the polls with the holders of adverse views of public policy. All such contests in civilized states are supposed to be conducted in the main by honest men, whose sober utterances express their real feelings, and who, if they cannot get the majority on their side, are ready to accept the ordinary penalties of constitutional defeat.

If we said that this conversion of our orators and public men into mere talkers, who neither feel nor profess any moral responsibility for their language, and treat their defeat at the polls or the repudiation of their views by their President as a lawyer treats the loss of a case, was due, in a considerable degree, to the condition of the civil service, we should say something which will now seem trite, but we should not be very far wrong. Mr. Evarts declared in his campaign speech last October that the office-holders were killing statesmanship among us, and he could hardly have said a truer thing. Nearly every man on the Republican side who took an active part in politics during the Grant régime, had risen into prominence or power by the dexterous use of patronage, and had not unnaturally lost his interest in public questions, as things which could neither help nor hinder him. As long as he kept in general loose agreement with "the party," and could keep the right men in the offices of his State or district, he found he need not trouble his head very much about the problems which were vexing the souls of patriotic men outside politics. The result was that by the time Grant retired, the currency, the civil service, and the South were all themes which leading politicians approached half-jestingly, and, like the doctors who are ready to treat you either homeopathically or allopathically as you please, were prepared to take any ground upon them that seemed likely to be most popular. It was in this state of mind that they entered on the late canvass. To the honest, upright consideration of the Southern question very few of them had given any serious reflection—in fact, reflection is something they mostly avoid on all subjects—but it seemed to them that the public was ready to be roused by the cry of "the bloody shirt" and the memories of Andersonville. Finding since the election that conciliation and peace are the popular idols, they turn right round and ask you to join them in laughing over their own excesses, with apparently as little sense of moral identity as an old toper to whom you recall the lying excuses on which he made his last loan. This is doubtless funny, but it is a sort of fun that is too serious to last. It is high time for us to put men into public life to whom party contests are something more than games of poker, and who have convictions which defeat at the polls cannot destroy on

the great questions of the day ; but there is little use in putting any kind of men in public life unless some better means than any now existing can be devised of bringing them promptly to book for foolish talk and lawless action—a matter which we propose to discuss more fully hereafter.

WALTER BAGEHOT AND THE *ECONOMIST*.

IN the death of Walter Bagehot, owner and editor of the London *Economist*, financial journalism has lost its acknowledged head, and England one of its best writers on political philosophy and government. The position of the *Economist* among newspapers is exceptional. Although attached to the views of the Liberal party in Great Britain, there is hardly another journal printed in our language which is so judicial in its character, and which has acquired such a hold on public confidence not in England only, but also on the continent of Europe and in the United States. It is not merely a financial paper, though primarily devoted to the interests of commerce, banking, and railways, but equally vindicates its claim to the title of a "political, literary, and general newspaper." No other prominent journal so strictly represents the mind and thought of its editorial head, for the reason, probably, that so large a part of its leading articles have been the work of his own hand ; while those who have assisted his labors have learned to think and write like him. It is impossible to predict what the *Economist* will become in other hands than those of Mr. Bagehot, and it is hardly to be hoped that it can continue to enjoy the influence and popularity which he has given to it.

The birth of the *Economist* in 1843 was significant of the revolution which had taken place in English politics. The passage of the Reform Bill closed a chapter in political history ; a chapter whose first pages were written by William Pitt, and its closing lines by Macaulay and Lord Brougham. Many years elapsed before the question of the suffrage—of personal participation by the subject in the government of the country—became again prominent. In that interval the ascendancy of material interests in English politics, now the controlling influence in the Government of Great Britain, was definitively established. The *Economist* was the fruit and exponent of the new régime. Singularly enough, its establishment was partly due to the incapacity of the *Examiner* to realize and conform to the new aspect of public questions ; or, what is equally probable, to the reluctance of its editor to share the honors of his position with a new and ambitious aspirant. "Sed non omnes omnia possumus." What Albany Fonblanque had so brilliantly accomplished in the field of political reform it remained for another master mind to achieve in the new field of commercial and financial legislation. The prophet of the new dispensation was James Wilson. He proposed to Mr. Fonblanque "to contribute gratuitously to the *Examiner* papers on economical and financial subjects. His offer was refused, and he then established a journal which should be the especial vehicle of his philosophy on these sciences, and which he proposed to sustain mainly by his own exertions." In its early years the *Economist* was almost wholly the work of his own hands. He wrote not only the leaders, but a majority of the lesser articles ; and, what is of hardly inferior importance in journalism, he arranged and classified all its various information in such a manner that readers of every class knew just where to find the matter that concerned them, and were sure to find it.

In the seventeen years which intervened between the establishment of the *Economist*, in 1843, and the relinquishment of its control by Mr. Wilson, on going to India as Finance Minister, at the end of 1859, there occurred a series of economical events not less momentous than those political ones which had made the reputation of the *Examiner*. The father of the modern commercial system of England was doubtless Mr. Huskisson. If Canning and Huskisson had not prematurely died, the public affairs of Great Britain would probably have taken a different turn after 1827. Political and religious reforms might have been postponed, but commercial and financial reforms would certainly have been hastened. Even after Canning's death a good beginning was made by Mr. Huskisson, Sir Henry Patnell, and Mr. Poulett Thompson. The Finance Committee, from which great things were expected, was created in 1828, and in 1830 the question of taxation was discussed by these statesmen with a breadth and liberality hardly surpassed in later times. The very measures which were successfully carried by Sir Robert Peel fifteen years afterwards were brought forward by them at this time. They all agreed in recommending large remissions of taxation upon various raw materials of industry and articles of consumption, and they were equally agreed in favoring the imposition of a property or income tax. The further prosecution of these economical objects was, however, arrested by the all-absorbing question of Par-

liamentary reform, and, after that question had been disposed of, by the emergence of Irish issues, which first divided and ultimately destroyed the Reform Cabinet. The agitation of revenue reform, and especially the demand for relief from popular burdens, began about 1838, and for twenty years afterwards hardly any other domestic questions were considered than such as related to taxation, commerce, industry, or finance. The income tax was imposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 in the face of great opposition from the Whigs, and solely for the purpose of balancing the budget. He had at that time no disposition to reduce duties for the sake of revenue ; but a partial readjustment and remission of certain duties, adopted by him in the interest of protection, produced results so advantageous to the Treasury that the great Tory statesman became an unwilling convert to the doctrine of free-trade. Thus, under Tory auspices, by Huskisson first and by Sir Robert Peel and his political legatee, Mr. Gladstone, afterwards, were the great commercial reforms, which have made England the first of producing and trading nations, conceived, promulgated, and carried into operation. The Bank Act of 1844 was also the work of Sir Robert Peel, as had been the act for resuming specie payments in 1819.

Such were the influences under which the *Economist* was established, and such were the questions in the discussion of which its pre-eminence and influence were attained. Mr. Bagehot succeeded to this great inheritance in 1860, when by the removal of his father-in-law, Mr. Wilson, the control and management of the paper passed into his hands. In the absence of any biographical sketch of him which has as yet reached this country, the facts of his early life are imperfectly known. He was a writer for the *National Review* during the short life of that excellent periodical, and a volume of his collected essays was published soon after 1860. We recall, in particular, one of high merit on Sir Robert Peel. He has never been in public life, though twice a defeated candidate for Parliament—once for Manchester, and, at a later election, for the London University. His talents were not of the popular order, nor had he such persuasive manners or fluency of speech as would be likely to conciliate the difficult constituency of a great manufacturing town. He would doubtless have gained something and given much by occupying a seat in the House of Commons, but his noble career as a journalist would have been endangered by closer political ties. In the *Economist* he occupied a judicial and not a partisan position, and no journalist in England has with equal conscientiousness and impartiality judged the domestic, foreign, and international questions with which English journalism has had to deal. America owes him great respect and gratitude for his honest treatment of her civil war. He began on the Southern side, on the same general grounds which influenced Mr. Gladstone at that period, but his eyes were gradually opened to the true nature of the contest, his sympathies enlisted on the side of right principles, and his calm judgment satisfied not only that the North must certainly prevail in the end, but that it was better for England and for the world that it should prevail. The integrity of this uninfluenced conversion won for Mr. Bagehot the warm friendship of many Americans. Since the war the *Economist* has, in America, entirely supplanted the *Times* as the representative of financial opinion in Europe ; yet during all those years of heated railway speculation, when a word in its columns would have made the fortune of any enterprise seeking English capital, the integrity of its judgments was never questioned, and it has never even been suspected of improper influences. Nor has its place in American confidence been won by any flattery of our country or its institutions. In all its discussions of our affairs there has been a manifest desire to get at the truth and to speak it fearlessly.

While Mr. Bagehot probably lacked the creative and organizing power which enabled Mr. Wilson to establish the *Economist* and place it on so firm a footing, he has nevertheless greatly increased its reputation and authority. In 1843 there was neither precedent nor constituency for such a paper. Its precedent has been numerous followed—*sed longo intervallo*—both on the continent of Europe and in the United States, and it has created a constituency of its own over which Mr. Bagehot has exercised a greater personal influence than was ever acquired by his predecessor. He has been a recognized authority in Europe on financial questions. He was one of the few Englishmen invited to testify before the French Commission on Banking, Currency, and Credit in 1865, and he was an important witness before the English Silver Commission of 1876. The circumstance that he was a practical banker has been of great advantage to him as a journalist, as were similar business experiences to his predecessor. It may not be generally known in America that he was one of the proprietors of Stuckey's Bristol and Somersetshire Bank, and that he took an active part in its

management, visiting Somersetshire—his native county—every week on this business. The bank is a very old and important institution, having by far the largest note circulation of the English joint-stock banks.

Mr. Bagehot's publications have been numerous, and his pen was never more fully occupied than within the past five years, during which his three most considerable works, 'Lombard Street,' the 'English Constitution,' and 'Physics and Politics,' have been published. He has lately been a frequent contributor to the *Fortnightly Review*. Finance, government, and political philosophy have been his usual topics, and he has discussed them with great acuteness and learning. The contrast drawn by him in his book on the 'English Constitution' between parliamentary and presidential government—the English and the American systems—is the best exposition of these kindred yet differing forms of polity. Many readers were surprised that he should still consider the sentiment of loyalty to the crown as an important bulwark of the English constitution, the popular impression being that loyalty to the Queen and royal family is only a traditional sentiment. Those Americans, however, who happened to be in England in December, 1871, when the Prince of Wales was struck down by a sudden and appalling illness, and who witnessed the outburst of sincere and repentant loyalty which his danger and the rumor of his death called forth, need no better proof of the continued vitality and strength of the sentiment.

Mr. Bagehot is the third among the foremost economists of England who have died within a few years, those who preceded him being John Stuart Mill and Professor Cairnes. Each has left a place unfilled, and which it will be difficult ever to fill.

STENDHAL'S BONAPARTE.

PARIS, March 9.

NAPOLEON I. is an inexhaustible subject. Every poet of this age, every historian, has written about him, and we have known somebody who collected a "Napoleon library" which filled a large room, and had from two to three thousand volumes. Here is one more, and a small one, which would hardly be noticed if we did not see on its title-page the name of Stendhal (Henri Beyle).* The fame of Stendhal is as great now as the fame of his friend Mérimée; but Mérimée jumped into fame in his own lifetime, while Stendhal did not conquer the indifference of his contemporaries. I have always looked upon the 'Chartreuse de Parme' as a real masterpiece, one of the happy few novels that can live and triumph over time. If you were asked to write the names of twenty good novels, you would find it very difficult. I for one would place the 'Chartreuse de Parme' on my list; but, I daresay, the book can only be well appreciated by those who are familiar with Italian life.

Henri Beyle was half an Italian. He was a civil employé in the administration of the French army; as such he was detained in Lombardy under the Directory, and was attached to General Michaud during the Italian campaigns. In after-life he was for years consul-general of France at Civita Vecchia, spending most of his time in Rome, where he wrote various books on the history of art. His friends, who had come to power in 1830, nearly forgot him—he was buried in Italy; he made from time to time terrible efforts to get a hearing in France, but "les absents ont toujours tort," as the saying is. It is very fortunate that he was away from Paris; his descriptions of French life are very inferior to those of Balzac, while Balzac could never have written the 'Chartreuse.' Stendhal's great French novel, 'Le Rouge et le Noir,' certainly has great parts, but on the whole it is an odious book; the hero is as repulsive as the worst scoundrel of the realistic school. Like his friend Mérimée, Stendhal had a sort of affection for the *natural* man, for the brigand of Corsica, for the *condottiere*, the man who obeys the strong impulse of passion; but while he could find in Italy charming or terrible specimens of his *natural* man, he could not in an over-civilized country like France. The hero of 'Le Rouge et le Noir' is a *brigand* in Paris, a place where brigands cut a very poor figure, as they are dressed like ourselves and have to find their way not among bushes and between precipices, but among the rules of a cold and cruel society, and between the hedges of the Code Civil. The hero of 'Le Rouge et le Noir' is a villain who ends his days on a vulgar scaffold, and when the knife of the guillotine falls upon him the reader feels that the time has not yet come for the abolition of capital punishment.

You can always follow a central idea in all the works of an eminent writer; and Stendhal may certainly, with all his defects, be ranked among the eminent men who flourished during the romantic period. He was

eminently a materialist: he was lost in admiration of the strong man, well endowed with passions by a bountiful nature, who goes through life like a bold lion, a conqueror, sacrificing everything to his own appetites. Such men are unconscious; they work like natural forces, like the wind or the tide. It matters little with Beyle in what sphere they move, provided they show their innate force, their contempt of rule, their indomitable energy. They are all fatalists, all superstitious; the unbelievers of the 'Chartreuse de Parme' all have their little peculiar superstitions, like foolish old gamblers. They are not necessarily brutal; they can be as gentle as lambs, almost angelic; but the angelic form covers a devil. The angelic Fabrice, the hero of the 'Chartreuse,' is always ready to commit a murder; he is generous, chivalrous, brave, but his passion—the passion of the moment—leads him to his unknown fate, blind, obedient, always ready to meet his destiny. He becomes a bishop, but under the bishop's gown he is still a brigand.

And so is Napoleon in Stendhal's eyes. Not that he takes the word in any bad sense; on the contrary, the brigand is his ideal man. Napoleon is the great *condottiere* of history; he is a magnified Sforza. Stendhal adopts in his judgment of great men the new scientific method: he judges Napoleon by the Darwinian rule of descent. Look at the pictures of young Napoleon as an officer of artillery. If you could take off the French uniform, and replace it by sheep-skins; cover the long hair, not with a high hat with gilt borders and the tricolor cockade, but with a shepherd's hat; instead of the boots with spurs imagine them curious sandals tied with crossed leather strings, and you would have one of the young men who wander in the *maquis* (wooded haunts of the Corsican banditti), and who, in a moment of rage, think no more of another man's life than they do of their own. Send this young man into a country like the France of 1793, saturated with its own blood, deprived of all the ancient forms of law, at war with the whole world, and give him the greatest military genius, and you will have Napoleon. There is not much that is new to say on the infant days of Bonaparte in Corsica, on his family, on his mother, on the school of Brienne, on his début at Toulon. The historians have nearly exhausted this subject; still they have not, perhaps, understood as well as Stendhal the originality of the young Corsican. Beyle was a precursor of Taine. Everybody knows Taine's great theories upon the influences on man of all the antecedent and of the surrounding circumstances, of what the philosophers call the *medium*; he represents every man as a natural product of this medium, and explains him by it. Literature as well as art is the natural fruit of a certain historical soil. This theory, which, like many other theories, is only a part of the truth, has been much attacked as destructive of the principle of human liberty. It is not suitable to enter here into a critical analysis of it. I will only remark that Stendhal was strongly imbued with it, though he never gave to it as dogmatic a form as Taine did in his 'History of English Literature.'

The true Corsican nature of Bonaparte was shown in some circumstances with a singular force. I would only cite the murder of the Duc d'Enghien. All the circumstances of this horrible drama will probably only be perfectly well known when Talleyrand's Memoirs are published. But we may, even now, infer that Talleyrand's Memoirs do not tend to exonerate the memory of Bonaparte. The manuscript of the Memoirs is now in the hands of M. Andral, the present president of the Council of State. M. de Bacourt, Prince Talleyrand's executor, has not allowed M. Andral to publish the Memoirs, even although the term of thirty years marked as a minimum by Talleyrand has expired. The reason of this reticence is not accurately known; but it is said that Napoleon III., who was allowed to read in the manuscript some chapters of the Memoirs, and in particular the chapter on the murder at Vincennes, came to an understanding with the Talleyrand family: he gave the title of Duke of Montmorency to a member of this family (which was contrary to all the rules of our ancient monarchy, as there was no tie whatever between the Talleyrands and the last Duke of Montmorency, whom I knew, and who was an enemy of the Empire and an intimate friend of Queen Marie Amélie). This great favor conferred upon a descendant of Talleyrand perhaps inclined Talleyrand's family to suppress, as they have a right to do, the publication of the famous Memoirs.

I leave this long parenthesis and return to Stendhal and his work. The most original part of his book is the description of the republican armies which entered Italy and achieved those extraordinary campaigns that made the fame of Bonaparte. The old chivalrous spirit of France, which had been exiled from Paris and frightened away by the horrible deeds of the Terrorists, had found its only refuge in the army. The republican virtues which wore a repulsive aspect in the Convention and in the

* 'Vie de Napoléon. (Fragments.) Par de Stendhal (Henry Beyle.) Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern.

sections of the capital, had found their true form in an army composed of real patriots—men strongly imbued with a great love of liberty, and candid friends of the liberties of all countries. The young “heaven-born” generals, men of the Marceau and Kleber type, were enthusiasts: they really believed in their holy mission, they wished to break the yoke under which Italy and Germany were groaning. They cared not for money, for gilded trappings, for the theatrical garments of glory: they wore ragged uniforms. When they arrived as deliverers in the great cities of Lombardy, they felt the pleasure of young Hercules after one of his great works. Stendhal is truly delightful when he describes their feelings; read, for instance, his admirable description of the plains of Lombardy: “The country people showed our young Frenchmen, charmed with the spectacle, the *Scie de Lecco*, and, further on towards the west, the great open space which forms a void in the mountains, and is occupied by the Lake of Garda. It was from this place that the Milanese, from the bastion of the Oriental door, heard with so much anxiety two months afterwards the cannon of Lonato and Castiglione. Their fate was then in question; they had not only to think of the destiny of those institutions which then were the object of their passionate hopes; every man could ask himself: In what prison shall I be thrown if the Austrians return to Milan? Their passion for the French was then extreme, and they pardoned us all our requisitions.”

The description of the Corso of Milan at that time has a freshness which reminds one of the happiest passages of the ‘*Chartreuse de Parme*.’ The young staff officers on horseback used to go around the carriages of the young ladies, which occupied not less than six parallel lines. The infantry officers, who could not penetrate this labyrinth, sat before the coffee-houses, and took ices with other ladies. Sometimes they had to walk five or six hours before they could return to their camps. Oftentimes a Milanese friend would lend them a *seddiola*, a car with two wheels, drawn by a fast horse. Some officers rode for five hours in order to be present at a performance at the Scala. There was, however, the greatest discipline in the camps, and this curious mixture of pleasure and danger only helped to give a little more excitement to the troops. A French officer was always admitted to the boxes of the Scala. Whoever knows Milan and its society can imagine what encouragement young and still timid heroes drew from the blandishments of the most charming part of the Italian population. Stendhal insists upon the fact that there was no ambition among them: they were strongly imbued with the love of glory, with the love of France, but cared little for advancement. They reminded me, while I was reading Stendhal’s book, of some of the young officers from the North with whom I conversed during your great war at Washington or before Richmond.

Napoleon was not one of these disinterested heroes. Italy was the pedestal on which he built his fame; he played on the passions of his army with the virtuosity of a true Cæsar. His campaigns in Italy read like a novel; his strategy was bold and astounding, but he really cared for nothing but his own reputation—he intended to become the master of France. He was a true *condottiere* of the Middle Ages, and knew that there are times in history when force is uppermost, ages of iron and blood. He had nothing but contempt for the Revolution and for its principles; he acted as calmly as the scientist who resorts to vivisection in order to learn the anatomy of the human body. Individuals and even nations were to him like common tissues through which the sword of the man of genius can cut without mercy. This *fatal*, this terrific character of Napoleon was well understood by Stendhal, and he describes it all the better that he admires it and looks upon it with the spirit of a true Mussulman or of a savage. ‘Bonaparte’ is not a book, it is only a sketch; but the sketches of a man like Stendhal are more interesting than many books; and this new volume must of necessity take its place near the ‘*Chartreuse de Parme*,’ ‘*Le Rouge et le Noir*,’ and the ‘*History of Painting in Italy*.’

Correspondence.

THE FREE LIST IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It seems to me that Mr. Dana has called attention to the most fruitful source of mischief in our political system—that of the choice of electors by general ticket; but that the remedy he proposes would be inadequate. To choose the electors by districts—supposing the electoral system to be retained—would be an immense improvement upon the present system; but, after all, it would result in the same gross inequalities which we see in members of Congress—when, for instance, Maine sent none but Re-

publicans, and Maryland none but Democrats, to the last House of Representatives. This would be remedied entirely by some method of proportional representation which should give to each party a number of electors precisely corresponding to its numerical strength. The best form of proportional representation for this purpose would be the so-called “Free List”: each party presents a list of names which is voted *as a whole*; it is then ascertained what proportion of the whole vote is cast for each list, and a proportional number of names at the head of each list are declared elected. The so-called “Senatorial” electors should, of course, be elected by the legislature or by a majority vote.

As long as the electors are mere machinery, this plan would at all events bring about a perfectly just result; it would be still more salutary if, as your correspondent H. W. H. suggests, the Electoral College were converted into a genuine college. At any rate, it would be desirable that the amendment of the Constitution which would be necessary should not undertake to prescribe any particular method of choosing electors, but simply provide that they should be elected in the same manner as members of Congress; the details could then be determined by legislation. MARCEL.

Notes.

WE are glad to learn that the publicity given to the fact of an extensive spoliation of the historical records of this State has led to a partial restitution from a single (anonymous) source. Some sixty documents made up the parcel, and led to the unpleasant discovery that more had been taken away than had been advertised, and that in many cases “the absence of a document, or part of one, could only be ascertained by its return.” We hope, however, that this is only the beginning of restitution.—A posthumous work on ‘*Dyspepsia*,’ by the late Dr. W. W. Hall, is announced by R. Worthington.—The process of absorbing the other American music-publishing houses by Oliver Ditson & Co. has led to the recent purchase of the catalogues of J. L. Peters, Wm. Hall & Son, and Geo. D. Russell & Co.—The Illinois Free-Trade League promises to call a national convention for the formation of a national league in the course of the present year.—Goldammer’s ‘*Kindergarten Gifts and Occupations*’ has been made a little more accessible to English-speaking people by M. Louis Fournier’s authorized translation of it into French (Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: E. Steiger). It is illustrated, like the original, with sixty plates.—A French version of Turgenev’s new novel, ‘*Terres Vierges*,’ has been appearing for some months in the *Temps*; two German translations have been published, at Berlin and Vienna; and Mr. Eugene Schuyler is said to be at work on an English one, to be called, perhaps, ‘*The Rising Generation*.’—Any one interested in the bibliography of proverbs will find a useful list of works in the March number of the *Paris Polybiblion*.—The death of Prof. John S. Hart, of Philadelphia, for many years prominent as a teacher, editor, and author of numerous text-books, has been followed by that of Mr. Thomas Balch, of the same city, author of an unfinished work, written in the French language, on ‘*Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l’Indépendance des États-Unis*.’ The first volume has already appeared, and Mr. Balch had been diligently collecting materials for the second, which promised to be of great interest.

—A circular from the Surgeon-General’s Office, Washington, addressed to the medical officers of the Army, calls attention to a work of great magnitude for which their co-operation is asked. A ‘*History of North American Mammals*,’ to be published by the Government, has been undertaken by Assistant-Surgeon Elliott Coues, U.S.A., who, while his special province as a naturalist has been ornithology, has long been gathering materials for the present work. Twenty years have elapsed since the last general work upon the quadrupeds of this country appeared, and meantime enormous progress has been made not only in our positive knowledge but in modes of study and manner of classification; for the period in question exactly embraces the rise of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Dr. Coues’s scheme includes (1) the classification of North American mammals; (2) the most approved nomenclature; (3) elaborate technical description of each species and variety; (4) the geographical distribution of the species; (5) their “life histories,” or a full account of their habits. It is under the last two headings that Dr. Coues especially invites the co-operation of his brother officers, the facts about the geographical distribution requiring the most widespread testimony that can be obtained. As regards the habits of the smaller species, “the bats offer a peculiarly inviting and little-explored field of research.” The Navy has lately been regularly attached to the service of science by the new order providing for the taking of meteorological obser-

vations while at sea, and the country will gladly see the Army put to all the scientific use of which it is capable. Dr. Coues well illustrates in his own person the honorable extent of this capacity.

—A correspondent writes us from Montana :

"A year or two ago you stated that we were to have an American geographical magazine. Has this plan been abandoned? We have surely a sufficient number of people interested in geographical science to make such an enterprise a success, and we need a home periodical to give more prominence to American matters than is done by the European periodicals. It is only at rare intervals that one finds in these any reference to American work, while the Wheeler expeditions, the U. S. G. and G. Survey, and the different military expeditions are constantly adding to our knowledge of the geography of the United States. There is not to-day a single map of the States and Territories west of the 100th meridian even tolerably correct. If we had a geographical magazine to map and make accessible the new discoveries made every year in different parts of the Far West, it might make our maps a little better than they are at present. A great deal of valuable information and a great many sketch-maps could no doubt be furnished by private parties, and, although maps based on these might not be absolutely correct, they would be a great improvement on those now available, and if we wait for the Engineers to complete their atlas of the West (very excellent as far as published), I am afraid our grandchildren will hardly have a good map of the Rocky Mountains."

We do not remember having announced an American geographical magazine, but we learn that one was talked of some time since by persons then connected officially with the American Geographical Society. The enterprise, however, would have been purely a private one, as the Society lacks the means to carry on a journal. The financial crisis prevented the proposed plan from being executed. Although, from a scientific and educational point of view, an American geographical magazine is certainly desirable, we fear that just now a new periodical would not have the necessary pecuniary support. At the proper time, too, it must be undertaken by a publisher who can command sufficient capital to place it prominently before the public and to secure the services of an editor possessing literary talent and such scientific and practical knowledge of American geography that the magazine will have authoritative weight. No department of American literature needs the influence of discriminating criticism more than geographical publications, whether from the Government offices or from private sources. The maps produced are of all grades of value, both as to material and method of expression. The good and bad stand on an equal footing to-day before the public, and much of the force of the information conveyed is lost by hopelessly bad engraving and press-work. Our cartography can never be brought up to even a fair standard of accuracy or excellence until it is subjected to competent criticism, such as it would be the object of the proposed magazine to furnish. A secondary, but by no means unimportant, question is whether the magazine should be conducted and printed in Washington or in New York.

—The past month has been noticeable for the decease of a number of undoubted centenarians in this country; but the history of no one of them has so vividly recalled the connection between the past century and the present as that of the late Guy Carleton Haynes, the oldest resident in East Boston, Mass., who died March 16, at the age of ninety-one. He was the youngest of twenty-three children of Joseph Haynes of Haverhill, Mass., and was born February 5, 1786. His oldest sister, Mrs. Hannah Redington, was born March 27, 1735; consequently, she was upwards of fifty years his senior. She had grandchildren older than he. Three of Mr. Haynes's brothers, David, Ammi R., and Joseph, born respectively in 1738, 1740, and 1743, served in the French War in Canada in 1757, two years before the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe!

—The troupe which has been going about the country giving representations of Wagner's operas is chiefly remarkable for its orchestra, which, with the exception of Thomas's, is the best that we have ever heard. The credit of this is greatly due to the enthusiasm and energy of the conductor, Mr. A. Neuendorff, who unites to a sincere musical zeal the physical activity and endurance which the peculiar character of Wagner's scores renders so indispensable. We have never seen these qualities exhibited in equal force before in this or any other field of human activity, except, perhaps, once or twice in the demeanor of "leading filibusters" in the House of Representatives. As to the opera itself, the singing has been for the most part only fair (some of the most important features of it had to be omitted, apparently from lack of sufficient musical strength), and chiefly noticeable for the very creditable way in which Mme. Pappenheim acquitted herself, both musically and dramatically. Her voice has great volume, as those will remember who have heard her at Gilmore's Garden during the summer, and is better fitted for the strain put upon it by most of the music she has been singing than is ordinarily the case in troupes of this kind. Her acting would win her applause on any stage. As to the manner in which the operas have been put on the stage not much can be said. In fact, they have not been put on the

stage at all. In the libretto of 'Tannhäuser,' for instance, are the following stage directions for the first scene of the first act, which in Germany are followed, we believe, implicitly :

"The interior of the Venusberg near Eisenach. A large cave, which extends to the right immeasurably. In the distance is visible a blue sea, in which are seen the bathing forms of *Naiades*; reclining on the heights of the coast are sirens. In the front lies *Venus*, *Tannhäuser* kneeling before her, his head in her lap. A rosy light fills the interior of the cave. In the centre of the stage nymphs are dancing, and on the high projections of the cave are reclining lovers, of whom some occasionally join the dance of the nymphs. A procession of bacchanalians rushes forward from behind, dancing wildly; they walk with a drunken air through the groups of nymphs and lovers, who soon join the bacchanalian dance. To the dance, which grows wilder and wilder, answers, like an echo from the sea, the song of the sirens. . . . The dancers suddenly stop and listen to the song, but soon commence again, and reach the highest point of fury. At the moment of the most drunken bacchanalian passion, a general relaxation suddenly takes place. The loving pairs leave the dance and lie down on the projections of the cave. The procession of bacchanalians disappears in the background, where a dense perfume spreads, which by degrees reaches the front and covers the sleepers as in rosy clouds, until at last a small part only of the stage is free from it, where *Venus* and *Tannhäuser* remain alone in their position as before. Far away, the song of the sirens dies away."

Now, whatever may be thought of the morality of such representations as these, there is no doubt that the promise of them raises the hopes of the average opera-goer, and when the curtain rises and he finds that there is no immeasurable cave, no "bathing forms," no rosy light, no procession of bacchanalians, no groups of nymphs and lovers, no dancing, no "general relaxation," and no dense perfume, and, in fact, nothing at all but bare stage, with an extremely respectable stout German *Venus*, dressed in a costume which suggests a modest ballet-dancer, with a small knight, kneeling, as the libretto has taught him, in a most uncomfortable position, with his head in her lap, he is, to say the least, disappointed. One of the great differences between this new kind of opera and those that have preceded it is the minute attention paid to the stage accessories—the "mounting," as it is called. Startling stage effects, the last touch of realism, sensations of all sorts are relied upon by Wagner just as much as they are by the authors of such works as the "Femme de Feu," and to leave them out is really to prevent the audience from getting an adequate idea of his operas as complete works. The orchestral music, on the other hand, could not have been improved, and the very good audiences that have been got together lead us to hope that next year we may have the opportunity of hearing and seeing the "whole thing."

—The fifty-second exhibition of the Academy of Design was opened to the public on Tuesday, and it is gratifying to have to say that it is by far the best display of American paintings ever seen in one collection. It is, in fact, what should have been the exhibit made by our national art at the Centennial. It is much better than our show was at that anniversary, and looks as if it were the gathering together of all the ambitious works intended for a grand national celebration, which, with the dilatory engagement-keeping of artists, were contributed a year or so too late. Its most striking aspect is the bold front assumed by art-students working in Europe, who sign nearly all the best pieces, and the consequent collapse of what we used complacently to call the American school. The latter assumes a wall-flower place, and its qualities are seen to be especially a modest absence of quality. The work of the European pupils is bold, youthful, and confident, with that peculiar loudness in enunciating their masters' principles, as if they were their own characteristic of a certain time of life and a certain stage of development. When this strength in asserting another's theories is exchanged for strength in forming personal theories, we shall have an "American School" again, and not before. Just at present, the rooms on Twenty-third street are amusingly like a seminary that has advertised for professors, and on whose neutral ground the learned teachers of Munich and Paris are allowed to manoeuvre their show pupils in their shrillest, showiest exercises. What will surprise many people who acknowledge a general obligation to French culture is the vivid effect the Bavarian pupils are able to make. Mr. Shirlaw's "Sheep-shearing" (379) is certainly the star picture of the exhibition, and several other Munich works, including a Bonington-like sketch by the *magister* himself, Piloty, and Dielman's "Patrician Lady" (245), which we can hardly err in ascribing to Munich influence, make a strong assertion in favor of the school. In opposition to these, certain French works with less legerdemain and greater science speak earnestly for the solid excellence of Paris education. E. M. Ward's "Brittany Washing-place" (387) and "Sabot-maker" (192), Knight's "Harvest Scene" (450), and Sartain's "Italian Boy" (166) are works of thorough study and reserved power, while certain large decorations from the same school, betraying a familiar tendency to paroquets, nudity, and large Eastern grayhounds show the sprawling energy of youthfulness and sensation-

alism. Of contributions more domestic, Eastman Johnson's "Tramp" (491), R. Swain Gifford's "Cedars of New England" (446), Page's "Portrait" (437), Homer's "Answering the Horn" (311) and "Landscape" (406), and Mr. Richards's "Gull Rock" (343) are variously admirable without evident marks of foreign hammers and anvils. The catalogue this year is illustrated with over a hundred little cartouches, containing sketches of pictures on view, mostly the artists' autotypes, and of a quality to throw quite in the shade Mr. Blackburn's dissolute-looking pictures to the same purpose. These catalogues are sold, at some loss, for the old price, and if widely scattered over the country would doubtless help the Exhibition largely as a national art-exchange.

—A complete exposure of the system of local taxation prevailing in Massachusetts has been lately made by Mr. William Minot, jr., of Boston, in a pamphlet which has attracted a great deal of attention in that State. He gives the results which actual experience shows to have followed the attempt to tax everything within the assessor's reach, and his facts and arguments are of very wide application, as the Massachusetts system prevails generally through the United States. He states first that the constitutional provisions on the subject are extremely simple, giving only power to levy "proportionable and reasonable" taxes upon "all the inhabitants of and persons resident in and estates lying within" the State; that under this simple authority the State has passed laws providing, first, for a poll tax; second, a tax on all property, real and personal, including in the term personal any tangible property within or without the State, vessels at home or abroad, and stocks and other securities within or without the State; an income-tax, and a tax on property in the hands of fiduciaries to be levied on the fiduciary, whether the beneficiary lives in or out of the State. These provisions are reinforced by others, making taxpayers who evade taxation by any means liable to a fine of twice their last tax, or, if they have never paid any tax, to a fine of \$100 to \$5,000; and making any shareholder who, with the intention of avoiding the payment of taxes, fraudulently transfers stock, etc., liable to the forfeiture of one-half his stock. Lists of taxable property are required from the taxpayer under oath, and if he does not furnish them he is "doomed" at any figure the assessors choose, and then if overtaxed can only recover half the excess. Assessors are bound to value everything at its full value, and there is a fine of \$1,000 on any taxpayer or assessor for agreeing upon a low valuation as an inducement to change of residence.

—Such is the system. To show how it works, Mr. Minot gives some examples which are strikingly like, only more monstrous than, those published by Tax-Commissioner Andrews some time ago to illustrate the working of the system of local taxation in New York State. A., living in Massachusetts, owns \$100,000 of land in Illinois, and is not taxed because the real estate is outside the State; but B. owns \$100,000 worth of stock in a land company in Chicago, and is taxed because the property consists of shares in a corporation. C., owner of an undivided interest in a bridge in Illinois, is exempt, while D., owning shares in a Missouri bridge company, is taxed. E., deriving an income from property already taxed in Massachusetts, is exempt; F., deriving the same income from property already taxed in New Hampshire, is taxed twice. G., having a salary of \$7,000, is taxed on \$5,000 (\$2,000 being exempted), while H., having an income of \$7,000 on a capital from \$100,000, is taxed on \$100,000. I. lends \$10,000, and takes a mortgage for security; the mortgagee pays a full tax on the mortgage, while the mortgagor pays a full tax on the land; J., on the other hand, lends \$10,000, and for security takes a deed, agreeing to reconvey when the money is paid; the land only is taxed. The means of evasion are practically infinite, and the result is exactly the same as in New York—that the larger portion of personal property escapes taxation altogether, while the remainder is doubly taxed. In the country, where there is no large body of non-taxpaying voters, the assessors still (as they once universally did) represent the interests of property, and, there being no demand for public expenditures, the taxes are light. In the large cities, however, where the non-taxpayers control the property of the taxpayer (in Boston seventy-eight per cent. of the voters in 1874 were non-property-holders), and where there is a constant need of money for public works and improvements, the popularity of the assessor depends on his squeezing the property-holder to the last drop, and hence he is under a continual temptation to justify the extravagance of the class he represents by increasing the valuation of property and thus creating a fictitious basis for increased taxation.

—To complete the picture of the communistic tyranny under which the "solid man" of Boston lives, it should be said that for over-valuation of his real estate there is no redress in the courts; and that this is no imagi-

nary grievance is shown by the fact that it is by no means uncommon for trustees in Boston who are lending money on mortgage, to deduct (for the purpose of arriving at the real value of property) about a third from the assessors' valuation. In common with all the reformers and writers of authority who have discussed the subject during the last ten years, Mr. Minot insists that there is no hope of any improvement until the attempt to tax personal property in this Asiatic way is given up and all taxation is concentrated on one or two classes of property, visible, tangible, not easily concealed or removed—*e.g.*, real estate and corporate property—and is then allowed to distribute itself. This reform has a good many obstacles to encounter, as may be inferred from the fact that, though great dissatisfaction has existed for a long time in Massachusetts with the working of the present system, the only remedy suggested by one of the most experienced officials in Boston, when applied to for his views on the subject, was that the taxpayers' servants might be made use of as informers under a penalty of \$50, and that the penalty for not making returns should be increased from one-half the excess to the whole. Worse than this, the subject was referred to a special commission by the Massachusetts Legislature (one of them being a man of as high standing and reputation as Professor Seelye, of Amherst), and they reported that the citizen of Massachusetts had "no inalienable right except that to his own righteousness."

—Mr. Richard Grant White has an article in the last number of the *Galaxy* on "English Traits," in which he combats some prejudices once widely prevalent, but now probably dying out. Among others, the notion that the race has degenerated in this country, and that we have become weaker, more puny, less symmetrically formed than the stock from which we sprung is, Mr. White thinks, "essentially absurd." There is no doubt that the statistics of the Rebellion showed that the fighting material of this country was as good as that of any in the world; and yet that there was a difference a generation ago between the type distinctively known as "American" and the type known as "English" is, we think, undeniable, while that the advantage appeared to lie with us would hardly then have been maintained by any one. Mr. White maintains that it is inconsistent with all admitted facts "that a race of men should materially change its physical traits in the course of two centuries, under whatever conditions of climate or other external influence," and adds that "the very pyramids protest against it by their pictured records." That the difference of climate is not of much importance in the matter may well be conceded, as judging by the portraits of Americans of the last century, when the country was still dependent on England for its habits and fashions, the type was still English; and besides this, in Upper Canada, where the climate is certainly American, the type remains English to this day. But after the separation of the two countries was effected, a change of manners and habits set in which we should say, *a priori*, would be sure to lead to physical degeneration. Down to this period the country had been governed in a semi-aristocratic way. Families with large estates, worked by slaves, played a great part before the public eye, and formed a class having a good deal of leisure and opportunity for amusement, open-air sports, and devotion to their own physical well-being. Their régime came to an end not long after the Revolution, and was succeeded by one in which the whole community plunged with one accord into the pursuit of wealth. Amusements, out-of-door sports, all the means which centuries of experience had proved to be the best means of keeping up the standard, were thrown aside as so many hindrances to money-making, and the continual rise in the scale of living made the old primitive, leisurely, healthy colonial life out of the question. *A priori* this state of things ought to have gone on, and *a posteriori* it did go on until the new democracy had accumulated a sufficient stock of capital to make it again a question, not how life might be used so as to get the utmost amount of money in a given amount of time, but how the accumulated money might be used most rationally for the purpose of making life healthy and pleasant. The consideration of this question led to the conclusion that we had been living irrationally, that we had neglected our bodies for the sake of our pockets, and that we must reform. Can the athletic revival of the last twenty years, to which so much is owing, be explained except on the theory that there had been a physical deterioration in the race on this side of the Atlantic? Whether there had not been one also on the other side is a different question, into which it might perhaps be worth while to look. But we cannot believe until statistics force it upon us that Americans of the last generation were as healthy and strong as the generation now on the stage and coming on, nor that there was not a distinct physical decline between the colonial and the railroad and steamboat periods.

—*Nature* for March 8 gives a steel portrait of Hermann L. F. Helmholtz,

one of the greatest scientists of this or any age. From the biographical sketch accompanying it it appears that "his mother, Caroline Penn, was of an emigrated English family." Among the contributions to this number is one, on the patenas or grass-lands of the mountain region of Ceylon, which corroborates Prof. J. D. Whitney's view of the cause of our Western prairies—viz., the finely comminuted silicious soil produced by the disintegration of the surface rocks. The writer says that the traveller in the central province of Ceylon finds "tracts of grass-land varying from a few perches to hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of acres in extent, in the midst of otherwise interminable jungle." This land, unlike our prairie land, is exceedingly poor; it is worthless to the coffee-planter, and "incapable of supporting any vegetation except its own acrid *mànà* grass." Sir Emerson Tennant, like some of our Western theorists, supposed these treeless tracts to be owing to forest fires purposely set in times past by the natives for the sake of clearing the ground for pasture; but the jungle cleared in this way produces a different grass, and in time relapses into jungle again. The writer's observations lead him to connect the phenomenon with a band of half-formed quartzite several hundreds of feet in thickness, which occurs in the much dislocated gneiss of the island. Below this line—"i.e., where its *débris* accumulated, nothing but patena was to be found, whilst above, where the ordinary gneiss rocks were in a state of disintegration, the jungle and coffee were of a most luxuriant character." The quartzite disintegrates "into little else than a quartz sand impregnated with iron, and entirely incapable of supporting the usual forest vegetation."

—A fact of some domestic importance, not generally known, is stated in Mohn's 'Principles of Meteorology' ('Grundzüge der Meteorologie'). It is that the bulbs of thermometers undergo a gradual diminution in bulk, the result of which is that the column of quicksilver is crowded up within the tube to a higher point than it ought to reach consistently with telling the truth about the temperature. Hence some deduction must be made in reading a thermometer which has stood for several years without having its accuracy tested by plunging its bulb into melting snow. If, when thus tested with proper precautions, the top of the column should stand at 35°, we infer that 3° must be subtracted from all its readings, because the true temperature of melting snow is 32° F. Mohn suggests no explanation of this contraction; but an obvious explanation occurs to us, analogous to the reason why a similarly vitreous material, ice, moves down a mountain-side without being fluid. The principle underlying both phenomena is this: Alternate contraction and exhaustion (by heat and cold) in the presence of a third force acting steadily in one direction causes a change of form resulting from this third force. In the case of the glacier this third steady force is *gravitation*, and the change is *descent*; in the case of the thermometer, the steady force is the outside *pressure* of the atmosphere *versus* a partial vacuum within, and the change is *shrinkage*.

—The reign of Frederick III. is the period of the most complete disintegration of Germany. The imperial power had sunk to its lowest estate, and this selfish and mean-spirited emperor could do nothing to elevate it. And yet the need of reform was urgently felt by the great princes in whom now resided the real power of Germany. The fifteenth century is filled with projects of reform, one of the most important of which is described by Dr. Paul Schweizer of Zurich in 'Vorgeschichte und Gründung des Schwäbischen Bundes' (1488). The Swabian cities were, next to the Hanse towns of the north, the most thriving and important cities of Germany; they had for a long time been united in a confederacy, loose and changing, which now served as a starting-point for the new reform. Apart from the ecclesiastical electors, who, not holding by hereditary title, had no definite and permanent policy; apart also from the house of Austria, which was at this time divided into two branches, and had at its head the worthless emperor, the great powers in Germany were the house of Hohenzollern (under Albert Achilles) and that of Wittelsbach, in its two lines of Bavaria and the Palatinate. These two houses were at swords' points, and each desired to attach the cities and lower states of Swabia to its side. Long years of negotiation and intrigue ended at last in the Confederacy of 1488, which embraced all the estates of Swabia, even the Austrian possessions. It was really a compromise; and the important point actually secured by it was that now, for the first time, the right of cities to have their members sit as co ordinate members of the Diet was fully recognized.

—A society "for the promotion of charitable objects" has been formed in Tokio by eight Japanese gentlemen belonging to the highest circles of the empire, who, having formed the nucleus of the association and undertaken the duties of its management month about, have made an appeal to the benevolent of all classes in their own country, without distinction of rank

or position, to join and help them. Their general aim will be to collect funds for charitable purposes, their especial one to train and educate deformed persons; and the first objects of their solicitude are the blind, of whom there are great numbers in Japan, for whom an asylum will be provided and who will be taught some handicraft. The manifesto of the society is a masterpiece of composition when compared with the dreary literature of charitable institutions generally. Thus, we are tersely informed that "Western philosophers say that 'a man's nature is written in his account-book,' and verily it is so." An appeal could hardly be more telling if it were extended over ten pages. And the following paragraph contains a moral which might well be applied in countries more favored than the small island of the remote East where it was penned: "Did even those, not a few though they be, who, steeped in indolence and lust, wasting their money in idle pursuits, lulled into an evil dream by the beauty of women, or devoted to quarrelling and injustice, know nothing of the priceless treasures begotten by work and well-doing—did even these turn their eyes honestly inward and reflect, they would see that the bestowal of one old coat on a beggar gives a finer satisfaction of well-doing to the donor, as well as a thousand times more joy to the recipient, than the lavishing of a hundred *riyos* (dollars) on a dancing-girl." These words have an earnest ring about them which almost makes one fancy, in reading them, that one hears Confucius himself.

ACROSS AFRICA.*

LIKE most narratives of African travel, Captain Cameron's two volumes are the record of a really heroic achievement. When he arrived at Katombéla on the west coast, upwards of two years after having left Zanzibar, he was greeted by a French resident who had come out to meet him, having a hamper of provisions, and who "instantly opened a bottle to drink to the honor of the first European who had ever succeeded in crossing tropical Africa from east to west." This was a slender symbol of the recognition which Captain Cameron's fortitude and perseverance may properly claim. In the map which accompanies his book, his path, with all its weary sinuosities, is traced in a red line across the huge continent, and when we reflect that it was followed for the greater part on foot (for the donkeys with which the expedition started succumbed to fatigue and inanition at a comparatively early stage of the journey), we cannot but take a higher view of the possible "grit" of human nature. Captain Cameron went to Africa in the autumn of 1872, under the auspices of the English Geographical Society, to organize an expedition which should place itself in communication with Dr. Livingstone and under his command, for the further prosecution of his researches. Captain Cameron, as commander in the navy, had had some observation of the iniquities of the African slave-trade, and he was eager to do something, indirectly, at least, which should lead to its being trampled out. It must be said that in this respect the benefits of his journey will have been very indirect, as he had not the good fortune, like Sir Samuel Baker, to be backed by a khedive and accompanied by a small army. He saw much of the horrors of slave-capture, but he saw them in perfect helplessness, and was obliged even to associate and travel in company with the slave-traders. This must have been not the least of the hardships of a journey fertile in miseries. Captain Cameron started from the east coast with two companions, Messrs. Dillon and Murphy, and a large body—apparently, at the outset, some hundred and fifty in number—of native servants, porters, and armed men. He was overtaken a few weeks after his start by Mr. Moffat, a young nephew of Dr. Livingstone (all of whose family seem to have shared his exploring zeal), who was full of eagerness to join the expedition, but who died of fever shortly after doing so.

Captain Cameron's narrative, made up from his journals, is a plain, unvarnished, and extremely detailed account of everything that befell him and his party during his march of twenty months. The number of details and of small incidents mentioned in his pages is perhaps almost wearying to the reader, who marvels at the author's clear recollection of things which succeeded each other during weeks and months of monotonous obstruction and exhaustion; a wonder not lessened by the reflection that the author, in writing his book, has had his notes to depend upon. Note-taking must often have been for Captain Cameron a decidedly difficult process. Readers scantily versed in the mysteries of African geography (which latterly, indeed, have been elucidated to a degree very surprising to the ordinary reader) receive an impression that African exploration is, at the time, the most thankless even of those pursuits of which it is admitted that their reward is in the treasure which the virtuous man lays up for himself. To

* 'Across Africa. By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L.' London: Daldy, Isbister & Co.; New York: Harper & Bros.

some of these pursuits a certain amount of incidental sport is attached ; there is a grain of compensation to a pound of hardship. But unless one has converted one's mind into a large Geographical Society's map of the "black continent," so that one can regard each new squalid village that one arrives at from the point of view of an enthusiastic filler-in of the blank spaces on the chart, it is hard to see what is the immediate entertainment of a period of African wandering. The people, apparently, are detestable—filthy, stingy, mercenary, false, cruel, and devoted to making every step of advance impossible to you ; the climate is in the highest degree baleful, and the "sport," in Captain Cameron's pages, makes no great figure—though this may be because he was not a professed Nimrod, or was, most of the time, too weary to chase his game. He speaks of the scenery as being often of very great beauty, but the nature of African travel is hardly such as to put one into a mood for enjoying the charms of landscape. The charms of a good beefsteak are generally more striking. On reaching Ugogo—"when we arrived within the limits of cultivation our men, unable any longer to withstand the pangs of thirst, commenced gathering water-melons of a very inferior and bitter sort ; but some sharp-eyed Wagogo detected them and demanded about twenty times the value of what had been picked, and upon camping at noon our beasts were not allowed to be watered until we had obtained leave by payment." That is a specimen of the perpetual friction which the African traveller apparently has to undergo ; and it must be added that it is a very mild specimen. Captain Cameron's hired blacks were perpetually deserting and leaving him in the lurch, stealing, getting into trouble, and multiplying infinitely his difficulties. Add to this constant attacks of fever, lamed and lacerated feet, scantiness of food, and difficulty, sometimes amounting to impossibility, of procuring it, with exposure to scorching suns and drenching rains, and the thousand miseries of camping for upwards of two years among savages of great personal foulness, and it will be conceived that to sustain the weary wanderer, the "geographical" passion must be strong within his breast.

Of direct hostility from the natives Captain Cameron, considering that he had not a very strong party, appears to have met very much less than might have been supposed. Only once or twice was he shot at with arrows, and this scrimmage speedily subsided. Wild beasts also play a very slender part in his narrative. He sees a leopard tumble out of a tree with a monkey in his clutches, and, so long as he kept his donkeys, the hyenas were prone to get at them at night and tear them to pieces ; but Captain Cameron seems to have had, in this line, few adventures of the classic sort. During a long halt at Unyanyembe, about half way between the east coast and the great lake Tanganyika, he received news of the death of Doctor Livingstone, and on this one of his two companions, deeming that the *raison d'être* of the enterprise had failed, determined to retrace his steps. They had all been extremely ill and delirious with fever, and when the scroll reached them upon which Jacob Wainwright, Livingstone's sometime companion, had inscribed the statement of his death—Wainwright knew of an expedition having left Zanzibar and supposed it to be in command of the younger Livingstone—they were barely able to understand it. Cameron resumed his forward march with Doctor Dillon, but the latter was speedily compelled, by the state of his health, to turn back, and he died in the African wilderness a few days after parting with the author, of whom he was an old and intimate comrade.

It is out of our power to give any detailed account of the rest—that is, the greater part of Captain Cameron's narrative. His difficulties constantly increased from the fact that his medium of exchange—certain bales of cloth, which he dealt out yard by yard, in payment for food, lodging, wages of men, and such assistance as was rendered him—very rapidly diminished. He had been unable to bring enough cloth with him to last a journey of twenty months, and he arrived at his goal in a state of almost absolute starvation. In February, 1874, a year after his start, and "fifteen years and five days from the time Burton discovered it," Captain Cameron's eyes rested on "vast Tanganyika." Here, at Kawele, near Ujiji, he got possession of Dr. Livingstone's papers, which were in the keeping of a worthy Arab who had been living as a trader in this part of Africa ever since 1842. The number of traders—Arab, negro, Portuguese (under this denomination a great many base half-castes appear to cluster) encountered by Captain Cameron is very striking, and gives one a sense of tropical Africa being able to boast of a going to and fro of "bagmen" hardly inferior to that which may be observed in the most advanced Christian countries. The author obtained boats at Ujiji and devoted about two months to making the tour of Lake Tanganyika ; and then, resuming his journey on the further side of it, he joined a large caravan of traders for the purpose of passing through the formidable Manyuema country in their company—the people of Manyuema being cannibals and abominable wretches

generally. "Not only do they eat the bodies of enemies killed in battle, but also of people who die of disease. They prepare the corpses by leaving them in running water until they are nearly putrid, and then devour them without any further cooking. They also eat all sorts of carrion, and their odor is very foul and revolting." Captain Cameron spent upwards of a month at Nyangwe, on the "mighty Lualaba," which he believes to be one of the headwaters of the Congo ; "for where else could that giant among rivers, second only to the Amazon in its volume, obtain the two million cubic feet of water which it unceasingly pours each second into the Atlantic ?"

Captain Cameron waited many weeks—from October to January—at the capital of a potentate called Kasongo, a monster of cruelty, who was abroad extending his conquests, and whom the author did not feel at liberty to pass by without an interview. So he lingered, week after week, expecting Kasongo's return ; finding some society, however, in an Arab trader settled in what, in a Christian country, would be called the neighborhood. Kasongo at last returned, bragged horribly of his achievements, and proclaimed himself a god—a light in which he is apparently regarded by his subjects, who allow him to cut off their hands, ears, and noses for his amusement. His massacres and mutilations are incredible. Cruelty is in the manners of Urna, Kasongo's country. Witness this account of the usual burial of a chief, which is worth quoting :

"Their first proceeding is to divert the course of a stream, and in its bed to dig an enormous pit, the bottom of which is then covered with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the dead chief, covered with his beads and other treasures, is seated, being supported on either side by one of his wives, while his second wife sits at his feet. The earth is then shovelled in on them, and all the women are buried alive, with the exception of the second wife. To her custom is more merciful than to her companions, and grants her the privilege of being killed before the huge grave is filled in. This being completed, a number of male slaves—sometimes forty or fifty—are slaughtered, and the blood poured over the grave, after which the river is allowed to resume its course."

The account of the last weeks of Captain Cameron's march is of extreme, and indeed of exciting, interest. He had thrown away everything but his instruments and papers, to lighten himself and his men ; he was in rags, and he had nothing to buy food with. His men, within a hundred and fifty miles of their journey's end, collapsed and broke down utterly ; whereupon he picked out a few of the best, whom he persuaded to follow him, and, promising to send back provisions to the rest, he pulled his belt tighter to stop his hunger, and pushed forward over the mountainous country which borders the western coast. He arrived at Benguela, the Portuguese port of trade, devoured with scurvy, and only just in time to save his life. His last chapter is devoted to geographical considerations ; to an account of the natural wealth of tropical Africa, out of which he believes that "enterprise" may make fortunes ; and to an appeal to this same enterprise to bestir itself on behalf of the suppression of the slave-trade, to which he calculates that half a million of lives are annually sacrificed—a state of things which is rapidly depopulating the country. We earnestly hope that his appeal may weigh in the balance. Captain Cameron tells his remarkable story with no great literary art, but with a simple manliness and veracity which secure the sympathy and admiration of the reader.

POPULAR PROGRESS IN ENGLAND.*

IF one were asked to designate in history the place and time of the greatest advance in the political welfare of mankind, there need be little hesitation in pointing to the first half of the present century in Great Britain. The exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers and our War of Independence were striking events as providing a home for and establishing the existence of a new and mighty nation. The French Revolution swept away an old world, but did little towards providing the framework of a new. The consolidation of the German Empire betokens a new era, but it remains to be seen whether the victories of peace are in this case to be equal to those of war. The process, however, by which, among a population crowding closely on the means of subsistence, the rights and liberties of the oppressed masses were asserted and established against a feudal and landed aristocracy holding apparently unlimited power and disposed to use it to any extent in repression ; by which these first steps were followed up with a sweeping series of reforms which changed not merely the centre of power but the whole constitution of society, and by which these great results were achieved through constitutional methods and without violent revolution or extensive bloodshed—such a process can be compared only for importance with occurrences like the invention of printing. The song of triumph has taken the form

* 'Chapters in the History of Popular Progress, chiefly in relation to the Freedom of the Press and Trial by Jury, 1660-1820, with an application to later years. By James Routledge.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

of histories, biographies, and works of constitutional analysis. We remember reading with great interest Miss Martineau's 'History of England during the Peace.' More recently the Rev. W. N. Molesworth has published a history of the time since 1830, and now Mr. Routledge takes up the thrice-told but never wearying tale; not so much, however, with reference to the later and more general principles of reform as to the fierce struggles which took place after the peace of 1815 upon what Erskine May calls the "liberty of the subject." In so warm an advocate of human rights it is hardly possible that there should not be something of the partisan, and some of the political portraits should perhaps be taken with allowance, but a thoroughly impartial writer is only too apt to be thoroughly dull, and there is in this case such an evident intention of fairness that the caution needs only to be slightly insisted on.

Like Macaulay, Mr. Routledge regards modern English history as commencing with the Revolution of 1688, and recounts briefly such measures as the Uniformity, Conventicle, Corporation, and Test Acts, which, being reactionary at the time, were destined to cast their baneful shadow forward for a century and a half. It is curious to note how the "mad struggle of James II. with Protestantism," which drove the church back from the crown to the nation and was met by a change in the succession, was exactly contemporary with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which sent fifty thousand skilled workmen from France into England, and formed the first step towards the great Revolution. The eighteenth century is passed in general review, the whole book being, in fact, rather a series of graphic and forcible pictures than a detailed history. There is a beautiful tribute to Burns, showing how all previous literature had dealt with the cottage for itself and as an object of picturesque interest, but with no voice from the inside until

"A man's a man for a' that"

came to make an epoch in history. Mr. Routledge is no enthusiast for the state church, holding that, during the last century at least, while it retained the affections of the people by its social relations, it did not as a body do anything adequate to its position for the elevation of the masses; and as to secular knowledge, there is one reflection which Massachusetts educators would do well to ponder—that whereas the uniform general system established by John Knox shows as a result that "north of the Tweed every poor boy reads and writes," the English method of leaving each parish to the accident of the local clergyman (we will say school committee) has left the fact that "the farm laborer in the south of England is altogether ignorant as a rule." If the church does not stand in favor, not much more can be said of the bar, and we think there is hardly a single lawyer of eminence—we may perhaps except Erskine—and especially judge, of whom Mr. Routledge speaks with decided approbation. His work tends to prove, what we fear is too often true, that great political and social reforms cannot look for much support to lawyers as a class.

The key-note of the work is the account of certain state trials, chief among which are those of Horne Tooke and William Hone. It is difficult for us in this country and time to conceive a state of things in which the mighty of the land, ministers, peers, and judges, armed with a tremendous law of libel, with a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and with a retinue of spy informers, were bent upon crushing some poor writer who ventured to give voice to popular grievances. It is almost more difficult to conceive how the victim could have escaped. That time-honored British institution, the jury, is not, we believe, as conducted in this country, regarded with unmingled respect, but it has done work which may cover a multitude of shortcomings. In 1817 that institution was in great danger. The ministers had established the practice of preparing the jury-lists, from which the special jurors were selected; it was Mr. Charles Pearson, a name less known than it deserves, who was mainly instrumental in breaking up the system, and who by a protest in the case of Mr. Wooler, which was met by Lord Ellenborough in a spirit quite different from that which Mr. Routledge in general ascribes to him, secured an independent jury. Mr. Routledge records with keen delight the conflicts of Tooke with Mr. Justice Kenyon, and of William Hone with Mr. Justice Abbott and Lord Ellenborough. A strange sight that of the poor bookseller, in a threadbare suit of black, too poor even to employ counsel, standing up to defend himself in open court. The Government attempted to rest their charge upon profanity, and the first day's trial opened with the reading, by the Attorney-General, of a parody on the Apostles' Creed. "The political aim of the writer was unmistakable, the profanity was not admitted; and as Sir Samuel Shepherd read, the laugh passed from man to man till the whole court was in a roar. In that laugh there was defeat for the Government." Mr. Hone began his defence at first timidly, and then, gaining in firmness, withstood and silenced both judge and Attorney

General; showed that parodies equally or more profane by men high in place, and even divines, had not been prosecuted, and secured for himself a triumphant acquittal. The second day the Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough took the bench, determined, like Athelstane in 'Ivanhoe,' to make the audacious intruder from the dingy back-shop in the Old Bailey feel the weight of his lance. The avenues to the court were blocked by an eager, decided, and expectant crowd from all parts of London. It was the same story on the new charge: "Personal altercations, fierce on the part of the Chief-Justice, very calm and firm on that of the poor bookseller," ended in repeated victories for the latter, and he was again acquitted. It was thought that the Government would see the folly of their course and desist, but the madness of the gods was upon them, and a third day's trial brought a still more distinguished audience, gathered to witness a similar result. A subscription of more than £3,000 was raised for Mr. Hone's benefit, and Lord Campbell says: "The popular opinion was, however, that Lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after."

The final chapters of the volume contain among other things a sketch of the history of the English newspaper press, with remarks upon the course and duties of journalism which may be read with profit by all engaged in that profession; and also an apparently fair estimate of the leading public men in Great Britain of the present day. When one hears a writer like Mr. Bagehot, in his article upon Lord Althorp, say in substance that the second Reform bill was a mistake only exceeded in magnitude by the first, there is a pleasant offset in a judgment like this: "It has been argued that in inverse ratio to popular progress has been the deterioration of statesmanship; but the view will stand no test of fair examination. Possibly, with a few exceptions, the present houses of Parliament have no great orators. Certainly both houses possess men whose natural gifts and training qualify them for the responsible duties with which English statesmanship is charged."

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN THE CIVIL WAR.*

THE Southern Historical Society has just published the report of its secretary on the treatment of prisoners by the South in the late war—a subject spoken of by us only a few weeks ago (vol. xxiii., p. 385). The report of such a society is entitled to consideration from its source; but we regret to say that its treatment is not judicial, and that it adds but little to our knowledge of the matter. The evidence of abuses at the largest Southern prisons—Libby, Belle Isle, and especially Andersonville—is so extensive and so excellent (including the statements of both the investigating officers sent by the Confederate Government) that general denials by the author, or persons like General Lee, who do not appear to have had any personal knowledge of the matter, will hardly receive the attention the secretary seems to expect, particularly as it appears plainly enough from the report that there is only too much foundation for the charges. The author, however, seems to think that any weakness on this point is fully covered if he can show that the North was responsible for the stoppage of exchange and that Southerners suffered in Northern prisons, having the impression, apparently, that if that were the case no responsibility could afterwards rest on the South; and this seems, curiously enough, to be the position of nearly all the Southern writers who have referred to the matter. Instead of frankly acknowledging and regretting these wrongs, they defend them. Extraordinary as it may seem, this Historical Society justifies the preparations made to blow up the thousand and odd Union officers in the Libby prison at the time when the near approach of Dahlgren threatened Richmond; and no doubt the order of Winder at Andersonville to the same effect appears to these Southern historians in the same light.

After this our readers will not be much surprised to learn that Winder was a gallant hero and Wirz a saintly martyr, though the immediate responsibility for the fearful mortality rests upon them beyond a question. It appears plainly enough from this report that the mortality at Andersonville was almost wholly from diarrhoea, dysentery, gangrene, scurvy, and allied diseases, produced principally by overcrowding, filth, exposure, bad water, and insufficient food, and that all of these, except possibly the last, were easily remediable. There was an abundance of land and timber for extending the limits of the prison, crowded with more than four times the number it could healthily hold. Shelter there was none. Colonel Persons, during the brief period of his command at the first opening of the prison in the spring of 1864, collected lumber for barracks, but General Winder refused to use it, and compelled even the sick in hospital to lie on the ground in such a state that the Confederate surgeons on duty reported that the condition of the

* 'Southern Historical Society Papers.' Vol. I., January to June, 1876. Richmond.

hospital "was horrible." This refusal to provide shelter was as unnecessary as the overcrowding. When, on the death of General Winder in the spring of 1865, General Imboden took command, he seems to have had no trouble in erecting dwellings for 1,200 or 1,500 men within a fortnight by the labor of the prisoners, and he mentions the want of shelter as one of the principal causes of the death-rate of the previous year. Here again we find it difficult to put ourselves in the position of an historian who thinks that this refusal of General Winder and Lieutenant Wirz to furnish shelter was justified by an attempt to escape made by one of the first parties allowed to go outside the stockade months before. Yet this is seriously said of a prison where in five months about ten thousand men died in an average of less than twenty thousand confined, and in October the deaths were one-fourth of the average number there (1,560 in average 6,200). The drainage and water-supply stand in the same position. Both were foul, when they might easily have been fine. These things were so needless and so fatal that we can well believe Colonel Chandler, who reported officially to the Confederate Government, at the time when men were dying at the rate of over one hundred a day, that General Winder advocated "deliberately and in cold blood the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number had been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation." With such an object before him, there is little reason to doubt the evidence of the bad quality and the insufficient amount of food furnished. The secretary, in his report, quotes three witnesses (Frost, Jones, and Park) to the effect that the same rations were issued to the guard—a disputed point not perhaps very important to settle, as it is not denied that there were abundant supplies at Americus and elsewhere in the vicinity, in a region which Sherman found so well supplied, and that our men were starving to death on the rations of unbolted corn-meal alone that were issued to them, while the gifts of charitable neighbors were not allowed to be distributed to them.

The responsibility of General Winder and Lieutenant Wirz for all this cannot be rationally denied; but we could wish for our national credit that it went no further. Unfortunately, the injudicious authors of this report will not allow us to believe so. Early in 1864, soon after the general reduction in rations to the prisoners of war in the hands of the Confederates, attention was drawn to their sufferings. Colonel Persons appealed to the courts for an injunction on the Andersonville prison as a public nuisance. Hon. H. S. Foote, aroused by the Secretary of War's recommendation that no more meat be issued to the prisoners, called the attention of the Confederate House of Representatives to their sufferings, and asked investigation. General Howell Cobb, who had command of the department, investigated the hospitals, and, in the face of outspoken reports from the surgeons in charge, reported that action was not required. Dr. Jones, however, who was specially sent there by the Government for scientific investigation, made a report which, though one-sided and long-winded, showed plainly enough the state of things. Colonel Chandler, who was sent by the Secretary of War, Colonel Seddons, to investigate the charges, briefly reported in August, 1864, that it was "a place the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization," and recommended the removal of General Winder. General Cooper, the Inspector-General, endorsed this report, writing that "Andersonville is a reproach to us as a nation." J. A. Campbell, the Assistant Secretary of War, urgently endorsed the report. General Bragg and General Ransom and others agitated for Winder's removal. Judge Ould made the mortality of the prisoners the ground for a strong appeal to the United States for a renewal of exchange. *And this was all.* Mr. Davis not only refused to remove General Winder, but extended his authority to all the Confederate prisons, which powers he held until his death in the following year. The apologists for President Davis have always contended that he was not aware of the "horror"; and singular as it may seem that a ruler who always made himself personally familiar with even the details of the War Office should not have known of an investigation of such a nature, made in consequence of action of the House, pressed by the principal departments, and made the basis of diplomatic action with the United States, the wrong was so great that we hesitated to believe that Mr. Davis could sanction or defend it. But it appears from this report that Mr. Davis knew General Winder's character, and—we quote his own words in his letter of June 20, 1867—"was always, therefore, confident that the charge was unjustly imputed" and that everything was done that could have been expected. We must confess to a feeling of regret that an injudicious advocate has thought it necessary to publish a letter that shows the man whom half of our nation for years delighted to honor, as always knowing the charges and defending the course pursued.

The secretary expends a considerable space upon stories of wrongs by

Northern soldiers, most of which are probably true, but it is hardly worth while to analyze in detail the confused assemblage. Many of the incidents were the unavoidable atrocities of border warfare, not connected with the prisons discussed, and most of the others were exceptional, occurring under officers who were speedily removed, or under unusual circumstances, as appears by the accounts of others in the same report, showing a generally different state of affairs. That sad abuses occurred occasionally is evident enough, but that there was any general ill-treatment for which the Government was responsible there is no reason to believe except certain suspicious statistics of prison mortality made up from statements of Secretary Stanton as to the number of prisoners taken, and a report of Surgeon Barnes giving the total number of deaths. The result of the calculation is startling, for it shows a rate of mortality in the Confederate prisons, excluding Andersonville, only about one-half of that in the Northern. Bearing in mind the great sacrifice of life at Belle Isle and Libby, and the loose way in which the estimate is made from diverse and inaccessible sources, it seems suspicious in the extreme. It has been impossible to learn anything about it from the present Adjutant-General's Office, where the applicant will find himself turned off with some ambiguous statement that the mortality on one side is roughly estimated at 12 per cent., and on the other side at 16 per cent.; and if he asks on which side it was twelve and which sixteen, he refused further information on the ground that to answer such requests "would require the entire clerical force of the office for about three years." It is to be hoped that under the new Administration this stain on the national honor may be removed. But meanwhile our reputation suffers most seriously from the charge, as any one who remembers the flings of foreign journals will recall with mortification.

A Mad World, and its Inhabitants. By Julius Chambers. (London: Sampson Low & Co.; New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)—Mr. Julius Chambers certainly showed considerable boldness in his voluntary visit to an insane asylum, and if his account of what he saw and suffered there is somewhat over-freighted with enthusiastic admiration of the power of the daily press, it is to be remembered that it is to the daily press alone that the public owes this exposure of the abuses to be found in some asylums. Stripped of its superfluous rhetoric, the book tells us how the author, having readily agreed to feign insanity, studied different books on the subject in order to deceive the experts who should examine him. He had very little difficulty in doing this, and soon he found himself confined in Dr. "Baldric's" Asylum on the Bloomingdale Road, "a sane man sworn into a maniac's cell in the city of New York at the request of a stranger and on the oaths of two unknown physicians, one of whom had felt the patient's pulse, been with him twenty minutes, and agreed with the theory and views of a professional acquaintance; while the other, an 'expert,' in hopeless embarrassment at the singularity of the case, had been prejudiced against the young man's sanity by the fears and falsehoods of a panic-stricken nurse." Once under bolt and key he saw much that every one will read with painful interest; his room was a comfortless cell, the meals were ill-cooked and ill-served, the patients were harshly treated by the attendants and neglected by the physicians, there were no measures taken for their entertainment, communication with the outside world was denied, and several sane patients were confined without the possibility of escape. The visits of inspectors were merely formal, the asylum was put in holiday rig to deceive them, and they were kept aloof from the inmates. Some of the stories which the author vouches for show the most abominable cruelty on the part of the attendants.

After a fortnight's stay, Mr. Chambers was freed by outside friends, and there can be but little doubt that his full disclosure of what he saw has been, and will be, of the greatest service in removing the shameful faults that have grown up in some asylums, where, on account of the lack of accountability and the absence of outside control, those who are suffering from extreme nervousness and diseased brains have been treated by those in command more brutally than if they were the rudest criminals. The whole story is an alarming one, and we are glad to see by the appendix that Mr. Chambers's revelations produced some improvements. His book deserves to be widely read.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices
Blau (Dr. O.), <i>Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina</i> , swd.	(L. W. Schmidt)
Cameron (V. L.), <i>Across Africa</i>	(Harper & Bros.)
Du Bos (Prof. L.), <i>Rip Van Winkle</i> ; traduction exacte	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelinger)
Duncan (Florence L.), <i>Lessons in Modelling Wax Flowers</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Hall (Dr. W. W.), <i>Dyspepsia and its Kindred Diseases</i>	(R. Worthington) \$1 50
Kavanagh (Julia), <i>Two Lifes: a Tale</i>	(D. Appleton & Co.)
La Mesolanza, swd.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Miller (Rev. J.), <i>Questions awakened by the Bible</i>	

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1877.

The Week.

THE Chamberlain government melted into thin air on Tuesday as the U. S. troops moved out of the State-House at noon. Contrary to rumor, Mr. Chamberlain made no resistance, and, so far from waiting to be served with a process in the courts, declared in his farewell proclamation (not to the people, but to the Republicans, of South Carolina) that there was no court in the State which had jurisdiction to pass upon the title to his office. He accused the President of evading his duty of ascertaining which of the two rival governments was the lawful one, "by a new interpretation of the Constitution, at variance alike with the previous practice of the Government and with the decisions of the Supreme Court." He was also very severe on the doctrine which he had heard somewhere "that if a majority of the people of a State are unable by physical force to maintain their rights, they must be left to political servitude." He intimated that he would have been glad to lay down his life in opposing this doctrine, except that such a course would involve the lives of those whom he represented. He accordingly turned over the records and papers of his office to Governor Hampton, on demand.

The Louisiana Commission have not yet made much progress with their work, their time being mainly occupied with hearing statements and arguments of all sorts relating to the duplicate governments, and these cannot be expected to do more than show how much actual support Packard has. A great mass-meeting was held on Friday in New Orleans, at which resolutions of a very strong yet temperate character were adopted, proclaiming the devotion of the people to the Constitution, the Union, and the Amendments; professing an earnest desire to obliterate all bitter feelings between North and South, as well as black and white; demanding the right of self-government; declaring the government of the last four years a usurpation, "never elected by the people of the State, never voluntarily acquiesced in, established originally and maintained throughout its career by the military power of the Federal Government, and different from a direct military government only in name and in the particulars of its greater extravagance and unbridled corruption, utter unfitness of persons entrusted with its administration, its contemptible weakness and inability to enforce the laws or to protect the rights of the persons and property of its citizens, and the greater hatred and contempt with which it was regarded by the people"; that its results have been nothing but discord, disorder, disregard of law and the rights of person and property, and the repression of business enterprise; that the Nicholls government is the lawful government of the State, supported by the general recognition of the public, while that of Packard's is a mere *simulacrum*, without substance or support, and kept alive in appearance only by United States troops. The resolutions go on to express confidence in the President, to promise a cordial reception of his commission, to request the withdrawal of the troops, to promise order and good government; and, finally, declare that

"With a deep sense of responsibility, with a full recognition of all our obligations as citizens of the Union, in no spirit of threatening or braggadocio, with a profound consciousness of the power of the Federal Government and of our inability to resist it, but with the conviction that no calamity can possibly befall us more considerable than the ruin and disgrace of longer subjection to usurpation, we invoke the considerate judgment of the American people upon the resolutions which we here solemnly declare: Never to submit to the pretended Packard government; never to pay it a dollar of taxes; never to acknowledge its authority, but to resist it at every point and in every way, and to require that every demand which it may make upon the obedience of the citizens shall be enforced only by a present physical power which we are incapable of resisting."

Of course these resolutions will strike different people in different ways, but no one can dispute their vigor. In their careful avoidance of unnecessary offence, their dignified insistence on acknowledged rights, their unexaggerated description of grievous wrongs, and their appeal to our generosity and forbearance on the ground of common ties of blood, of history, and of country, they cannot but remind us of other remonstrances and declarations that have come down from the past and form part of the most cherished political possessions of the race. Theirs is not the language of "banditti" or "ex-rebels," but of American freemen.

Mr. Schurz's new civil-service rules provide for a board of enquiry into appointments, promotions, or removals, to be composed of three members selected from the clerks of the Interior Department of the highest class, or from the Patent Office examiners; the first to be selected by the Secretary, the second from a bureau indicated by the Secretary, and the third to be designated by the head of the bureau immediately concerned; the two first to serve three months, and the last only during the continuance of the particular investigation for which he is appointed. This board is to have general powers of investigation and recommendation, with a view to appointments, promotions, and removals, but all their decisions are to be subject to the approval of Mr. Schurz. This is very good as far as it goes, and may work well enough under Mr. Schurz, but under some successor of his the machinery may be easily abandoned, or the board converted into a political machine. The attempt to reform the civil service now being made by Mr. Hayes's Administration is begun partly under better and partly under worse circumstances than that of eight years ago. In its favor there is the honest determination of the Executive to establish it on a firm basis; the balanced state of parties, which makes it for the first time since the end of the war possible to interest both of them in a distribution of the patronage on rational principles; and, lastly, the disgust of the public with the existing evils, deepened by the reckless contempt for public opinion which their accumulation for the past two terms has shown. On the other side there is against it the scepticism always produced by the failure of a first attempt, and the lack of time for establishing the reform on a lasting foundation which the refusal of Mr. Hayes to be a candidate for a second election will necessarily cause. The present system has been built up for forty years, until the habit of regarding offices as spoils has become part of the mental constitution of the people, and it is this habit which must be changed before any lasting reform can be hoped for. It will require, as we pointed out during the late campaign, when both candidates were pledging themselves to retire at the end of four years, a long, settled alteration in our political customs to change this political habit of mind; and it will not be until the bad habit is replaced by a good one that the danger will disappear of a rapid reversion to the old state of things under the influence of some new administration not filled with the spirit of reform.

The large number of postmasters in Government employ makes the question of their appointment an important part of the subject of civil-service reform. In theory they have been appointed in part by the President, in part by the Postmaster-General, and in part by the latter's assistants. Practically, as every one knows, postmasterships have been to a great extent the reward of party "workers," bestowed according to the dictation of members of Congress. At Fremont, Ohio, the home of Mr. Hayes, a step was taken recently which, as it received in advance the approval of the President, may indicate the initiation of a new method. Upon recommendation of a Republican mass-meeting a popular election was held, and a Mr. Krebs receiving 255 votes, against 245 votes for all opponents, was appointed by the President. Perhaps no better

method than that of popular election could be devised for the appointment of postmasters of all small towns and villages, it being understood before election that the appointee should not be removed except for "cause." For all large cities and towns direct appointment by the President or Postmaster-General would, of course, be preferable to popular election.

The slight majority of the Democrats in the next House has led to a good deal of discussion in the newspapers as to the organization of it, and has been marked by the appearance on the scene of the hitherto humble official known as the Clerk of the House in the surprising character of Constitutional organizer of that body. It appears that this gentleman—whose name, we believe, is Adams—is supposed by some mysterious process to have obtained the right to give the new House any majority he pleases, by the simple process of striking off or putting names on the roll. Wishing to know where Mr. Adams got this authority, we turned to a copy of the Constitution, and discovered to our amazement that there was no mention of Mr. Adams in that document, and no reference to the office of Clerk, while the only provision bearing on the subject was that each House should be the judge of the returns and qualifications of its own members. Turning next to Cushing's work, we were still more astonished to find that nothing was said there about the Clerk's duty of organizing the House; but it is laid down that his modest business is to "keep a record of the proceedings," to authenticate and keep in his custody papers, and to sign bills. As a matter of fact, these are his duties, and he has no more to do with the organization of the House than we have ourselves. When the House comes together it will proceed to organize itself, and the following principles are well settled and universally recognized in all civilized parliamentary bodies: First, every person duly returned is a member, whether elected or not, until his election is set aside; second, contesting claimants who are both returned as elected in due form have no rights of any kind until the question between them has been decided; and, third, the members in possession of single legal returns, and these only, constitute a judicial tribunal for the determination of all questions as to seats. These principles, as Cushing well says, are "founded in the very nature of things, established by the uniform practice and authority of Parliament, and confirmed by reason and analogy." The notion that the Clerk of a House which has ceased to exist can upset them is one which was long ago upset by another and a greater Adams, when he said, "I will put the motion myself."

The talk about the "Administration Speaker" of the new House when it meets for the extra session has considerably diminished during the past week, and it is now said that Mr. Garfield, who is to receive the caucus nomination of his party, has no hope of being elected by the aid of Democratic votes. The reason for this is, of course, that the Democrats have thus far managed to make the President's Southern policy appear quite as much a Democratic victory as a voluntary and patriotic scheme of his own. The correspondence of Messrs. Foster and Matthews with the Southern leaders shows that while the former no doubt did exactly what they ought to have done, and what the best interests of the country demanded, as mere politicians they were beaten. In order to defeat the game of the filibusters and ensure the completeness of the count they made positive declarations under their own signatures as to the probable character of Hayes's Southern measures, so that practically the South and the Democrats are enabled to say, and do say to the new Republican Administration: We ask nothing from you, but we demand the fulfilment of promises which, though vague in terms, were perfectly understood between us—promises which had been made once already by General Grant, and which we forced your friends to make as a condition of your term of office. Mr. Hayes having come in in the way he did, Democratic support has become far more necessary to him than help from him has to the Democrats. The able Southern leaders of the

party in Congress will now exert their utmost efforts to use him for their own purposes, and the notion that they will consent to a Republican organization of the House, which means a Republican Speaker, evenly divided or Republican committees, and an opening for a deadlock on every important question, puts a very great strain upon our credulity. As to the choice of Speaker, it seems now to lie between Messrs. Randall, Saylor, and Cox. There are plenty of objections to all of these. Mr. Cox is altogether too amusing, Mr. Saylor is sometimes unreliable, and Mr. Randall, notwithstanding his excellent behavior during the last session, is still suspected of a leaning in the direction of the Southern Pacific subsidy. Any one of the three would be quite as good as Mr. Garfield, who labors under the disqualifications of being a violent partisan, and of having been the object of "charges" with regard to two jobs. It should not be forgotten, also, that he was requested by the President to remain in the House and not run for Senator, on the ground that his services were needed there to "aid in the pacification of the South," a task which he can probably better perform as leader of the Republican minority than in the Speaker's chair, if, indeed, the South is not pacified when Congress meets.

A recent letter from Mr. F. P. Olcott, Comptroller of this State, forcibly illustrates the necessity of civil-service reform in State as well as in national affairs. A portion of the school-fund of the State is derived from the sale of public lands, and upon one thousand bonds given in exchange for public lands, and varying in amounts from \$2 to \$20,000, and making altogether the sum of \$375,000, Mr. Olcott believes that there is owing to the State no less than \$200,000 in unpaid interest. He gives these figures as matter of opinion only, the accounts, which fill eight volumes, and some of which began as long ago as 1813, being "chaotic" and unreliable. Again, the United States Deposit Fund, which amounts to more than \$4,000,000, and the income from which should be applied also to educational uses, is mostly loaned upon mortgages through the commissioners of the several counties. These commissioners are by law directed to exhibit all their books and papers annually to the county boards of supervisors, which in turn, after careful examination, are to report annually to the Comptroller. In 1876 only four of these reports were received by the Comptroller, and Mr. Olcott states that it is "a very unusual thing to receive as many as ten" in any one year. As the number of counties in the State is sixty, we are not surprised at Mr. Olcott's assertion, that as to the condition of this enormous fund he can say nothing. Again, the State owns 135,954 acres of land, exclusive of village and city lots, and although in the list of State property may be found almost "anything, from a brown-stone house with all 'the modern improvements' to a hovel on the banks of the canal," nevertheless the State receives from this source no income whatever, nor can the Comptroller find in any department a schedule of the lands of the State showing whether they are occupied or not, nor any department which collects the rents of such as may be occupied. The Comptroller's request for a small appropriation for the employment of a competent lawyer and a book-keeper to unravel these tangled accounts should certainly not go unheeded.

The attack made by the *World* upon the management of St. John's Guild has resulted in the adoption of tactics on the part of the Rev. Mr. Wiswall which bear a close resemblance to the tactics of Mr. Delano in defending his Indian mismanagement against "a Mr. Marsh." Mr. Wiswall has insisted on having all the charges against him fully investigated, but has also insisted on himself appointing the investigators. An independent examination of the Guild's accounts has, however, been undertaken by the City Commissioners of Accounts, with results not favorable to the management. One of the commissioners has submitted a report to the effect that it is "impossible to make an examination of the financial affairs of St. John's Guild," for two reasons: First, "That all moneys received by St. John's Guild, whether from the city treasury or other

sources, have been deposited in the personal or private bank account of the Treasurer of the Guild in connection with his private business affairs, and there are no means of determining the sums belonging to the separate interests; Second, That the Treasurer of the Guild has not kept any books during the past three years, except such books and accounts as have been prepared for the purposes of this examination since the action of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and which cannot be accepted as books of original entry."

Early in the week the chief official representatives of the Trunk Line Railroads concluded their conference by an agreement which has for its object the maintenance, during the summer, of fair rates. This agreement permits the Baltimore and Ohio to carry Western products to Baltimore at three cents per 100 lbs., and the Pennsylvania Railroad to carry these products to Philadelphia for two cents per 100 lbs.—less than the New York Central and the Erie charge to New York. The differences against New York are apparent rather than real, as they are more than overcome by the advantages which this port has in ocean freights. The representatives of the coal producers and carriers have also held several conferences, but they have found it much more difficult to adjust their differences, and have finally agreed on the policy of controlling prices by restricting shipments to tide-water—that is to say, they have agreed that instead of sending 10,000,000 tons to tide-water during the year 1877, they will send only 8,000,000. This they expect will cause an advance of 50 cents per ton in the price of coal by the first day of June. An attempt was made to create a firmly-united combination which should put in the hands of one agency all the sales of coal at tide-water, but it failed, as did also the attempt to establish penalties for shipments to tide-water in excess of the percentage allotted to each company. The public have little faith in the effectiveness of the arrangement made. The week witnessed a revival of apprehension of war at an early day between Russia and Turkey. The financial markets were less disturbed than were the trade markets, although in London consols fell $\frac{1}{4}$ and gold here advanced $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent. There was a decline in cotton and a sharp advance in breadstuffs and provisions. Without doubt such a war would, for a time at least, promote activity in trade in this country. The U. S. Treasury notified the holders of another \$10,000,000 of 6 per cent. bonds that they will be paid off ninety days hence in consequence of further subscriptions to the new $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds. Mr. Sherman has given notice that the legal-tender notes which were exchanged for subsidiary silver coin shall, as the law directs, be kept in a special fund. As this has not been done, the \$10,000,000 notes having gone into the general currency balance, it is given out that he may find it necessary to sell gold to replenish the currency balance. In some quarters this is, amusing as it may seem, called "a step towards resumption." Silver closed at $53\frac{1}{2}$ to $53\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ounce in London. The gold value of a $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar at the close of the week would have been \$0.9049; the gold value of a paper dollar (the promise of the Treasury to pay one dollar) was, at the close of the week, \$0.9478.

The text of the Pope's Allocution delivered to the cardinals in secret conclave last month has come out, and is more forcible, though not less vituperative, than these documents usually are. He denounces the Italian government as a "usurping government," and accuses it of all manner of evil designs against the Church, and "casts a retrospective glance on the laws and decrees" by which it has during the last seven years endeavored to carry these designs out. His principal griefs are the suppression of the religious orders, which deprived him of hosts of "worthy workers"; the prohibition recently directed against forming new religious communities or admitting new regulars; the subjection of theological students to the conscription; the seizure of the papal patrimony, and the substitution for it of "slender assignments subject to the eventualities of the times and the caprice of governments"; the conversion

of ecclesiastical edifices to profane uses, and the withdrawal of public education from the hands of ecclesiastics. The crowning insult and vexation is, however, the law lately passed to restrain "abuses of the clergy," which makes punishable any public clerical censure of any act of the government, and any language, writing, or other act calculated to "disturb the peace of families." He says he cannot govern the church under these restrictions, and that it is hypocritical on the part of the Italian Government to pretend that he can, and lays down the proposition that "the Roman Pontiff neither is, nor ever will be, free under the dominion of an extraneous power." He draws a most gloomy picture of the general condition of the world, and says he is resisting as well as he can all the evil influences of the day, and closes by predicting once more that his enemies will come to a bad end.

The French Government has introduced a bill remodelling the French tariff, and accompanies it by a report which is interesting apropos of our remarks in another column on the Commercial Treaties. The report says that all the Chambers of Commerce in France have been consulted with regard to the working of these treaties during the last fifteen years, and that "the great majority of the Chambers demand the renewal of the treaties as alone capable of giving the stability so necessary to the national industries, for they are only increased and developed in proportion as a certain future is ensured for them." The minority of the Chambers do not object to the principle of the treaties, but ask that it be embodied in a revised tariff, and not left in the rigid and exceptional form of a contract with a foreign power. The revision of the tariff in this sense will be a formal and doubtless irrevocable committal of France to the policy of free-trade. The report accompanying the bill, indeed, admits this in express terms. It says: "The time has come to recast our general tariff, and, repudiating the old ideas of isolation and antagonism and reprisal, to mould the duties in accordance with the requirements of our consumers and our ports, with the well-considered interests of our industries, and with the wish now shared by all enlightened men, to consolidate the situation that fifteen years of the practice of a régime of moderate commercial liberty have created for our country."

We have often called attention in these columns to the strong resemblance which our civil service bears to that of the Turks, so strong, indeed, that if our system were not of very recent origin, and had not, in fact, grown up under the reporter's eye, historical investigators would be disposed to find in it signs of Butler's and Morton's Asiatic origin. The leading feature of both—appointment through caprice or favor, and dismissal because some other man wants the place—is the same, and in this they differ now from the civil service of all Christian powers. It is, therefore, somewhat amusing to read in the Constantinople correspondence of the *London Times* that there is a split in the College of Ulemas over the change introduced by the new constitution, which makes office-holders irremovable during good behavior. Some of the ulemas are furious over this, and denounce it as "impious and Satanic," and contrary to the precepts of the Koran, which requires that every Mussulman should have a chance at the offices. The Sheikh-ul-Islam is, however, in favor of fixity of tenure, and refused lately to hear protests against it from some of the minor ecclesiastics, who think it a weak, fanciful foreign invention. It must have been some American ulema who got up the story that President Hayes would consider a man's having filled an office faithfully for eight years presumptive evidence that he ought to be dismissed. There is a flavor of the Koran about this. It could only have occurred to a Mussulman fanatic that the way to get government business transacted in the best manner was to give notice to all officers that the more familiar they became with their duties, and the longer they had displayed their fidelity in discharge of them, the more liable would they become to expulsion, because the only argument by which such a rule could be justified would be the famous one that "there is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S OPPONENTS.

THE opponents of Mr. Hayes's policy at the South may be divided into three classes: first, the hot partisans, who care little or nothing about the colored population as such, but who look on the colored voter as a result or trophy of the late war, and like to see him vote at every election, not for his own sake, but as a sign that the Southerners got the worst of it, and are all the more eager to have him exercise his political rights because the white men do not like it. To this class hostility to him or hindrances offered to him at the polls, or restiveness under his political rule, are symptoms of disaffection, indicating the danger of "a new rebellion," which should be met with a strong hand. To them, also, the Southern white is an irreclaimable person, whose thoughts do not turn on agriculture or commerce or law or medicine, but on murder and massacre and deception, and whose professions are to be treated simply as those of a criminal in danger of arrest. There is no kind of politicians more familiar to the student of history than this one. In Ireland he is the Orangeman; in Italy he used to be the Austrian; in Turkey he is the Turk; in England he was the old Tory, who thought the best remedy for Irish or colonial discontents was "a d—d good thrashing, sir." He always has some portion of the human race in his eye of whom the devil has got entire possession, and on whom anything but physical constraint or terror is thrown away, and whenever by any unhappy chance he has been able to lay hold of a civilized government for any great length of time he has with all but certainty brought down ruin on everybody concerned.

The second class is composed of the honest zealots who labored for the emancipation of the slaves so long, and had so terrible a struggle in persuading people that a black man had the qualities and rights of a human being, and became so familiar with the horrors of slavery, that the negro has undergone a sort of transfiguration in their minds, and appears to them as almost certainly right in any conflict with his old masters. That they who once opposed him with a view to using him as a beast of burden, should now oppose him simply in the interest of civilization and to save their property from being spoiled by him, is a proposition containing so strange an association of ideas, and requiring so much readjustment of their moral vision, that they cannot grasp it. Feeling in themselves no change in the source of their interest in the negro, they cannot imagine any change in the source of the Southern white man's hostility to him, and are ready to use the same means to keep him in power which they would have used to deliver him from bondage. The conception of him as a free political person, with just such a social status as his qualities give him, and just as full enjoyment of his political rights as he is able to assert for himself, is too unfamiliar to be easily received.

The third class is the great band of political knaves and adventurers, without fixed convictions on any subject, but ardent advocates of any measure or idea which seems likely to be popular, whose rise into prominence or importance within the last seventeen years has been so greatly due to civil troubles and abnormal conditions of government that a return to order and legality seems to them to promise degradation or extinction. We do not think it worth while to include in this class persons like Patterson, the carpet-bag Senator from South Carolina, whose career and mental processes are more fitting subjects for examination by the policeman than by the political critic, and who engage in politics for purely predatory purposes. But we do include in it restless spirits like Butler and Blaine, to whom what may be called real political questions have little or no interest, and who find the study or discussion of them, or any political work of a constructive character, dull and forbidding, but to whom politics as a game of attack and defence between two parties is very interesting. To these men whatever gives an aleatory character to the game, or increases the excitement, in the shape of room for the play of arbitrary power or opportunities for dramatic situations, or, in short, presents government in the light of a huge adventure or plot, is very welcome and very dear.

We also include in it persons like Wendell Phillips—if he does not constitute a genus in himself; to him political criticism is a simple performance in public, which has no more to do with facts or doctrines or policy than the libretto of an opera, and he has accomplished his whole object when he has drawn a laugh or applause from an audience. To all of them Hayes's Southern policy is as distasteful, and distasteful for the same reasons, as specie payments, or civil-service reform, or any other reform of the day. Reform means, on the whole, an increase of certainty and uniformity in human affairs, the diminution of disturbing influences in all fields of activity, and, in short, the cultivation of regularity as a great social good. For this reason no man who makes a living or reputation by "hits" or "fights," and hates study and ratiocination, is really a friend of reform as it is now understood. He feels about it as the old knights felt about gunpowder—that it will make individual prowess worthless. This class have come to look on a President who cannot overturn a State government, or clap a governor in irons, or a Senator who cannot distribute post-offices, or a collector who is confined to collecting duties, as a mere dolt, the sickly product of a debased civilization.

All this, if true—and we do not think it will be questioned or contradicted—accounts for the fact that those who are opposed to non-interference at the South have not as yet, except poor Mr. Boutwell, who was pooh-poohed, ventured to offer any detailed substitute for the course the President is pursuing. They make a great flourish of vague phrases, like the inflamed doctor of divinity at the Methodist Conference the other day, about protecting the colored man in the enjoyment of his rights, but they carefully avoid working out their plan as they would put it into practice were they charged with the execution of the laws, and with the command of the troops, for instance. Here are some questions which present themselves to Mr. Hayes as nakedly possible, but to which his critics take care not to formulate any answer: "What am I to do when my protection is claimed by a State majority which, even if legally entitled to the government, acknowledges that it is unable either to seize or retain it by physical force, and can mention no time when it will be, and is also unable to execute any law? Shall I in such a case install one set of claimants in the State-house, and uphold them there for an indefinite period while talking and drawing salaries, the rest of the State meanwhile being given over to anarchy? Where is the precedent for such a course? Shall I at the same time charge myself with the police of the State and exercise all the real power of government, in mercy to the unfortunate people? If so, where is my authority for such a course? Where are the troops with which to carry it out? In what respect would a State so administered differ from a province? Finally, did government by helpless majorities, without even education or intelligence on their side, ever enter into the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution as bodies which the United States would be obliged not simply to help but maintain in power?" Let us by all means have an end to rhetoric, and poetry, and blatherskite, and receive a sober answer to some of these pregnant enquiries.

A CURIOUS CHAPTER IN FRENCH COMMERCIAL EXPERIENCE.

THE last number of the *Journal des Economistes* has a striking article, by M. G. P. Desroches, on the industrial experience of France since 1827, and particularly since 1860, the date of the experimental approach to free-trade made by the Treaty of Commerce contracted in that year with England. It is full of instruction for nations which are going through "hard times" and can find no adequate markets for their commodities, and is, in fact, a forcible sermon on the text, which many people find it so hard to understand, that countries which will not buy cannot expect to sell; which, M. Desroches says, is as true as that very deaf people do not talk much. France came in 1815 out of twenty years of tremendous wars, which had destroyed the flower of her population, and

under a prohibitory system which almost cut her off from commercial intercourse with the rest of Europe. There were no custom-house returns published until 1827, and from that year until 1847 her progress was naturally very rapid. All Europe was at peace, and she was busy, as the politicians say, "in building up her waste places." Her imports and exports in the twenty years increased 109 per cent., and this under a strictly protective system. In the next ten years, however, still under the protective system, there was a heavy falling off, partly, no doubt, owing to the fact that this period covered the Revolution of 1848, and the *Coup d'état*. Foreign trade only increased fifty-four per cent. In 1860 the Treaty of Commerce was made with England, and followed by similar treaties with Belgium, Italy, Austria, and Germany, and during the ten years from 1857 to 1867, seven of them belonging to the régime of free-trade, foreign trade increased sixty-eight per cent. To appreciate the importance of this, however, it must be observed that the French protectionists were fully as well grounded in the faith as those of this country, held precisely the same doctrines and preached them with the same fervor. When the treaty with England was imposed on them—for imposed it was by a high-handed exercise of arbitrary power—they made exactly the predictions which we are familiar with in the United States touching the consequences of a lowering of the tariff. They said, in the first place, that free-trade was a cunning British notion, concocted for the impoverishment of the rest of the world. They said, in the next place, that if the sliding scale of duties on grain were abolished, by which the French farmer had his protection graduated by the market price, he would be ruined and let his fields lie fallow. The returns show that the area of French soil laid down in grain increased steadily from 1857 to 1870, and the price remained unusually steady, but has risen since the war, and the yield per acre has considerably increased. They said next that the admission of foreign cattle would ruin French cattle-breeders. One orator in the Chamber declared that "he would as soon see an invasion of Cossacks as of foreign cattle." The importations of these cattle amounted in value in 1860 to a little over \$11,000,000. They rose steadily to over \$34,000,000 in 1872. They have since fallen off a little, but amounted last year to \$23,000,000, and yet the price of meat has been rising all the time. What has become of all this immense addition to the French meat supply? Why, Frenchmen have eaten it, to the great benefit both of their bodies and souls. In Paris alone the consumption of meat which, with a stationary population, only increased six per cent. between 1856 and 1859, increased twenty per cent. between 1860 and 1866, though the population only rose from 1,664,635 to 1,825,271.

When the free-traders told wonderful tales of the impetus that would be given to the exportation of wine by the treaty the protectionists ridiculed them. Continental countries, they said, had their own wine, while the coarse tastes of the Englishmen wedded them firmly to the fiery port and brandy and the stupefying "pale." Well, in 1859 France exported 2,533,077 hectolitres of wine; in 1874 she exported 4,192,195. Then they said that the admission of English iron would close all the French furnaces, rolling-mills, and foundries. In 1856, however, France produced 923,200 tons of pig-iron, while in 1872 she produced 1,217,838. In 1856 she produced 568,700 tons of railroad iron; in 1872, 754,381 tons, while the production of natural steel rose within the same period from 142,993 quintals to 1,300,884; of cast-steel from 47,213 quintals to 80,798. There have been good years and bad years in the interval, of course, but the progress has been steadily upward, and never so rapid as since the Franco-Prussian war. The value of tools, machinery, and cutlery of French manufacture exported in 1866 was \$9,830,000; in 1875 it was \$22,108,000. The protectionists said, too, that to admit English and Belgium coal would ruin the already small French coal-mining completely. But the quantity of French coal raised in 1856 was 79,257,000 quintals (the quintal is a little over 230 pounds), while in 1874 it was 169,079,600, and the price had risen at the mouth of the pit from 1.29 francs to 1.65. The foreign supply has been ab-

sorbed, in short, by the increasing demands of French industry, and the demand for the French products has grown all the same, for while in 1856 the horse-power of the steam-engines in use in France was only 405,686, in 1872 it was 924,045.

The more ground they surveyed, of course, the gloomier their forebodings were, and they asked mockingly where was the market to be found for French cotton and silk and woollen manufactures if brought into free competition with the products of the cheap coal and machinery and pauper labor of England and Belgium. But here again the facts are full of curious comfort. The exportations of French silk goods amounted in 1858 only to \$75,720,000; in 1875 they amounted to \$96,822,400. In the same period the exportations of French cotton goods rose from \$13,400,000 to \$16,935,000, and those of the woollen goods from \$31,220,000 to \$71,400,000. One strange feature in this table is that while France imports more cotton goods from England than from any other country she also exports more to England than to any other country. To the protectionist mind this is a most mysterious circumstance; the explanation is, however, very simple. France exports the kind of cotton goods she makes better than England, while England exports the kind she makes better than France.

Then there was "the pauper labor" of England and Belgium to be guarded against. The French protectionist has his "pauper labor" in foreign countries, just like his American brother, against which he has to protect his own industrious, self-respecting, and comfort-loving workman, whom he of course pays highly. Well, the "pauper labor" was let into the French markets in 1860, but somehow the wages of the self-respecting, highly-paid French artisan did not fall. Wages in every department of industry rose between 1853 and 1871 from 31 to 52 per cent.; those of the weavers, for instance, 39 per cent.; iron-workers, 33 per cent. During the same period the number of savings-banks has risen from 570 to 1,172, and the amount of annual deposits from \$23,999,836 to \$53,932,985. The statistics of the railroads, telegraph lines, and post-offices all tell the same story of steadily-increasing prosperity, the wonderful results of which are, indeed, manifest enough in the French recovery since the war. In fact, there is no more striking illustration in economical history of the magic there is for industrial purposes of letting an ingenious and industrious people alone. Of course, in the teeth of facts like this the efforts of some protectionists to have the Treaty abrogated after the war were unsuccessful. It was renewed in 1873, and we shall probably never again in our time see France defended by legislation against the "pauper labor" of nations not so blessed as she. In fact, the determination grows stronger every day to urge the paupers of all regions to bring in their goods.

THE WEAK SIDE OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD.

THE "historical method" is the idol of contemporary thinkers. Its influence cannot be denied. The habit of viewing men, opinions, and institutions in the light of their history has revolutionized the art of criticism; has varied even the popular estimate of past ages and historic characters; has given a new shape to controversies which, like the dispute concerning the existence of innate ideas, date from the dawn of philosophic speculation; has colored the phraseology of political theories, and has turned the course even of revolutionary movements. Add to this that the study of the past, combined with the historical mode of thought, has, in the case of many important questions, shifted the burden of proof from the shoulders of the assailants to those of the defenders of prevailing opinions. Thus, it is now the author who maintains the credibility of early Roman history who is justly called upon to make out his case. Not a century ago a person who doubted the truthfulness of the first book of Livy was under all the disadvantages which rightly encumber the maintenance of a paradox. What is true of purely speculative questions is also true of what may be termed practical enquiries. The assailant of existing institutions finds himself freed from the burden of disposing of the presumption in their favor arising from their mere existence. For the so-called historical spirit has come to his aid and shown that, whatever the actual merits (*et q.* of the law of primogeniture), it owes its origin, not to

considerations of expediency, but to social conditions which have passed away. The ingenuity with which writers such as Blackstone invented plausible reasons in favor of every detail of the curious anomaly called the English constitution amuse but do not impress a generation who have learnt that the presumptions on which the legal apologist based his pleas are groundless. Here, as elsewhere, the historical method, without directly confuting received beliefs or prejudices, avails to undermine the foundation upon which they rest. Nor can it be doubted that a mode of speculation which has achieved so much is destined to produce further fruit when applied to fields which it has as yet scarcely touched. That, in short, the historical method has exerted and will exert immense influence cannot be denied by any person who has a right to an opinion. But candid judges, while admitting this to the full, may be allowed to reflect that all "methods" have their limitations, and tend to produce results which are not wholly good. The historical method is, after all, to us not more than syllogism was to Aristotle, or than induction was to Bacon. Yet neither the deductive nor the inductive method has revealed all the secrets of the universe, and blind devotion either to the one or to the other has not been found conducive to the ascertainment of truth. It is at least, therefore, worth while to consider whether the historical method has not also its limitations and may not produce some evil as well as good.

To discover what is the exact limitation to the value of the historical method is not difficult. It gives, and can only give, an account of opinions or of institutions. It does not afford and cannot afford direct information as to the truth of the former or the value of the latter. Now, of all the enquiries which can be made concerning a dogma or belief the most essential, and indeed the only vital one, is whether it be false or true. Of the enquiries which can be made concerning a law or institution, the most essential and the only vital question is whether it be or be not conducive to human happiness. To neither of these enquiries does the historical method give a direct reply. That this is so may be seen on a moment's reflection. Take, for example, the dogma of Papal infallibility. An historian may show the stages of its growth, the circumstances of the time in which it originated, the influence under which it has received its portentous development; but he does not deal directly with the enquiry whether Pius IX. be the inspired oracle of heaven or the propagator of one of the most enormous lies which have deluded the world. So, again, it is obviously one thing to explore the whole history of the American Presidency, from its origin down to the present day, and quite another to estimate the merits or demerits of Presidential government. Yet, for the interest of mankind, it is of far greater importance to determine whether the Pope be or be not infallible than to ascertain the steps by which the dogma of infallibility advanced to its present position; and it is, for Americans at least, far more important to understand the virtues and faults than to ascertain the history of Presidential government. Better examples might probably be found than those we have given, but they will suffice to show our readers what is meant by the assertion that the historical method cannot answer directly the enquiry either What is true? or What is expedient? and that these two questions are the most vital that can be asked or answered. The assertion itself is in fact so obviously true that it would in words hardly be disputed, but it is one the whole weight of which is often neglected in practice, though admitted in theory. The devotees of the method may admit its limitations, and yet the whole of their speculations may suffer from neglecting to take into account the deficiencies of their method. The truth is that in this as in other instances men devoted to a particular mode of thought neglect or shun questions to which that mode is not appropriate. Writers who trace throughout the course of ages the varying phases of a belief are apt to become indifferent to the question of its truth; and knowledge of every stage through which an institution has grown is often combined with a carelessness or incapacity for analyzing its value.

A contrast may in this instance serve as the best of illustrations. Let any one who wishes to realize the change introduced by the historical method ponder over this passage from Bentham:

"But is it never from any other considerations than those of utility that we derive our notions of right and wrong? I do not know; I do not care. Whether a moral sentiment can be originally conceived from any other source than a view of utility, is one question; whether, upon examination and reflection it can in point of fact be actually persisted in and justified on any other ground by a person reflecting within himself, is another; whether, in point of right, it can properly be justified by a person addressing himself to the community, is a third. The two first are questions of speculation; it matters not, comparatively speaking, how they are decided. The last is a question of practice; the decision of it is of as much importance as that of any can be."

This we see at a glance is the language of another age than ours. The

words we have underlined shock modern historical taste. The tone is audacious, aggressive, and uncritical; but the writer goes straight to his end—he thrusts subordinate considerations aside, and the point at which he aims is really the point of vital interest. Contrast this with what would be the manner of a modern writer—compare it with the "sweetness and light" of Matthew Arnold, or the fluent amiability of Mr. Lecky. In manner and critical acumen our modern writers have certainly an advantage over the uncritical directness of authors of the eighteenth century; but can any one mark the changed tone of modern controversy, and dispute that if historical criticism has assuaged polemical bitterness it has also tended to deaden the care for truth? In the contests of opinions, no less than of armies, you cannot for ever escape a battle; a campaign cannot be wholly settled by a constant system of outflanking opponents.

If the historical study of opinions has tended to deaden the zeal for truth, the historical investigation of customs and institutions has had a strictly analogous effect in deadening the fervor both of speculative and of practical reformers. Society, we are constantly told, is an organism, and the inference is either directly or indirectly insinuated that all we can do is to study the growth of society, and not bother ourselves with vain attempts to influence its development. This state of feeling, again, may be illustrated by a contrast:

"Let us remember that political institutions (however the proposition may be at times ignored) are the work of men—owe their origin and their whole existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, 'are aye growing' while men 'are sleeping.' In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency."

These words were indeed published in 1861, but Mr. Mill, when he wrote according to the dictates of his intellect, and not under the influence of feeling, represented the tradition of the eighteenth century. That political institutions are the work of men was a truth so impressed on the thinkers of that age, that they ran into the fallacy of believing that what men had created during the course of centuries they could unmake and create again within the space of a few years. What is striking in the passage we have cited is that a manifest truth is put forward as something which modern readers will doubt, and with a consciousness on the part of the writer that what once was held a truism will now be received as a paradox. A generation who more than half believe that institutions "grow," like plants, are not likely to be vigorous reformers. Add to this that the historical mode of thought saps indignation at moral evil and aversion to intellectual error. Everything has its history: vice has its annals no less than virtue. All things may be historically accounted for, and what is "accounted for" seems to many minds more than half justified. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew fills an ingenuous youth with horror. Historical criticism teaches him that the slaughter of the noblest men in France was the natural outcome of the condition of feeling in the sixteenth century. Advancing a little further, our student learns that the perpetrators of the massacre were not much worse than the rest of the world. History is already busy with the crime of the 2d of December. The next generation will smile with complacent pity at the uncritical indignation felt by their fathers at the *Coup d'état*. The fallacies, again, of protection or the commercial system astound young men just beginning to read Adam Smith. The historical method soon teaches them, and with truth, that these errors were natural to the age in which they flourished. So far, well. The fear is lest the student pass from exaggerated contempt of ancestors who were deceived by palpable errors into the feeling that a fallacy which is accounted for stands much on the same level as a truth which has been vindicated. In any case, the error which has a history ceases to excite quite the same contempt as the folly which stands forth in its naked absurdity divested of all the dignity derived from what may be termed historic descent. Reformers are, after all, an uncritical and not an historically-minded race. Bentham laid down the principles on which English law has been reformed, but he certainly did not appreciate the historical causes of legal fictions. The Abolitionists, if they destroyed slavery, had not, it is probable, carefully studied the gradual historical development of the institution. Luther struck the strongest blow one man has ever struck at the power of the Papacy, but was, it may be feared, wanting in the sympathetic insight needed to appreciate all that may be said from an historian's point of view in mitigation or in favor of the sale of indulgences. From such errors the historical method will save future generations. The most noxious weeds have a course of development which, no doubt, repays study. The only danger is that students should forget that, though weeds may be studied, it is still more necessary that they should be pulled up from the roots.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE PROTOCOL.

PARIS, March 29.

THE mission of General Ignatieff is the almost exclusive topic of interest. The general himself is the lion of the day. He is still young, though nearly bald. People try to read the secret of the future in his Slavic face, in his soft and at the same time piercing eyes, in the odd smile of his thick and almost sensual lips. His talk is incessant, full of simplicity, of grace, of apparent spontaneity. Just as other diplomats screen themselves with silence, he defends his inner thoughts with words, surrounding himself with their dust and disorder. He has what we French call *esprit*, and he likes it in others. He was explaining to somebody that Russia had no evil intentions towards Turkey; quite the contrary, if she asked Turkey to make reforms, it was for her own good; Russia really wished to put Turkey "dans du coton." You mean, said his interlocutor, "dans du fulmicoton"; and the general could not help laughing heartily. At times he professes to have full instructions from his court and to be carrying peace or war in his portmanteau; at other times he is simply thinking of one of his eyes, which is ailing—though Count Shuvaloff seems not to have been able to remember so far whether it is the left or the right eye—and it is simply taking advantage of his visits to the great oculists when he pays his respects to Prince Bismarck or to the Due Decazes. How could he help going to England? Doctor Liebreich now lives in London, and Lord Salisbury offered him the splendid hospitalities of Hatfield. There is no hypocrisy in this language, or rather in these variations of language. Everybody knows in Russia that the inheritance of the chancellorship which has been held so long by Prince Gortchakoff is disputed between Count Shuvaloff and General Ignatieff. They are rivals, and this is the reason why it was difficult for General Ignatieff to go to London and to interpose between Count Shuvaloff and Lord Derby. This rivalry has been very fortunate, as there has been a sort of race for peace between the ambassador ordinary and the envoy extraordinary. The terms of the famous protocol which has been so anxiously waited for had been agreed on between Shuvaloff and Lord Derby before General Ignatieff crossed the Channel.

I could not help during the last few months remembering a passage of the Chevalier de Gentz's on Russian diplomats, which I found in the volumes of his inedited despatches, published by Count Prokesch-Osten:

"I have known," wrote Gentz, "all the Russian diplomats who have played any sort of a part in Europe. I have known some very intimately; I have found among them, as it was likely I should, men of eminent merit, mediocre men, and many men below mediocre. But, what has constantly struck me, has been an attitude of independence which the Russian ministers and agents carry everywhere, in their opinions, in their language, often in their policy, even in the most important affairs—an attitude which I consider a singular phenomenon in an absolute government, and especially under a sovereign who has a personal superiority like the Emperor Alexander. Each Russian minister in Europe seems to have a way of thinking of his own, a way of speaking of his own; if you have the means (as I often have) to compare what this Russian diplomat has said, for instance, in London, with what this other has said in Paris, in Madrid, in Berlin, in Constantinople, you will always be surprised to find not shades of difference more or less marked, but a diametric opposition between the words of one and the words of another. You will find, in the same epoch, the most inconceivable disparities—peace, war; alliance, counter-alliance; philanthropy, despotism—mixed up in the oddest manner; and I defy whoever is able to know these contradictory versions to draw out of them an *ensemble* or an instructive notion on the true intentions of the Russian cabinet.

"This fact, well ascertained, offers us two interesting lessons; the first is this: We must never attach too much importance to what the Russian agents in foreign courts, and even the best accredited, say or advance, either in good or in bad part; we should often be wrong if we became too uneasy after a threatening speech; we should also be wrong if we went to sleep on soothing words. The second lesson, and the most essential, is this: In order to know and to judge of what Russia thinks, wishes, meditates, prepares at this or that particular time, we must go to the highest source; we must learn how things are regarded and treated in the cabinet of the Emperor, and as much as possible—as we might even err if we formed an opinion on cabinet documents—how the Emperor looks at things personally. This is not always easy I well know, and this difficulty is perhaps one of the reasons of the extreme divergence we notice in the proceedings of the various agents of Russia: they are almost all much more strangers than is commonly believed to the secrets of their court."

These words are probably as true at the present time as they were when Gentz wrote them; they certainly are, as far as my limited experience can show me. If we followed the rule of Gentz, we should conclude that the question of peace or war in the East, which has now occupied the whole of Europe for months, is actually wholly shut up in the brain of Emperor Alexander. He has spoken but once, in a moment of great anger, when he heard of the threatening attitude of Disraeli and of the defeat of the Servians; he then spoke *ab irato*, and for the first time pronounced the word of the Slavic cause. The Moscow speech made an immense sensation, but ever since we have heard nothing said in the same vein. At the Conference General Ignatieff was all softness and gentleness; butter would

not melt in his mouth. Lord Salisbury found himself, to his utter bewilderment, more anti-Turk than the Russian ambassador. But all the talk of the Conference, all the protocols in the world, throw but little light into the gloom of the Imperial silence. I was conversing a few days ago with a Russian who was long in office, but who now prefers the banks of the Seine to those of the Neva, and I asked him if public opinion would be contented in Russia with a diplomatic success, with an empty protocol. "Public opinion!" said he; "we have but one public opinion in Russia; it is the will of the Emperor." And my interlocutor is not a courtier; he is an independent thinker himself, one of the men of whom Gentz speaks, who allow themselves all possible liberty of expression and of speculation.

A few days ago all was joy and exultation; peace was assured, peace was made. Russia had not insisted on any limitation of time in the protocol, and she consented to wait indefinitely till Turkey should make her reforms. The vague threat of future coercion expressed by the great Powers against Turkey was so feeble as to amount to nothing. We are saved for a year was the universal cry, and we are saved again by Russia. Two years ago, at Cracow, Alexander told the Emperor Wilhelm that he would not like to see the peace of the world disturbed and France attacked without any provocation on her part. This year Russia, having advanced a large army on the Pruth, quietly consents to abandon her military projects. She has spent large sums in effecting the mobilization of her army, and she condescends to ask no interest for her capital; and we all candidly admit that this is a new service which Russia is willing to render to France. She knew that when once war was begun in the East, Germany would be free in her movements, and she had reason to fear that Germany waited for an opportunity to pick a quarrel with France. I cannot tell how much truth there is in all this; but I know that while yesterday all seemed bright, to-day all looks dark again. There is something rotten in the protocol, something which somebody will not sign. The rumors about France, which have become chronic, had assumed so much importance that Prince Bismarck telegraphed last Sunday to Count Münster in London, while Ignatieff was still there; he told the ambassador of Germany to assure the Queen and her Government that there was no truth in the accusations which had been spread against Germany, that Germany had no intention to take advantage of the difficulties of other Powers and to make an unprovoked war on France. It is easy to understand why Prince Bismarck went so far as to make this declaration. The negative concert which had taken place in the Conference at Constantinople between England, France, Austria, and Russia was continued in London, and would take a more positive form in a protocol. This concert had peace, not only peace on the Danube, but universal peace for its object; and if Russia consented to withdraw from her position in the Eastern question, it was only because she had seen that the Eastern question was merely a screen for the European question. The protocol was, so to speak, a European declaration in favor of peace. If it was to be signed, Prince Bismarck himself had better make a spontaneous declaration in favor of peace; and it might just prove that this spontaneous declaration would help to cool both England and Russia, and to make the signature of the protocol more difficult.

This may all seem very intricate to you; but it will appear very clear to any one who should persuade himself that the Eastern question is one which has never been treated on its own merits. There are Turks, and there are Bulgarians and Serbs, and great and long despatches are written on the bad government of Turkey; but, after all, the governments of Europe do not take a thoroughly Christian or philanthropic view of this subject. Turkey has been placed in their common trust, and when the trustees wish to quarrel, they first quarrel on the subject of Turkey, which is ever ready, ever open. The government of the pashas is like a heap of stone on a road—you may always pick up one to throw at somebody; but you don't even think of picking it up if you have no quarrel with anybody and are going your way quietly. So far as Russia is concerned, I hold with Gentz that her projects are but imperfectly known by those who have not the means of penetrating the inner thoughts of the Czar himself.

A RUBINSTEIN OPERA.

MUNICH, March, 1877.

ONE of the most remarkable phenomena in the musical world is the fact that England and Russia have always shown such a great interest in music, and so liberally patronized artists, while yet they have never had composers of their own who could be ranked with the first German, Italian, or even French composers. In the case of England, Puritanism is gene-

rally mentioned as the chief cause of this state of affairs. No music was tolerated in the church even, and still less in the concert-hall or on the stage. This is so no longer, but other causes—the excessive formality in manners and social intercourse, as well as the great prevalence of a political and commercial spirit among the higher classes—are still in operation. In Russia the lack of composers has not been so noticeable, because that country has never particularly distinguished itself in any other art, or in literature, or in science. But, while England is still awaiting her musical Messiah, Russia has now given to the world a composer of whom even Germany might be justly proud. In fact, he possesses all the thoroughness or depth, as well as the wealth of ideas, which characterizes German composers, while at the same time he is distinguished from them by a peculiar national Russian tone which pervades his compositions and makes them all the more interesting and original.

Several years of intimate familiarity with the compositions of the Russian pianist have convinced me that next to Wagner he must be regarded as the most original and comprehensive, the most dramatic and spontaneous of living composers, bearing in mind that Gounod, Verdi, and Saint-Saëns, Liszt, Brahms, and Raff are all living and flourishing. In view of this fact it may not be uninteresting to examine how far Rubinstein shares in those tendencies of modern music which have their fullest expression in Wagner's compositions. I shall do this at the risk of giving offense to "full-blooded" Wagnerites by comparing the object of their hero-worship with a Jew. For Wagner is, besides a "swallow of formulas" and of Frenchmen, also a notorious swallow of Jews. His essay on "Judaism in Music," at a period when the Mendelssohn fever was at its height in Germany, brought him more enemies than anything else he wrote. Among other things it caused that sudden and startling revolution in the opinions of Hanslick, the famous anti-Wagnerian critic, who formerly was a professed admirer of Wagner, but who unfortunately happened to be a Jew as well as author of a book on 'The Beautiful in Music,' in which, to quote Wagner, "modern Jewish music was set up as the properly beautiful in music." It may have been Wagner's essay which influenced Rubinstein in staying from Bayreuth last summer, although I do not think that his music shares those characteristics which Wagner condemns in the compositions of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer.

In one respect Rubinstein stands in strong contrast to most modern composers. In music, as in all other things, the principle of division of labor has asserted itself. Chopin, for instance, devoted himself almost exclusively to compositions for the piano. Robert Franz confined himself to the lyric field, and a few hundred songs are about all we possess of him. Even Wagner, though in one respect most cosmopolitan of artists, in that he unites in his person the poet, musician, scene-deviser, conductor, stage-manager, and author, has yet devoted his musical energies to one special department—the operatic and dramatic stage. But Rubinstein, after the fashion of the masters of the so-called classical school, has endeavored to give expression to his feelings in all the various forms of absolute or pure instrumental music, as well as in lyric song, opera, and oratorio, in which the music serves as interpreter of the added poetry. Of his four symphonies, the two best—the "Ocean" and the "Dramatic" symphony—have been heard in America, and are, in the opinion of many, the most important works of that class which have appeared since Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The too-much-neglected species of chamber music he has enriched by a number of trios, quartettes, an octette, and a sextette, Op. 97, this being his latest composition, which was performed a few weeks ago for the first time at St. Petersburg. There is no class of pieces more interesting than duos for piano and violoncello, and yet their number is sadly limited, owing, perhaps, to the fact that a good performer on the 'cello is indeed a *rara avis in terra*. Besides several short moreaux, Rubinstein has written for piano and 'cello two magnificent sonatas, besides two concertos for 'cello and orchestra (also arranged with piano). These last are, in my opinion, the finest compositions of the kind in existence, being so well adapted to the character of that most emotional and voice-like of all instruments as to suggest the idea that Rubinstein must be as familiar with it as with the piano. Finally, his compositions for piano solo are very numerous, though usually as difficult as interesting. Americans may be interested in the fact that his Opus 93 contains some variations on "Yankee Doodle."

Wagner's view, that the art of the future is to consist in a union of poetry and music, derives not a little support from the remarkable fact that lyric song is almost entirely a product of modern times. Schubert, Schumann, and Franz, the great song-writers *par excellence*, are all post-Beethovenish. The hundred or more songs which Rubinstein has written entitle him to be ranked with those artists. His songs are in general

characterized by a spontaneity and rich flow of melody which strongly remind one of the inexhaustible Schubert. The dramatic spirit which pervades the compositions of the Russian pianist makes one naturally expect him to try his skill also in oratorio and opera. "Paradise Lost" and the "Tower of Babel" are the names of his two oratorios. An interesting fact in connection with the latter is that it is put into scene, and destined not for the concert-room but the stage. No previous composer had ventured to do this, because narrow religious prejudices were opposed to the introduction on the stage of stories from the Bible, even when set to music. But our times are more liberal in that respect, and we should greet with open arms an innovation that will deprive the oratorio of that element of monotony which has made it unpopular in the eyes of many musical people.

For the Russian stage Rubinstein composed several short operas, which, however, being youthful and immature productions, have not been successful outside of his native land. But he has also written two grand operas for the German stage, the last of which, "Nero," will be brought out this season for the first time in Hamburg. The other, "The Maccabees," was last year performed for the first time in the Berlin Opera-House, when it was warmly received, and has since then retained a prominent place in the repertoire. It has also been well received at Hamburg and at Pesth. But it has often been observed that an opera or drama which is received with enthusiasm in one German city will in another make a fiasco, or "fall through," as the Germans say. "The Maccabees" was brought out here in Munich this winter, and had a mere *succès d'estime*—that is, one could see at the first performance that the applause was merely such as the reputation of the composer and the excellence of the performance commanded. This seems strange; for Berlin is much more conservative in art than Munich, where Wagner's operas compete in popularity with Hofbräuhäuser. But this last fact may account for the fate of "The Maccabees" here. Rubinstein being a modern composer, the worthy citizens of the Bavarian capital expected to hear a music-drama *à la* Wagner. But "The Maccabees" is not a music drama, for the libretto partakes too little of the nature of a drama, the action is too much interfered with by choruses, and the music does not closely enough interpret the words. Nor, on the other hand, is it an opera, for it contains no arias, duets, or ballets, and is, in fact, something more than a "concert in costume," which is Wagner's definition of an opera.

What, then, is "The Maccabees"? Properly speaking, it should be called an oratorio put into scene. As in an oratorio, the predominant element is the chorus, and in this respect it somewhat reminds one of Weber's "Euryanthe," although the choruses in this opera are not nearly so grand, so inspiring, and free from commonplaces as those in the "Maccabees." But the too great predominance of the chorus interferes with the proper individualization of the *dramatis personæ*, which is essential to a good opera or music-drama, and it also causes too much stagnation in the dramatic action. There are, indeed, a few places, as at the end of the first and third acts, when the dramatic action, the words, and the music unite as in a music-drama proper, and produce great effect; but there are not enough of these places. Perhaps the weakness of the libretto is in great part responsible for this. It was not written by the composer himself, but was furnished by Mosenthal, the Metastasio of the XIXth century, who made a profession of writing opera-texts. Now, the inability to procure good librettos has always been the curse of opera-composers. It is well known that it was due to this fact alone that Mendelssohn wrote but a single fragment of an opera. In view of the inferiority of this class of literature in general, it is impossible to suppress one's indignation at the quibbling of certain German critics of Wagner's "Ring des Nibelungen." If there are imperfections in that poem, when judged from a purely literary standpoint, it is nevertheless as superior to all other opera-librettos as Dickens's novels are to Beadle's dime-novels.

But although, from the standpoint of the music drama, "The Maccabees" is open to criticism, when viewed as an oratorio on the stage it occupies a very high rank. The music throughout is of a lofty character; the instrumentation, if not very original, is chaste and effective, and some of the choruses are not inferior to Handel's—to a modern ear are superior to them as regards originality of phrase-ending. Some of the monologues and choruses are rendered interesting by a peculiar Oriental coloring, and an ancient Jewish tone. The quartette of the priests of Minerva and the warlike march are extremely characteristic. "Leading-motives," to indicate characters and situations, are used to a slight extent, although in general Rubinstein anxiously avoids anything which could bring upon him the charge of imitating Wagner. Noticeable, however, in this composition is the absence of the traditional aria, and the substitution for it of the end-

less melody, which, however, Rubinstein gives to the vocalist, while Wagner gives it to the orchestra.

In every respect "The Maccabees" is an interesting work, and we earnestly commend it to the attention of American musical associations. It is true that the leading societies in Boston seem to be guided by the principle that it is a cardinal sin to produce the works of a living composer, but New York is more cosmopolitan in her tastes; and if Wagner's "Walküre," as might have been expected, lost much in interest by being performed without its stage accompaniments, I am certain that "The Maccabees" would not lose as much of its value if produced in the concert-hall. The work is difficult, but even if it could not be brought out with four of the Bayreuth vocalists and the best-trained chorus in the world, as here in Munich, yet I doubt not that some prominent New York society could do justice to it.

Correspondence.

RAILWAY ACCOUNTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your last week's *Nation* suggested the organization of a commission for the purpose of revising and dissecting railway accounts, and to prescribe some method by which they may be kept.

For three years I have, on behalf of the merchants of New York, as organized in the Cheap Transportation Association and kindred bodies, urged the passage of a bill which I drew, and of which I send you a copy. I also enclose an *Argus* of March 28 containing the report of a lengthy speech made by me before the Railway Committee in urging the passage of the bill.

Three years ago I drafted and urged upon the consideration of the Legislature another bill for the purpose of securing minority representation in railway boards, so as to prevent the capture of railways by a controlling interest and the utter exclusion of the minority not only from the government but from all knowledge of the method on which the business is conducted.

I say to you in the words of Wallenstein: *Spät kommt Ihr, doch Ihr kommt.*—Respectfully yours,

SIMON STERNE.

NEW YORK, April 2, 1877.

Notes.

SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO. are about to republish 'The Wit and Wisdom of Hayti,' a collection of proverbs of Haytian or African origin, made by Mr. John Bigelow during a visit to that island in the winter of 1854. Specimens of these proverbs Mr. Bigelow has already made public in *Harper's Monthly*, and they promise a volume of no little interest.—Macmillan & Co. have nearly ready Matthew Arnold's 'Last Essays on Church and Religion,' a volume uniform with his 'Literature and Dogma.' The New York agency of this house will remove on the 1st prox. to No. 22 Bond Street.—A 'History of the College of New Jersey,' by ex-President Dr. John McLean, and 'Outlines of Etymology,' by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, are in the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co.—A new novel by Gail Hamilton, 'First Love is Best?' is announced for next month by Estes & Lauriat, who also intend issuing a new and uniform edition of this author's former works. They will shortly publish 'Jack,' by the author of 'Sidonie.'—G. P. Putnam's Sons have in hand, under the title of 'Academy Sketches,' a brochure containing fac-simile reproductions of drawings, by the artists themselves, after one hundred of the principal pictures in the National Academy Exhibition now in progress. A well-known art-critic will furnish descriptive notes. The fac-similes will generally be larger than those of the illustrated catalogue. The publishers intend, if this venture meets with the encouragement which it deserves, to repeat it for every spring exhibition.—In the forthcoming number of the *International Review* Gen. Francis A. Walker will begin a series of important articles on the organization and administration of the Centennial Exhibition.—A lecture delivered in Washington last week, at the opening of the summer course of the National Medical College, by Dr. Elliott Coues, U.S.A., has deservedly attracted attention not only by contrast with similar addresses, but for its mode of treatment and "advanced" views in discussing the bearings of anatomical science on the question of the origin of species and man's place in nature.

—The impossibility which every nation finds of making at our world's fairs a complete exhibit of its resources, or it may be any but a very one-sided exhibit; the desire, again, to apologize for the meagreness of what is represented by showing that which goes unrepresented; and lastly, the hope, among new or backward countries, of stimulating immigration and the investment of capital, all combine to set the statisticians at work and to promote statistical enquiry. From one old and backward and one brand-new country we have received documents thus evoked by the Centennial. Mr. De Zamacona, President of the Mexican Commission at Philadelphia, sends us the Special Catalogue of the Mexican Section, and two other brochures, of native manufacture—viz., 'The Republic of Mexico in 1876' and a 'History of the Mexican Railway.' The first gives a political and ethnographical description of the population, their languages, manners, and customs, dress, occupations, etc., and is illustrated with curious colored plates of the various classes and races (where photography would have served a more useful purpose), a *carta etnográfica*, and specimens of the national music (dance and song). The English of this production has, unfortunately, so suffered between the translator and the *La Enseñanza* printing-office that it frequently offers real difficulties to the understanding. The English (by the same hand) of the account of the Mexican Railway is still somewhat erratic, but the typography is much better, and the press-work very good indeed. Numerous lithographic plates from photographs show the principal engineering triumphs of this difficult line, and the text fully acquaints the reader with the history and material resources of the regions which it traverses. Portraits of the engineers and projectors of the road (a truly international achievement) and a good map leave nothing to be desired in the way of information. The motive of Mr. G. H. Reid's 'Essay on New South Wales, the Mother Colony of the Australias,' corresponds with that of the colony itself in contributing to the Exhibition—a "supreme anxiety for men, not custom." His perspicuous and well arranged paper strengthens the forcible impression which all the Australasian exhibits made on observant visitors at the Centennial; and, except the reckless use of percentages of increase, especially in comparison with the progress of other countries, we find nothing delusive in Mr. Reid's array of facts and figures. The population of New South Wales could find standing-room in a field of 120 acres, while it is in fact scattered over 207,000,000 acres. This sparseness, and the peculiar topographical formation which makes the coast rivers short and the interior rivers the chief highways—leading, however, out of the territory, so that, for instance, about 47,000,000 pounds of wool grown along the river Murray cross the border annually into Victoria—have caused metalled roads and railways to be the chief preoccupation of the country in the interest both of postal communication and of commerce and settlement. The railroads already constructed across the divide between the coast country and the interior have cost upwards of \$80,000 a mile, but it is hoped that \$35,000 will be the average cost hereafter. With all their internal improvements, however, "the people of New South Wales are less burdened with taxation than perhaps any other in the world"; "the lion's share of the increase in the public revenue being from the sale and occupation of the Crown lands." The government is based on manhood suffrage. We have not space to dwell on the mineral and agricultural and pastoral richness of this young state as set forth by Mr. Reid. A map of the colony and a panoramic view (1870) of Sydney and its harbor, of unsurpassed beauty and capacity, add considerably to the value of this attractive work.

—"R." writes us from Boston: "I venture to call your attention to an inaccuracy in the Paris letter in your last number (April 5). Your correspondent states that 'there was no tie whatever between the Talleyrands and the last Duke of Montmorency, whom I knew.' It so happens that Count Adalbert de Talleyrand-Périgord, to whom Napoleon III. accorded the title of Duke of Montmorency, was nephew to the 'last Duke,' being a son of his sister Alice. The other members of the family protested against the new creation, on the ground that Count Adalbert was only one of several representatives in the female line, and that a junior branch of the male line was still in existence."

—"The annual boat-race between the two universities," writes a correspondent from London, under date of March 25, "has had this year an unprecedented result—namely, a 'dead heat.' The closeness of the struggle made the race a particularly beautiful one, the prettiest, I am told, that has been rowed for many years. This was my consolation for getting up in the gray dawn of a particularly acrid March morning, and journeying forth to stand for an hour in the fierce, raw wind that sweeps over Barnes Bridge. The race, this year, took place at an unusually early hour—nominally, at a quarter to eight. This fact, together with the prospect of a rainy morning, thinned out the customary crowd; but the concourse of people seemed to

me very vast, and in a certain way very impressive. It was a great proof of the 'muscularity' of the English race, and of the touch of nature which makes all classes akin here being admiration for the power of doing something wonderful with one's legs or arms. When one reflected that the closely-packed thousands that lined the river-bank, and encumbered the stream in barges and wherries, were assembled to witness twenty minutes' boyish sport on the part of a few young gentlemen engaged in book-learning at college, one hardly knew whether to laugh or to feel very solemn. I suppose, certainly, that it is the thing in the modern world which gives one most of a hint of what the Olympic games may have been. It is very true that certain elements in the scene are but slenderly Olympic—the dingy, British mob, with coal-smoke ground into its pores, the dank suburban landscape, the low and dusky sky, the taverns, the railway bridges, and the Thames mud. But when the two boats came shooting down the stream, spreading their simultaneous oars like great white, water-skimming birds, with eight-feathered wings, and followed closely by the three densely-laden steamers—the umpires, the universities, and the press—which are allowed to attend them, I suspect the sight is as stirring as any that Greece had to show. Next to being on one of these steamers—a privilege inaccessible to the vulgar—the best position for the spectators is on the railway bridge at Barnes, for admission to which, by special train from Waterloo, you pay a sovereign. Of course but a moderate portion of a four-mile course is visible from any one point; but the spot in question is the one point from which most can be seen. For a long time yesterday morning we breakfastless hundreds stood there cooling our heels, with nothing but the shoving and shifting barges and the crowd on the towing-path to see, and nothing to swallow but the bitter March wind. The start of the crews was delayed more than half an hour, and we had a great many false alarms; but at last we knew they were off, though for a good while we could make out nothing but the shining upper reaches of the stream itself. Little by little, however, the two boats became visible, vaguely gleaming in the grey light, and becoming rapidly distinct and larger. After they had once come well into sight, Oxford leading and Cambridge three-quarters of a boat's length behind, our own admiration for the splendid pace at which they were going (the tide was dead, but the wind was against them and the water not smooth) was tempered with regret. It was provoking to be losing so fast so beautiful a sight. For some moments, however, from the bridge, we had it directly under our noses. Nearly three miles of the course had been rowed and Cambridge was, although not losing ground, not recovering ground already lost. The uproar from the shore and the bridge—the shouts, and howls, and conflicting adjurations—swelled and deepened, and (along the shore) was caught up as the boats advanced. As they passed under the bridge they were, from side to side, wonderfully close together, but Cambridge was still behind. Then it was that, seen from high above and much foreshortened, they looked, as I have said, like great birds grazing the water with their bellies. There was something very picturesque in the way the three low, black steamers, abreast, looking ugly and hungry, came crowding on their quivering wake. It looked much less like a race than like a chase. The Oxford crew seemed magnificent—eight shining young giants. They were larger men than their rivals, and, so far as I could see in so short a space of time, they seemed to be pulling a grander, smoother stroke. They passed under the bridge, and we all surged with an inarticulate roar to the further parapet. It was between here and the finish that the fortune of the race changed. So long as the two boats kept in sight the advantage was still with Oxford. Cambridge seemed extremely plucky, but decidedly overmatched. She splashed more or less, which her rival didn't. The boats rounded the turn towards Mortlake, and we lost sight of them, taking for granted that Oxford had kept ahead to the end. At the end of a quarter of an hour the dark-blue steamer was hoisted from the bridge on top of the light one, and we were presently despatched back to London in the faith that there would be lamentation, a few minutes later, at Trinity and Jesus. But on arriving in London we learned that an accident, inappreciable from the bridge, had damaged the advance of Oxford. Her bow had split or in some way injured his oar, and had been unable for the last half-mile to feather it, or, indeed, practically use it. The Cambridge boat had caught up, though Oxford, with but seven oars, had kept her from doing more, and the two boats had touched goal together. It was a beautiful race—very powerful for Oxford, very plucky for Cambridge."

—The death, on the 4th of March, of Mr. George Odger, the English Radical, was followed two days later by that of Dr. Johann Jacoby, of Königsberg, an equally disinterested friend of the workingman, and a consistent advocate of constitutional liberty. No German, indeed, has had a greater share in the ultimate triumph of constitutional ideas in his

country than the author of the 'Four Questions' ('Vier Fragen, beantwortet von einem Ostpreussen'; Mannheim, 1841), yet, on his death, the verdict of even the Liberal press of Germany classes him with the idealists and "unpractical" politicians to whom Mr. Odger has been consigned. Excepting, however, the purity of character which marked them both, there were few points of resemblance between the self-taught English laborer and the accomplished German scholar. Dr. Johann Jacoby, indeed, was a physician and physiologist of no ordinary merit, although his scientific achievements were naturally overshadowed by his activity in the political sphere. He was that rarest of German revolutionists—a thoroughly logical and self-possessed thinker, and in the display of these qualities lay the secret of his power. In his 'Four Questions' he argued, with judicial calmness, the right of the Prussian people to the constitution guaranteed them by Frederic William III., and he practically demonstrated his faith in the justice of the reigning king by sending him his anonymous pamphlet, and disclosing himself as its author. His confidence, however, was ill-rewarded; Frederic William IV. had him tried for treason, and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment; but an appeal to the superior court resulted in his acquittal. In 1848, as a deputy in the National Assembly, he addressed to the king the now-famous words: "It is the misfortune of kings that they do not want to hear the truth"—a bold utterance, indeed, on the part of the Jewish physician of Königsberg. Equal candor prompted his 'Preussen im Jahre 1845,' 'Das Königliche Wort Friedrich Wilhelm's III.,' 'Die Grundsätze der preussischen Demokratie,' and other publications, which repeatedly led to his imprisonment. With the growth of Prussian power the influence and popularity of Johann Jacoby declined. He denounced the war of 1866 as fratricidal, just as, in 1870, he opposed the forcible annexation of French territory. For the latter offence he was imprisoned, by order of General Vogel von Falckenstein, in the fortress of Lötzén. In the last years of his life the new order of things crowded the inflexible defender of abstract right into comparative obscurity. He was, however, devoted to his science to the last, while his sympathy with the socialist movement took a more definite shape. He submitted with philosophic resignation, in his seventy-second year, to the operation which resulted in his death.

—Hardly any form of historical investigation is so instructive as that of bringing past events to the test of the economical and scientific principles of the present day. This has been attempted for the peasants' wars of the Middle Ages, in 'Der deutsche Bauernkrieg mit Berücksichtigung der hauptsächlichsten sozialen Bewegungen des Mittelalters,' by A. Bebel. The author is a socialist of the school of Lassalle, who in some way has found himself an inmate of the prison at Zwickau, where he writes this book with the view of bringing history to the support of his theories. Having no library at his command, he does not aim at a complete and authoritative account of the insurrections; his aim is to suggest rather than instruct. Nevertheless, he appears generally accurate in his facts, and he has certainly made a very interesting book. Of course he confines himself to one aspect—the oppression and suffering of the time; an aspect perfectly true, only we must never forget that the picture had its bright side too, and this he ignores entirely. For him all barons are robbers, all priests hypocrites, and all *bourgeois* timid and selfish. Luther was a representative of the last class. There is a good account of peasants' insurrections previous to the great Peasants' War of 1524; rather meagre for the familiar ones of the *Jacquerie* and Wat Tyler; quite full and detailed for the hardly-known contests of the XVth century. If it is borne in mind that the book is one-sided and *doctrinaire*, it will be found interesting and instructive, especially if supplemented by some more impartial and scholarly view of the condition of the peasants, like those of Sugenheim and La Chavanne.

—Dr. Otto Blau, who was for eleven years German consul in Bosnia (1861-1872), and who has published a great deal about that province and its southern neighbors, has just brought out, in connection with Dr. H. Kiepert, an account of his journeys through these regions ('Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina.' Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt). For the most part, Dr. Blau's narrative is a pure and somewhat dry topographical itinerary, but he is a many-sided observer, and a botanist of some distinction withal, and mingles his *pflanzengeographische* notes with remarks on men and manners and landscape in a very enlivening manner. He reports inscriptions on tombstones and other remarkable antiquities met with in his travels, and describes his struggles overnight with vermin and mice in an Alpine *Sennerei* as faithfully as he enumerates the earthquakes in Bosnia—three in 1866, four in 1867, three in 1868, etc. In making the precipitous descent from Trebinje to Ragusa, which is almost impracticable for horses, he stops to admire the swinging gait of the peasant girls of the neighborhood, who, market-basket on head, make their

way down over the cliffs as if they were no impediment. He dwells with pleasure on the picturesque surroundings of the stronghold of Jaitza, the old residence of the Bosnian kings, with its waterfall and its catacombs; shows us the pile-dwellers (Turks and Austrians of the Military Frontier) along the marshy banks of the Save; smiles at the dozen zaptiehs who, at Gradishka on the same Frontier, keep watch and ward over the dilapidated Turkish fortress and its two guns, and answer the Austrian "Werda?" (or "War do?") with a Bosnian version sounding very much like "Par-don!"—and, on the road from Gradishka to Banjaluka, gives us a humorous glimpse of invalids, men and women, standing with their clothes on in a warm spring up to their armpits (after having thrown in a coin to be fished out by the neighboring priests), and then coming out and running round the rock from which the spring issues until their clothes are dried. Dr. Kiepert, besides agreeing with the author on a uniform orthography, has compiled his itinerary and plotted it upon a map based on the new and unrivalled map of the Austrian Engineers, embracing all Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The present map is much less extensive, but takes in the valleys of the Bosna, Verbas, and Narenta, with portions of the Save and the Drin. Dr. Kiepert also edits some rare and valuable denominational statistics for Bosnia.

—There is apparently no limit to the number of books about the Paris Opéra which the French are willing to read. Two new works are now in course of publication at the Librairie des Bibliophiles (New York: F. W. Christern). The first, 'L'Opéra, eaux-fortes et quatrains,' is to contain fifty etchings of the singers and dancers of the National Academy of Music, each etching accompanied by a descriptive quatrain. The etchings are from different hands and of varying merit, to judge from the two annexed to the prospectus, one of which is a vigorous portrait of M. Lassalle. Of much greater importance is the second work, 'Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra: Catalogue historique, chronologique, anecdotique,' by Théodore de Lajarte. Shortly after the burning of the opera-house in the Rue Le Pelletier, in 1873, the archives and the collection of musical MSS. were transported to the new Opéra of M. Garnier, and there, in the spacious galleries provided for the library, M. de Lajarte has classified and arranged the countless treasures of the only musical theatre in the world which has an unbroken history of over two hundred years. He found great confusion existing, but his industry has extracted the complete scores, with full parts for orchestra, actors, and chorus, of two hundred and forty-one operas and one hundred and ten ballets, besides innumerable scores of operas, ballets, symphonies, political cantatas, etc., of less importance or less fullness. These many MSS. he has catalogued in six chronological periods: 1671–1697, Lully; 1697–1733, Campra; 1733–1774, Rameau; 1774–1807, Gluck; 1807–1826, Spontini; and 1826–1876, Rossini and Meyerbeer. Three parts, containing the first three epochs and coming down to 1774, have now been issued; the portrait of the leading composer of the period, etched by M. Le Rat, is prefixed to each part. A statement of the composition of the orchestra at each period is also given. The works are recorded in the order of their first performance; particulars of the cast then and at subsequent revivals are added; important *moreaux* are pointed out; anecdotes of authors, actors, audiences, when pertinent, are appended to each title. At the end of each part are biographical sketches of the authors and composers of the epoch. The eight parts will make two volumes of about four hundred pages, and promise to be excellent specimens of thorough workmanship.

—A peculiar disgrace has overtaken the United States in the East in consequence of the bad character of its representatives, both in the diplomatic and consular service and in the employ of the native governments. The last instance of this has doubtless before now been brought to Secretary Evarts's attention, and we hope he is already prepared to name to the President a successor to Mr. Nathan J. Newwitter, United States Consul for Hiogo and Osaka. Hiogo is the port of Kioto, and last January the Mikado, in journeying to the latter city, was obliged to land at the former. Our precious consul first sought betimes to extend to his majesty and suite "the hospitality of the United States consulate at a private dinner" during his stay in port, but being politely rebuffed, on the ground of the Mikado's haste in passing through, he prepared an address which he endeavored to thrust upon the Mikado on his return from Kioto, and confidently communicated to the local press two days later (Feb. 7) as having been actually presented. In this address he professed to speak in the name of the Hiogo Municipality and of the foreign community generally; and as this made them responsible for bad grammar, bad spelling, ridiculous rhetoric, and sickening adulation, they were at once thrown into a state of great excitement. Mr. Newwitter being chairman of the so-called Municipal Council, a special

meeting was promptly demanded by his colleagues, including several of the resident consuls, and he was asked to explain by what authority he had assumed to speak for them, and who had "devolved upon him" the "pleasant and honored duty of welcoming" his Majesty. Mr. Newwitter made a very lame apology for his action—nothing more than his belief that he was merely expressing the sentiments of the Council; whereupon he was inconveniently asked to resign. In the ensuing debate he stated that he had "had information from the Governor that an address on behalf of the foreign community would be acceptable"; but this was flatly contradicted by the British consul, who was authorized by the Governor to state that the proposal came from Mr. Newwitter and had been rejected, and that the latter nevertheless forced the address upon him in the railway station, when, out of good nature, he received it and pocketed it. It was also shown that the chairman had had plenty of time to consult his colleagues, in spite of his protestations to the contrary. In this question of veracity Mr. Newwitter fell back upon his dignity, saying his word was "on the same footing as that of Mr. Annesley or the Governor of Hiogo," and ended by declining to put the resolution requesting him to resign, on the ground that this had not been among the advertised objects of the special meeting. At the regular monthly meeting ensuing the resolution was renewed, but was declared out of order by Mr. Newwitter. Mr. Annesley then having introduced autographic evidence of the truth of his previous statements about the Governor's relation to the address, the chairman accused him of having had the expenses of a private ball paid for out of the public funds—a charge which was proved false on the spot. Mr. Newwitter, however, by holding fast to the privileges of the chair, remained master of the situation, and the Council at once dissolved by resignations, to form again with Mr. Newwitter out in the cold.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.*

I.

IT was the opinion of Miss Martineau that one of the duties of her life was to write her autobiography; and since she had held this conviction "from youth upward," as she tells us in the opening sentence, it was evidently based on general grounds, and not on anything thought especially important in her own career. It was equally her opinion that private letters ought not, with very rare exceptions, to be published. The trouble is that these combined theories if carried out would leave history absolutely in the hands of autobiographers. Contemporary letters are the one strong check on the mistakes of memory and the misrepresentations, deliberate or unintentional, of those who tell their own story. No one can continuously attitudinize in letters. Any one can attitudinize in an autobiography. For the sake of truth, therefore, and of mutual justice it is necessary to protest against the very foundations of Miss Martineau's biographical method.

Take an illustration. In one of the most delightful autobiographies ever written, that of Benvenuto Cellini, he records that when he was five years old his father pointed out to him a little animal like a lizard in the hottest part of a large oak-fire. Having done this the father gave the child a box on the ear, and added, "My dear child, I did not give you that blow for any fault you have committed, but that you may recollect that the little creature you see in the fire is a salamander, such a one as was never seen before, to my knowledge." "So saying," adds Cellini, "he embraced me and gave me some money." Nothing could be more detailed and precise than this incredible legend. If the father's letters had been preserved and published, we might know precisely what to make of it; but, as it is, the autobiographer has it all his own way. Yet this, after all, is a very trifling matter; salamanders have no sensibilities; at least, they must be early scorched out of them by their chosen element. But human beings may be placed by any autobiographer in a much more fiery furnace than ever sheltered a salamander household, and that without the slightest protection, so long as all private letters are to be suppressed.

It may be said that the high character and strong common sense of Miss Martineau would prove a guarantee against injustice. But these traits did not save her from some very intense prejudices, and it is not in human nature to do justice under such circumstances. Again, when a woman of fifty-three, who has led a very active and influential life, undertakes to tell her own story, she needs a memory like that of Macaulay to retain the precise details; indeed, Macaulay's 'Archbishops of Canterbury' were nothing, as a task, compared with the successive events of even a very commonplace life. Now, it was always the impression in regard to Miss Martineau, after her American visit, that while her vivid and

* 'Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. With Memorials by Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman.' 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

active mind made her seek to present everything as a scene or a dialogue, the precise words and incidents often underwent much change in her hands. And if, in this book, we compare her citations of Sydney Smith's sayings, for instance, with the more authentic records of his own daughter, we find that Miss Martineau's habitual self-confidence was rather out of proportion to her accuracy. Her deafness may have had something to do with it; but, after all, it is a matter of temperament, and the most graphic and animated narrators are rarely the most precise. It is hard to find an instance throughout the whole book where Miss Martineau expresses a doubt, even after an interval of thirty years, of the verbal accuracy of a quotation. She is probably as accurate as most autobiographers; but very few are as trenchant and decided and self-confident.

So far as deliberate intention goes, this is doubtless one of the very honestest autobiographies ever written; and in respect to careful self-analysis, it probably stands at the head of its whole class. This makes it eminently worth reading, and would make it eminently enjoyable but for the sadness which hangs over so much of it. Her early childhood was, by her own statement, "usually very unhappy"; at five, she attempted suicide; her childish conscience was in "perpetual torture"; from eight to fourteen she tried in vain to pass a single day without crying; she had "a hideous amount of fault and suffering" (i. 33). Her father is hardly mentioned in her early recollections, and she was so afraid of her mother that she was "habitually untruthful, from fear," toward that one person. All this lasted till she left home at sixteen, and by that time the "great calamity" of her deafness was beginning. These early discouragements render her later career more extraordinary, but they make its opening very sombre to the reader; and, unluckily, another shadow awaits him ere the close. There follows this opening, however, a maturity of brilliant achievement. After a few minor efforts, she attempted her 'Illustrations of Political Economy' at the age of twenty-nine. It was almost impossible for her to obtain a publisher for the proposed series. The condition finally made was that five hundred copies should be subscribed for before publication. Not three hundred subscriptions were ever obtained, but while the young authoress was quaking at home the advance orders for the first volume went on increasing—three thousand, four thousand—and, in short, her cares were over. "From that hour I have never had any other anxiety about employment than what to choose, nor any real care about money." Her life, as she elsewhere says, having begun with winter, burst suddenly into summer. Lord Brougham declared that the whole Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had been "driven out of the field by a little deaf woman at Norwich." Soon the little deaf woman removed to London; was courted by lords, commons, and society at large. She wrote from her own experience a pungent essay on 'Literary Lionism,' which is deservedly reprinted by herself in these volumes. A taste of very complimentary persecution was added. At one time the Emperor of Russia had ordered a copy of her series for every member of his family, and Louis Philippe for every member of his; but 'The Charmed Sea' spoiled her market in the one case, and 'French Wines and Politics' in the other. The Emperor collected all his copies, burnt them, and forbade her the empire; the Austrian Government did the same, and some friends of hers who had in vain invited her to join them in a foreign tour, found her name placarded at the Austrian frontier as representing one of those not permitted to cross.

To those who read in childhood these delightful stories—passing lightly over the longer dialogues, and stopping short of the "summary of principles" at the end—it is possible to see, on maturer perusal, both their strength and their weakness. Graphic and dramatic they surely were, with an amazing local coloring, so far as landscape went, yet with a certain monotony of treatment. English peasants, Highland lassies, Demarara slaves, Dutch merchants, Siberian exiles, all talk in the same vein, all have studied in the same school. Then, as to the doctrines, we can now see that this young woman was as confident in urging opinions now exploded as when she dealt with the most axiomatic truths. Indeed, she owns this, with her usual candor. For instance, in regard to that volume which brought upon her most odium, 'Weal and Woe in Garveloch,' she now admits that Mr. Malthus's doctrines, to which she was devoted, "attacked the difficulty at the wrong end" (i. 159). To an American, accustomed to hearing his people berated for the alleged smallness of their families, there is something bewildering in a book which holds up one of its heroes to profound admiration, for deliberately choosing lifelong celibacy rather than to be the parent of a child. But this was in accordance with the theory of Malthus, as preached in those days; and Miss Martineau had always the courage of her convictions.

It is in this connection that she devotes nearly six pages to a criticism

on her series which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1833. We have carefully read that article, and, while it undoubtedly contains several paragraphs that would not now appear in any decent journal, we are yet decidedly of opinion that Miss Martineau attached far too much weight to it. It must be remembered that the standard of periodical literature was then anything but refined, and things are reprinted to this day in the "Noctes Ambrosianæ" of *Blackwood* which are quite on a par with those phrases of which this autobiography justly complains. But that it was deliberately intended to "destroy" her, as she says, or that Mr. Croker said at a dinner table that he had "begun by tomahawking Miss Martineau," we beg leave seriously to doubt. Whatever else may be said of the *Quarterly Review* in those days, when it undertook to tomahawk a person it went about it in earnest. In the very same number, on each side of the Martineau article, a more conspicuous victim was slaughtered without mercy; and if he came to life, in each case, it was only because editors are not all-powerful. Nine-tenths of the "attack" on the lady came within the limits of fair criticism. At the very outset the reviewer admits that "there is much which it is impossible not to admire in Miss Martineau's productions—the praiseworthy intention and benevolent spirit in which they are written, and the varied knowledge of nature and society, the acute discrimination of character, and remarkable power of entering into and describing the feelings of the lower classes." This is hearty praise, praise that covers a multitude of critical sins. But when the self-same periodical deals with no less men than Lord John Russell on the one side and Alfred Tennyson on the other, is any such weak yielding shown? Not a word of it. Lord John Russell's 'Causes of the French Revolution' is "a ridiculous essay"; the young poet is assured that "even after he shall be dead and buried as much sense will still remain as he has now the good fortune to possess." Nor is one extenuating reason shown why Lord John should not be consigned to the county jail and poor Tennyson to Bedlam. That was what the *Quarterly* did when it "tomahawked" an author. It does not show Miss Martineau's usual good sense that she should have found a deliberate attempt at her destruction in what was, for the *Quarterly*, a tolerably lenient review.

Annihilated or not annihilated, she contrived to lead a very pleasant life in London for some years. Her habits of life were these: She wrote her books by daylight, from eight or nine o'clock to two; received visitors from two to four; took an hour's walk; almost always dined out; and, after an evening visit or two, got home at twelve, and wrote letters till one or two A.M. She never made calls, though Sydney Smith advised her to "send round an inferior authoress to drop the cards." However, she saw everybody in London who was notable; and her sketches of these notabilities will be to us gossip-loving Americans the most amusing part of the book. Of those whom she especially loved, as Joanna Bailie, her descriptions are uncommonly sympathetic and charming. Of those whom she especially disliked, as Mrs. Kemble, Mrs. Austin, and Mrs. Jameson, the delineations are less pleasing, and, if compared with other contemporary reports, less just. But, after all, there was no figure in this circle more remarkable than Harriet Martineau herself, a young woman of thirty, into whose ear-trumpet philosophers dropped their theories and statesmen their plans, while she in return supplied, at their request, facts, theories, and themes. Thus passed her life from 1832 to 1834, when she came to the United States. That visit, with her later career, must be the subject of a separate paper.

The Life of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. By Charles Duke Yonge, Regius Professor of Modern History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast; author of 'The History of the British Navy,' etc. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876. 8vo, pp. 473.)—Mr. Yonge possesses in a high degree the art of narration, and has composed a graphic and interesting account of the life of Marie Antoinette. He is also painstaking and accurate in his facts. He does not, however, possess that indispensable quality of an historian—a sound and impartial judgment. He appears as, above all things, a panegyrist of the queen; he notes indeed some defects in her and some errors of judgment, but it is as the biographer, who has a right to regard them only as flaws in an essentially pure and noble character. It does not seem to occur to him that what were in a personal point of view trifling and pardonable defects were the source of serious and even fatal evils. For example, it is not a trifling matter in the eye of history that Marie Antoinette was the one chiefly responsible for the dismissal of Turgot. Perhaps not even Turgot could have saved France; but, at any rate, here was the rare good fortune of a statesman of the first order confronted with the evils which were precisely those with which he was best qualified to deal, and all brought to naught by the caprice of the queen. Again, in ordinary times, in the every-day relations of court and

family, it was a matter of indifference that a queen should feel herself removed an infinite distance from the mass of her subjects; she was kind, even beneficent, towards the poor *as poor*; but as fellow-creatures it could not enter her mind to conceive of any political relations towards them but that of ruler and subject. This was natural enough in the daughter of Maria Theresa and the Queen of France; it was the disability of the class to which she belonged, but none the less it was a fatal disability at this fearful crisis. As Von Sybel says: "She had no real interest in matters of state and policy." Mr. Yonge cannot understand how the populace of Paris could fluctuate as they did between blessing her for her charities and reviling her in the coarsest terms. But it is not so hard to explain. They blessed her when her charities came; when these were passed they saw only the queen, every fibre of whose being was aristocratic, and whose very charities were acts of condescension. More than this, they knew well, as Mirabeau said, that she was "the only man" about the king, and they gave her credit for all the shortcomings of the Government, often wrongfully, no doubt, but also, no doubt, in many cases rightfully.

It is one of the tragedies of history that a woman who deserves all her biographer's eulogies, who was qualified by her whole nature to be at once an ornament and a blessing to all connected with her, should be made to bear the weight of generations of misgovernment and tyranny, and be punished chiefly for the failures of others. Nothing strikes one so forcibly on reading these opening events of the Revolution as the crying need of a strong man. Turgot came too early; Bonaparte came too late; Mirabeau possessed the power, but lacked moral qualities which alone can inspire absolute confidence. More than this, one observes painfully how utterly useless would have been even the greatest qualities of statesmen with so incompetent and commonplace a man invested with absolute power as king. In fact, there is no healthier reading for those Americans who despair of republicanism, and cast longing eyes at aristocratic and monarchical institutions, than such stories as this of the French Revolution, in which it may be said that the real source of failure was that the nation was saddled with a most worthy but most incompetent king, of whom they could rid themselves only by cutting off his head.

Of all the characters of the day who aspired to lead events, Lafayette has of course the strongest interest in the eyes of Americans. With Mr. Yonge he is a pet aversion; and no doubt we must admit that his incompetence, in face of the monstrous problem of the time, was no less marked than that of the king—only Lafayette, like other leaders in succession, could be shelved when his incompetence was proved, while the king could not be. We, to whom Lafayette was so true a friend, have a right to choose the best side of his character for our contemplation, and to place the most favorable interpretation we can upon his motives. He was ambitious, no doubt; it was the ambition of one who really desired to be the preserver of his country, and really believed he knew the secret of its prosperity. After-events showed the poverty of his resources in face of a convulsion of society such as the world had never seen. It is easy to see this now; it was not so easy to see it then, and he, we may well believe, had a sincere and unselfish faith that he could be the Washington of France. It was as the friend and pupil of Washington that he undertook it; but in one thing he showed himself no faithful follower of his great model—a willingness to intrigue, to make use of disreputable tools and appliances, to commit unjust acts in hope of accomplishing some ulterior good. We need not gainsay his motives: it is only what our American politicians have reduced to a science. But he called into destructive activity forces which he was utterly powerless to control or guide. He did evil that good might come, and evil came instead.

An illustration of Mr. Yonge's one-sidedness of view is found in the tone in which he speaks of the parliament (p. 218). "The parliament of Paris, constantly endeavoring throughout its whole history to encroach upon the royal prerogative, had always founded its pretensions on its purity and disinterestedness"—words which cannot fail to carry the impression that this purity and disinterestedness were all a sham. No doubt the parliament at this epoch shared in the degeneracy which had spread through every department of the French government; but Mr. Yonge fails to recognize even its legitimate powers; and of its early history, of the times when, as Thierry says, "it regarded itself with pride as a power invested with the guardianship of the public rights, mediator between people and king, moderator between crown and church, preserver of the laws and regulator of all the jurisdictions of the kingdom"—the times when it was the sole bulwark against absolute and arbitrary power—he shows no appreciation whatever.

We observe a paucity of dates which is at times a little puzzling; and the author has that slovenly linguistic inconsistency which gives us constantly

Duc d'Orleans and Count d'Artois. It would be unjust to judge exclusively as a history a book that professes to be a biography. As a biography of the Queen of France, a chief personage at a momentous epoch of history, it is open to serious criticism; as a life of the woman Marie Antoinette it is just and appreciative, and, in the main, successful.

Historical Sketch of the United States Naval Academy. By Prof. J. R. Soley. (Washington: Government Printing-Office.)—Prof. Soley divides his book into two parts, the first being an historical sketch of the Academy, and in fact of education in our navy from its very beginning. The second part presents a view of the present organization and condition of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. In the history of this establishment there is very little of that which makes the history of a great collegiate institution interesting. Founded by the Government, and supported by yearly appropriations, it has had no early age of poverty and no maturity of affluence, no endowments, no scholarships, and no bequests. Its graduates all belong to one profession, of which the Academy is the entering stage. It is of such recent origin that it has no traditions, and it numbers among its graduates very few of the famous men of naval history. In 1845, the professors of mathematics of the Navy, some twenty-two in number, were gathered under one command at Annapolis by the Hon. George Bancroft, then Secretary of the Navy. There was no law or act of Congress authorizing the establishment of a school, but midshipmen were required to pass an examination in navigation and seamanship to become eligible for the grade of lieutenant, and the grade of Professor of Mathematics had been established to provide for the professional instruction of young officers on board ship. The functions of the professors had gradually become more extended, and in 1845 there were schools, under their charge, at the several naval stations, to which midshipmen were sent from sea-going ships to prepare for their examinations. The project of an academy was not at that time a new one. From the early part of the century plans had been formed, and bills introduced in Congress from time to time, to secure the establishment of a permanent school, designed to give young officers a good professional and general education; but it was never possible to excite sufficient interest to carry out any of these schemes. When the school was established it was done in a very quiet way, the Secretary of the Navy simply exercising his right in ordering all the instructors to one station and all the midshipmen to the same station for instruction. It was not for several years after the actual foundation of the school that it had any official recognition by Congress. Professor Soley has probably drawn most of the material for his work from official records, a source of information always reliable as far as it goes, but not always full or explicit. Thus, although the foundation of the Academy was officially the act of Mr. Bancroft, it was due in a great measure to the interest and exertions of the professors then employed in the Navy, and principally to Prof. Chauvenet, then just appointed, through whose solicitations and representations the Secretary was led to take the first step. This fact Prof. Soley fails to notice, and it should have a place in the history of the Academy. Since its establishment the school has increased steadily, and is now an indispensable part of our naval establishment, and an institution of high reputation.

It is impossible to enter upon a criticism of the second part of the book without taking up the subject of naval education at large. Suffice it to say that this subject is one upon which the opinion of naval officers is still divided, notwithstanding the permanent establishment of the Academy. Prof. Soley's book will be read with interest by all engaged on the question of naval education at home and abroad, and is a valuable addition to naval literature.

Wit, Humor, and Shakspeare. Twelve Essays. By John Weiss. (Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.)—Readers of essays on Shakspeare get used to fine writing. Nothing can be said beautiful enough or profound enough for him. The temptation seems to be irresistible to gild his gold and paint his lilies, and exhibit them in the midst of an incessant blaze and crackle of wit. But certainly few, if any, of the essayists have crowded as many brilliancies into the same compass as Mr. Weiss. He fires them off by the pack. He generally inclines to scholarly and transcendental effects, but he does not disdain puns, or the dropping of slang into the current of his usually choice English, or the contrasted trick of placing noble expressions in incongruous relations.

'Wit, Humor, and Shakspeare' is a taking title; it seems to promise many a hearty laugh. But Mr. Weiss is too intellectual for mirth, and there is no fun in the book. In the introductory essays on wit and humor he brings in illustrations from all quarters, many of them well-known good things at which the world has been laughing for ages, but somehow we

read them here with no spasmodic action of the diaphragm. After looking at the Chinese jugglers awhile, nothing surprises one; so the most miraculous old jokes seem a matter of course in the midst of this rhetorical thaumaturgy. The Shakspeare part of the book is mainly remarks on Shakspeare's jesters and on Shakspeare's women. Aside from the style, the "views" are in general good orthodox matter according to the current Shakspeare cult. There is nothing in the way of elucidation of particular readings of the text, or of the history of the plays, or of Shakspeare himself; and little, if anything, new in the way of elucidation of characters. Perhaps his theory of *Hamlet* is as well worth mention as anything. He elaborates the views of irony which figure so prominently in the critical articles upon George Eliot and other narrative writers more or less profound, and he thinks the solution of the *Hamlet* mystery is to be found in it. *Hamlet* is possessed with irony; he is "self-poised and self-sufficing"; a "firm yet subtle temper"; "too strongly built and level to be cracked"; he is not mad, but ironical. This would not have been so bad if, instead of *Hamlet*, it had been applied to Judge Holmes, or whoever it is, who tickles the itching ears of our Athenians with talk about Lord Bacon's being the author of 'Shakspeare,' and whom Mr. Weiss essays to confute.

Mr. Weiss's analyses and coruscations take the loveliness out of woman, as they do the fun out of humor. One hardly sees why it should be so; for his view is genial in substance, and makes conjugal love the essential form of true womanliness; but he dwells most in the outward flourishes. His peculiarities appear most notable in his apotheosis of *Lady Macbeth* as a choice specimen of the blonde woman, and reach their height when he puts in her mouth those words of *Troilus* to the dark enchantress—words that came straight from the heart of Shakspeare, if any ever did:

"I am as true as truth's simplicity,
And simpler than the infancy of truth."

Each generation has to be made acquainted with Shakspeare, and the repetition of the old staple of explanation and admiration in new forms suited to new times and new places will always be good and welcome. Mr. Weiss doubtless has his time and place and audience; his style could not have grown so rank without a congenial environment.

The School Candidates: a Prosaic Burlesque (1788). By Henry Clarke, LL.D. Edited, etc., by John Eglinton Bailey, F.S.A. (Manchester, 1877.)—In 1788 it befell the good people of Stretford, a village near Manchester, to engage in the election of a new schoolmaster. As to the circumstances of the transaction and the persons who took part in it, tradition might, not unnaturally, be supposed to be well-nigh silent. If only as an illustration of how much may be done, in these latter centuries of newspapers and omnigenous record, in the way of resuscitating facts regarding even the most insignificant event, and of constructing therefrom a connected whole, the details which Mr. Bailey has prefixed to the trifle he has edited are well worthy of study. Dr. Henry Clarke, who may be accounted a new discovery, was a man whom it was injustice to forget so completely as he had come to be forgotten. Among English mathematicians of the last century he deserves a rank, especially for his originality, which even so well-informed a scientific antiquary as the late Prof. De Morgan failed, from insufficient research, to appreciate; and Dr. Hutton had been equally neglectful of him. But his talent was recognized by Bishop Horsley, whose judgment is not likely to be arraigned. To what extent he had investigated linguistics is patent from his curious 'Tabulæ Linguarum,' a

book now grown rather scarce. The facility with which he acquired languages is attested to have been something remarkable. Skill as a draughtsman he possessed, too, as Whitaker's 'History of Manchester' gives clear evidence. From small beginnings he rose to be Professor of History, Geography, and Experimental Philosophy in the Royal Military College, now located at Sandhurst. This post he held from 1802 to 1817, when he was pensioned. He died in 1818, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. As Mr. Bailey, in concluding his memoir, very warrantably observes: "Had Dr. Clarke been possessed of more ambition, and been less free throughout his career from the cares of life, his name would have occupied a more conspicuous place in the annals of science and literature. None the less, however, is a tribute due to his undoubted genius."

'The School Candidates,' though in a vein of humor now somewhat out of date, is well calculated, where its reader is sufficiently qualified by scholarship and interest, to while away an hour or two agreeably. Dr. Clarke must have been a diligent student and a keen appreciator of Rabelais to have imitated him so successfully. Witness, for instance, the following deliverance of Hugo de Bragmardo: "If, upon a strict scrutiny, I find one whose qualifications are adequate to the undertaking, and whose substantific quality of his elementary complexion is intronicated in the terrestriety of his quidditative nature, so as to extraneize the blasting mists and whirlwind of immorality upon the minds of youth—if he will come to my Gymnasium and sup with me, nos faciemus bonum *cheerum*, ego occidit unum porcum, et ego habet bonum vino." And the portentous pedagogæ also asks: "Pray, Mr. Robinorosko, will you give me your opinion, whether the atoms revolving by the atmospheric pulsations occasioned by the hermagorical harmony might ever effect a compaction, or a dissolution, of a quintessence, by the application of the Pythagorical numbers?" These specimens must suffice.

Mr. Bailey, as our readers are aware, has signalized his ability and researchfulness by a 'Life of Thomas Fuller,' which, marked by merit of every description, is acknowledged to be a masterly performance. His edition of the quaint old divine's sermons, promised some years ago, is still a desideratum. Now that Dr. Clarke is off his hands, we trust that we shall not be kept waiting for it much longer.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Annual Report of the Chief Signal-Officer for 1876.....	(Washington) (Trubner & Co.)
Arnold (E.), Transliterations, Trivia, Grammar.....	(Scribner & Armstrong)
Bisland (J.), Wisdom of the Haytians, swd.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) \$1 50
Burnett (Frances H.), That Lass o' Lowrie's.....	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Cernuschi (H.), Nomisma; or, "Legal Tender".....	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 25
Corkran (Alice), Bessie Lang.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Forrester (Mrs.), Mignon.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 00
Gould (J. M.), How to Camp Out.....	(S. R. Wells & Co.) 1 50
Gregg (T.), How to Raise Fruit.....	(Lee & Shepard)
Higginson (T. W.), Book of American Explorers.....	(Littell & Gay)
Littell's Living Age, Jan.-Mar. 1877.....	(D. Appleton & Co.) 2 50
Pelle (J.), Philology: Science Primer.....	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 25
Richter (J. P. F.), Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces, 2 vols.....	(Little, Brown & Co.) 1 00
Campaner Thal.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Searle (G. M.), Elements of Geometry.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Six Little Cooks.....	(S. R. Wells & Co.) 1 50
Sizer (N.), How to Teach.....	(D. Appleton & Co.) 2 25
Spencer (H.), Principles of Sociology, Vol. I.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Smith (Dr. W.) and Wace (Prof. H.), Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. I., A-D.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Swain (C. F.), Captain Waters and Bill his Bo'son.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Synge (W. W. F.), Olivia Raleigh: a Tale.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 50
Thomé (Prof. O. W.), Text-book of Structural and Physiological Botany.....	(John Wiley & Sons) 2 25
Three Years at Wolverton.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 00
Tozer (H. F.), Classical Geography: Science Primer.....	(D. Appleton & Co.) 1 00
Tyng (Rev. S. H., jr.), He Will Come.....	(Mucklow & Simon) 50
Vapereau (G.), Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures, Part 7, swd.....	(A. K. Loring) 50
Warren (Mrs.), My Lady-Help, and What She Taught Me, swd.....	(A. K. Loring) 50
Weyrauch (Prof. J. J.), Strength and Determination of the Dimensions of Structures of Iron and Steel.....	(John Wiley & Sons) 2 00
White (C. A.), Classic Literature.....	(Henry Holt & Co.) 2 50

Henry Holt & Co., N. Y.,

Have just Published:

WHITE'S CLASSIC LITERATURE, principally Sanskrit, Greek, and Roman, with some account of the Persian, Chinese, and Japanese. In the form of Sketches of the Authors and Specimens from Translations of their works. By C. A. White, author of 'The Students' Mythology.' Large 12mo, \$2 50.

BESSIE LANG. By Alice Corkran. 16mo, Leisure-Hour Series, \$1 25.

WALLACE'S RUSSIA. \$4.

ALBEMARLE'S FIFTY YEARS OF MY LIFE. Large 12mo, \$2 50.
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THE CARLYLE ANTHOLOGY. 12mo, \$2.

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RARE ENGRAVINGS JUST RECEIVED.

66 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, March 16.

A superb lot of Italian Line Engravings, by Longhi, Raphael Morghen, Anderloni, Garavaglia, and Toschi. Many are large pictorial subjects in proof states, suitable for framing. Also, a superb original impression of the Sistine Madonna, engraved by Müller.

FREDERICK KEPPEL.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1877.

The Week.

THE solution of the Louisiana imbroglio proposed by the President's Commission provides for a "consolidated" Legislature made up on the basis of the Supervisors' Returns, seating all the members shown by these returns to have been elected, including all but three of the ten Republicans unseated by the Nicholls house. Such a body would practically be a continuation of the Nicholls Legislature, whose acts would thus be given full effect. As part of this plan of adjustment the Senate has adopted resolutions endorsing the President's Southern policy, pledging hearty co-operation, promising acceptance in good faith of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, equal protection of the laws and education for black and white, the promotion of kindly feeling between the two races, and absolute immunity from persecution of individuals from any quarter for past political conduct. Packard, who, like Chamberlain, is making what is called a "gallant fight" (*anglice*, vamping and blustering), has written a second letter to the President, in which he complains of the latter's shameful delay in answering his communication of the 5th instant, and renews his request that the Commission's powers be enlarged so as to enable them to report on such questions as "which of the contending governments is legally entitled to recognition," "whether a legal Supreme Court exists and who compose it," and "whether or not there is an armed insurrection against the lawful Government." According to the correspondent of the *Tribune*, the Nicholls party will not hold together a fortnight after the Packard government goes to pieces. A new party will be formed consisting of the better class of Democrats. This party will support the President, and advocate a moderate tariff, specie payments, and internal improvements for the benefit of the South, including the Mississippi levees and the Southern Pacific Railroad. This prediction, of course, might have been made any time during the last three months; the only thing that makes us sceptical about its fulfilment is the fact that the number of those who favor the principles of the new party must be very nearly co-extensive with the entire white population of Louisiana, and that as mere politicians the leaders may find it easier to make use of the Administration's need of support than to desert party lines to support it.

The "Bloody Shirt" Republicans are evidently not going to give up their struggle yet, though their efforts at reviving the "war feeling" are just now rather laughable when compared with their incendiary appeals of last summer. During the past week their operations have been confined entirely to the literary field. Mr. Blaine has written a letter to the Boston *Herald* conveying to Mr. Chamberlain his "profoundest sympathy" for the "heroic though unsuccessful struggle" for "civil liberty and constitutional government" made by that gentleman; assuring Mr. Packard that his "heart and judgment" are both with him, too, in the contest he is waging "against great odds for the governorship that he holds by a title as valid as that which justly and lawfully seated Rutherford B. Hayes in the Presidential chair"; and reminding "both governors" that the Boston press "no more represents the stalwart Republican feeling of New England on the pending issues than the same press did when it demanded the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law in 1851." The only other move made has been the placarding of the dead-walls all over Washington with some extracts from Mr. Evarts's speech before the electoral tribunal with regard to the Louisiana case. This bold stroke has not been traced to its author. It is reported that there is a movement on foot among the better class of Maine politicians to shelve Mr. Blaine altogether.

The great obstacle in the way of reformers in Maine, as in some other outlying and half-settled parts of the country, is the lack of means for the spread of information and new political ideas. There are, we believe, only four daily Republican papers in Maine—a fact which, in a measure, accounts for Mr. Blaine's having thus far escaped the fate of so many of his fellow-charlatans, and being still able to pass himself off on the public as a statesman and patriot.

The discussion over the powers of the Clerk of the House still continues in the newspapers, though there is nothing to show that Mr. Adams intends to commit any act of "usurpation" in organizing the new House. The new rule, passed by the last House before its adjournment, directing the Sergeant-at-arms to obey the orders of the Clerk, is now brought forward as throwing some light on the dispute; but it does not throw any at all. A legislature is a sovereign body and organizes itself, and the making-up of the roll by the Clerk is a mere matter of convenience, which does not give the Clerk any powers over contests for seats whatever. If there were no Clerk at all, a House of Representatives, for purposes of organization, would consist of exactly the same members as it does with a Clerk—viz., those having single legal returns. Any other rule than this would give the Clerk the power of organizing or refusing to organize a House at his pleasure, or, in other words, of bringing the whole Government to a deadlock. The provision of the Revised Statutes requiring the Clerk to make a roll of the members-elect, placing on it those persons only "whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States," is similar to provisions of many State statutes, and does not authorize the Clerk to exclude anybody who would in the absence of such a statute be entitled to a seat. The new House will have a Democratic majority of five, with fifteen Republican seats contested by Democrats and six Democratic seats contested by Republicans.

The Virginia House of Delegates some time since appointed a Finance Committee to consider the question of taxation and the public debt in that State, which reported that it was inexpedient to legislate. A member of the committee, Mr. Williams, submitted a minority report, however, and this he has now reinforced by a published letter, both together containing a résumé of the financial history of the State since the war. The story is much like that of many of the other repudiating Southern States. Virginia was, at the close of the war, saddled with a heavy debt of \$41,079,935; but in 1866 the auditor reported that the interest on this sum, amounting semi-annually to \$1,232,361, could be "met and paid promptly as it falls due," and went on to add: "I believe I express the universal sentiment of the people of the State in declaring that they ardently desire the restoration of its ancient credit, and that for the accomplishment of this object they are prepared to pledge their fortunes and their sacred honor." The reconstruction difficulties followed, and at the end of them, in 1870-1, the total debt had increased to about \$45,000,000. The Legislature now went to work at it, and, instead of giving themselves any trouble about their fortunes or their sacred honor, passed a funding bill repudiating one-third of the entire debt. This funding bill made the coupons of the new funded bonds receivable for all dues to the State; and the complaint was at once made that the State had done "too much for the creditor." Accordingly, the next Legislature, in 1872, passed an act repealing the provision with regard to the receivability of coupons—in direct violation of the pledge already given. This act was declared by the courts to be, as to bonds already funded, unconstitutional, and the Legislature immediately occupied itself with passing acts to get over this decision, while, to make sure of not doing "too much for the creditor," it imposed a tax of a half per cent. on the funded bonds. Meanwhile, on the bonds of the State owned at

home by the schools and colleges, the State pays a full six per cent. tax. The revenues of the State amount altogether to \$2,679,339, of which nearly \$1,000,000 is paid in coupons, and from \$700,000 to \$1,000,000 more are needed to enable the State to meet the demands upon her treasury. Mr. Williams thinks that the system of taxation ought to be reformed; but it is clear, as he plainly shows, that the root of the difficulty is that the people of Virginia have acquired a taste for cheating their creditors. They do not want to be taxed to pay interest on bonds; they know they cannot be sued, and they apparently have only to repudiate to be prosperous. There seems only one way of dealing with people who behave in this way, and that is for the stock exchanges of the borrowing markets, like London and New York, to refuse to have anything to do with them. The refusal of the Stock Exchange here, for instance, to allow the next loan offered by a repudiating Southern State to be placed on its list, would do more to bring States like Virginia to their senses than miles of exhortation and appeals to their "honor."

The *World* published on Tuesday what purported to be an outline of Tweed's coming confession, but which probably was derived, not from the document itself, now in the Attorney-General's hands, but from the common rumors of the past few weeks. The Tweed charter, according to this account, brought Mr. Woodin and other Senators a round \$200,000; in the division of the spoils Hall got ten per cent., while the document purporting to be a record of the proceedings of the Board of Audit of May 5, 1870, on which Hall secured his acquittal, is pronounced a forgery manufactured by the Ring after the exposure. Mr. Hugh Hastings, the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, is put down as having received \$20,000, some or all of which was intended for the benefit of Senator Woodin. Mr. Hastings does not deny the receipt of the money, but says that he "hopes at the proper time to answer all questions in relation to that check in a satisfactory manner." Some of the Reformers besides Mr. Woodin come in for their share of the exposure. All the "painting and bookcases" in Recorder Hackett's house were, it is alleged, paid for by the city; while our old friend "Jimmy" O'Brien is said to have received \$300,000 as hush-money from the Ring. Judge Folger, of the Court of Appeals, is also made the subject of "charges"; but there is nothing whatever in these, as appears from an explicit denial by the Attorney-General. Mr. Woodin, whose position at Albany makes his reputation of more consequence than most of those attacked, at once demanded an immediate investigation by the Senate, and even went so far as to request that the committee might be entirely Democratic. His behavior is certainly that of an innocent man.

Justice appears at last to have overtaken the "Molly Maguires" of Pennsylvania, the largest and best-organized gang of criminals in existence. Kehoe, the "county delegate" for Schuylkill County, the most dreaded member of the organization, has been sentenced to death, and several of his "pals" are also shortly to be executed. The whole story of the "Ancient Order of Hibernians," which is the official name of the body, came out in a highly sensational way, some time since, in the evidence of a detective, McParlan by name, employed to get at the bottom of the mysterious crimes so common in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. This man, assuming a disguise, joined the "Molly Maguires," and, under pretence of being actively interested in the objects of the society, became a leader in its councils, discovered all its local secrets, and was on the point of discovering its connections with the headquarters, said to exist in New York and London, when, his true character becoming suspected, he had to fly for his life. His evidence was used, however, on the trial of a number of the gang for an assault with intent to kill, and from his story it appears that the society—which is, of course, Irish in origin—exists, under the form of a benevolent organization, simply for the purpose of outrage and murder. The method of operation is very simple, as it consists in the killing of the intended victim by hired assassins, followed by the production

of numerous alibis on the part of the accused. An interesting fact connected with it is the powerful political influence of the society. Having regular organizations throughout the coal regions, it has been enabled to "control votes," "organize primaries," carry elections, fill important offices with its own members, stop prosecutions, and procure pardons; and it was not until a rival and stronger corporation, in the shape of one of the coal companies, appeared on the scene and attacked it that there seemed the slightest chance of its receiving any punishment for its crimes. One great reliance of the criminals, whenever they were indicted, was the "old man at Harrisburg," otherwise the Governor of the State, and one of the most curious episodes in the career of the detective before referred to was his being hunted by one of his friends whose suspicions had been aroused, and who pursued him for some time armed to the teeth, having for his associate in the enterprise an officer of the law known as the "high constable" of Shenandoah, who had been prudently made high constable with a view to occasions of this sort.

The Constitutional Amendments recommended by the Commission on Cities have been brought up in the State Senate by Mr. Woodin, and all of them adopted except the most important—that establishing a property qualification for the electors of the Board of Finance. Mr. Woodin supported this provision with great force; explained that the Commission's plan hinged upon it; insisted boldly that the root of all our municipal difficulties lay in the character of the suffrage, and that unless that could be improved no improvement could be expected in the government. The Democrats opposed it in a body, on the ground that it was a restriction on the right of suffrage, Mr. Morrissey neatly meeting Mr. Woodin's reply, that suffrage was not a natural right, by saying that he, for one, should be ashamed to go back to his constituents and have any of them say that "Morrissey don't want a man to vote because he han't got no money." The amendment was lost by a vote of 16 to 10, one Republican voting with the Democrats, but a motion was immediately made to reconsider, and it is believed that it can still be passed in a full Senate. It is difficult to know what to say of the action of the Democrats, unless it be to point out that it is just such votes as this that furnish the Republicans with proof that the vice and ignorance of the country are to be found among the Democrats, while all the virtue and intelligence there is "going" is possessed by the Republicans; in other words, that all the "bad men" are Democrats and all the "good men" are Republicans. The absurdity of the action of the party in this matter lies in the fact that while they stoutly maintain the amendment is a restriction on popular rights, they themselves, by voting against it, take away from the people their most fundamental right—that of amending their constitution in their own way. It was pointed out in the course of the debate that what the Senate was asked to do was not to amend the constitution, but to allow the people to say whether they want it amended or not. The Democratic leaders in the city keep very quiet, but most of them are known to be opposed to the whole reform. We have good authority for saying that Mr. Tilden, who appointed the Commission, and was spoken of the other day at one of the public meetings as being strongly in favor of the report, had two weeks ago not even read it, and expressed himself in conversation as opposed to any interference with the suffrage.

The advocates of the abolition of the death penalty always maintain that if we only stop hanging, the murderers will stop murdering, but recent statistics in the State of Maine do not seem to show that this assertion is well founded. That State, in which for a long time there had hardly been a murder committed, abolished the gallows about a year ago, and this was no sooner done than the murderers began to "develop strength" on all sides. In about a year no less than nine murders took place, most of them being pleasantly referred to as "family murders." This brings up all sorts of agreeable anticipations. In most families there are occa-

sionally quarrels, sometimes bitter ones, and if these statistics mean anything, they seem to show that the abolition of the death penalty will make these disputes more than ever likely to end in blood. There are no people who quarrel, when they do quarrel, harder than near relatives, and as the traditional means of avoiding domestic jars by "going West" has been much impaired by the depression of business and the difficulty of finding employment there, there is every reason to suppose that to persons of a sensitive and irritable nature, like murderers, life in the family circle is daily becoming more oppressive and wearing. The abolition of the gallows generally would no doubt be regarded by this class as a godsend.

The financial markets of the world have been disturbed during the week by the fear that at last war between Russia and Turkey is imminent. Securities of all kinds have fallen in the European exchanges, the largest decline having been in Russian and Turkish funds, and the smallest (of any of the European governments) in British consols, which dropped from 96½ to 94¼, and rallied to 95½. They, in common with other securities, reacted because of a report that the Turkish ministry was to be changed. The effect here was to carry the price of gold up to 107½, to advance wheat 8 to 15 cents and corn 7 to 10 cents per bushel, according to grade; flour, 10 to 75 cents per barrel, according to brand; pork, 75 cents to \$1 50 per barrel; beef, \$1 50 to \$2 50 per package; and lard, ¾ to ¾ of a cent per pound. Cotton, for exceptional reasons pertaining to the speculation in it, was steady for immediate delivery, 20 to 25 hundredths of a cent lower for future deliveries. At the Stock Exchange the foreign news had less influence on the price of railroad shares than it would have had except for the reason that there was an important failure of a stock broker, which involved the disruption of a "clique" and the liquidation of contracts in which the clique were concerned. Moreover, there is such a distrust of the management of railroad corporations that the public do not as formerly buy shares in any company because there are reasons which, under proper management, should make them more valuable. Silver during the week advanced in London to 54¼d. per ounce, making the gold value of the "trade dollar" \$0.9371, and that of a 412½-grain dollar \$0.9203. The gold value of the Treasury promise to pay one dollar (the legal-tender note) ranged during the week between \$0.9478 and \$0.9270.

The last doubt about the approach of hostilities between Russia and Turkey seems to have vanished. England has washed her hands of the matter by a despatch from Lord Derby to the Minister at Constantinople, acknowledging the receipt of the Turkish circular in reply to the protocol and pronouncing the case hopeless. The circular is not without an appearance of great innocence and dignity. It appeals to the non-interference clause of the Treaty of Paris, expresses astonishment, which is at least well-feigned, that it should be disregarded, speaks of Turkey as a perfectly well-disposed and civilized country, engaged in making certain reformatory changes in its government with the best intentions, and cannot understand the desire of foreign Powers, and especially of Russia, to interfere with the process, or withhold their sympathy, and refuses to admit that Turkey stands in a position in any way exceptional which would justify foreign meddling with her internal affairs. The accounts of outrages in the provinces in the meantime continue to come in with great frequency, and the zaptiehs, or police, appear to have the principal hand in them, and the preparations for war and the want of money, of course, would prevent the Government from applying any remedy, even if it had the will to do so. There is talk of a force of gendarmerie, 60,000 strong, to be raised and commanded by Colonel Baker, but it is only talk, as there are no funds for any such purpose. The war feeling in Russia is reported to run very high, and it is now confessed by everybody that demobilization without action of some kind was all along impossible. The Black Sea ports have been so thoroughly

protected with torpedoes that it is useless to expect much from the operations of the Turkish fleet in that quarter.

It is to be hoped that the expectations held out by some of our papers here as to the probable effects of the war in "reviving business" will be taken with a great deal of allowance. There is no good reason for supposing that the Russian ability to raise grain during the war will be seriously diminished, or that the struggle will last long enough to exert much influence on the market for other supplies. Turkey has probably bought all the arms and munitions she will ever use, and Russia appears to be fully equipped also. Then it must be remembered that operations will be carried on in semi-barbarous agricultural countries in which war will bring no suspension of manufacturing industry, or derangement of the machinery of credit or exchange, and in which it is sure, on the contrary, to diminish what demand there was for the conveniences and comforts of life. It would of course make more difference to us if Austria, or Germany, or England were drawn in, but it is not likely they will be, and if they are, their wants can only give a brief and unhealthy stimulus to a few branches of business here, which would be sure to be followed by a reaction. In short, there is nothing which does so much to revive industry as peace and security, and not at home only but everywhere. The Turk and Russian cannot be so good customers when cutting each other's throats as when laboring in the field and factory. It is not safe, therefore, to look for any real benefit from the war, beyond, perhaps, a temporary improvement in the grain and provision trade. That it is going to make a fine market for this year's harvest is possible, but to count on this is looking too far ahead for practical purposes. The conflict will most likely be over before October.

France has declared her unalterable intention to remain neutral under all circumstances, which will leave Germany greater freedom of action than she would otherwise have had. There is nothing wonderful in this when we consider the extent of the burdens revealed by M. Léon Say's budget for the year 1878, which was recently laid before the Assembly. The total estimated expenditure is to be \$550,000,000, of which about \$60,000,000 go to the reduction of the public debt, and the interest account reaches the enormous figure of \$150,000,000, and that of the War Department over \$100,000,000, and this with a diminished population and territorial area. That the people should bear up cheerfully and should steadily prosper under such a drain on their resources is something marvellous; but then it would not do to add to it the demands of another war. In the meantime nothing seems to occur to trouble the quiet of France's internal politics, so that the defeat of a moderate Radical at Bordeaux by an Irreconcilable, as indicating the possible decline of Gambetta's influence, and two speeches by Louis Blanc and Victor Hugo on the condition of the working-classes, have been prominent topics of discussion.

In Germany there is little sign of interest in the war. The Federalists have sustained a severe defeat in having the seat of the new Supreme Court of the Empire fixed at Leipsic instead of Berlin, and it was feared that this was about to be followed by the permanent retirement of Prince Bismarck. But it now seems certain that he is only going to take a vacation, and he enters on it after a triumph over the Chief of the Imperial Admiralty, General Stosch, whom he scolded in the Parliament for having allowed a portion of the naval surplus to be used for current expenses, whereupon the general resigned in a huff, but the Emperor by a little timely flattery made him come back and accept the rebuke as legitimate, even if not well founded. Bismarck's victory consists in his successful assertion of the principle of ministerial subordination to the premier, of the absence of which he has often complained and which has been hindered by the strength in all the German courts of the habit of direct responsibility to the sovereign,

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY" IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE withdrawal of Mr. Chamberlain from the contest in South Carolina immediately after the disappearance of the troops from the State-House probably marks the close of the revolutionary period in Southern politics, inasmuch as it is all but certain that Packard in Louisiana will before many days have to follow his example. Most of the papers which support the Administration are so much relieved, however, by his taking himself off without giving further trouble that they are ready to reward him by a general eulogy on his political career in South Carolina. We are fully aware of the difficulties he has had to contend with, and have no doubt that he made at one time an honest effort to produce a good government in that State; but the cause of good government everywhere requires that many qualifications and deductions should be made in eulogizing even him, the best of the carpet-baggers—for such we fully acknowledge him to be. We are asked, however, to judge him not as a carpet-bagger simply, but as a politician worthy of the highest rating anywhere. Looking at him from this point of view, he suggests a good many observations which go to the root of the whole question of carpet-baggery, and which we shall take the liberty of making.

In the first place, it must be said that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that a man of the highest self-respect and sense of political honor could hardly at any time since 1868 have become what is called a carpet-bagger in a Southern State, as distinguished from a settler. Within three years after the close of the war it had become very plain that the suffrage which had been secured for the negro as a weapon of defence was likely to be converted, in his hands, into a means of attacking civilization itself by placing the property and governmental machinery of the States at the mercy of an utterly ignorant and propertyless class of the population. The Convention of 1868, which drew up the constitution of South Carolina, was composed of seventy-two negroes and forty-nine white men, and of the seventy-two negroes only thirteen paid taxes; and yet the Convention directed a tax levy of \$2,230,950, amounting to a rate of six per cent. The character of the government which would be organized under it. In the Legislature of 1869 there were twelve black and twenty white senators; eight of the twelve blacks paid no taxes. In the House there were eighty-six black and thirty-seven white members, and sixty-eight of the blacks paid no taxes. Afterwards, things got worse and worse as the carpet-baggers learned their trade more thoroughly, and the negroes, under their guidance, became more conscious of their power. In 1870 the tax levy was \$2,365,047, or more than the whole amount levied on double the valuation for the five years before the war. In 1860 South Carolina, in the height of her prosperity, paid for offices and salaries \$123,800; in 1871, in the depths of ruin, she paid for these same objects \$581,640. In two years, 1870-71, \$1,208,577 were paid out, for which no vouchers were ever found. The committee-rooms of the field-hands, barbers, and waiters newly converted into legislators were fitted up with barbaric magnificence—their spittoons, for instance, were of porcelain and cost \$8 apiece, and large quantities of the gorgeous furniture and carpets were carried home by them to adorn their private apartments.

At the head of this monstrous system of spoliation were Northern immigrants, who, however, were amusing the negroes with small luxuries while they were raising enormous sums on the credit of the State, which they divided among themselves. During this worst period Mr. Chamberlain held high office; he served on boards with the thieves and speculators; he denies having shared in or been cognizant of their iniquities, and the public is disposed to accept his denial. He at all events gave legal opinions on the legal machinery by which the thieves raised money. An elaborate account of their *modus* was published in the *New York Tribune* of September 26, 1874, by a correspondent who appeared to have thoroughly examined the case on the spot, and to have taken even the

evidence of Scott, the Ring Governor, who distinctly averred that Chamberlain, then Attorney-General, had approved of taking Kimpton's, the financial agent, own bond as sole security for the discharge of his duties, and to have drafted the act providing for the issue of the Conversion Bonds, six millions of which Kimpton carried to New York and sold or pledged. But whether all this be true or not, we really must be forgiven if we refuse to applaud as a public benefactor a man who, occupying his position, knew nothing of what was going on, or, knowing it, held his peace. He neither protested, nor warned, nor exposed, nor resigned, and most certainly the South Carolina Ring had even less reason than the New York Ring to disguise or conceal its operations.

There never was any solid objection to Northern men going down to the South after the war, and engaging in trade or agriculture or the professions, and we can see that there were many solid reasons for their doing so. Nor are we surprised that rascally adventurers like Parker and Scott and Kimpton should have deliberately used the means afforded by the negro vote for the plunder of the property-holders. But a man of education and high character should have thought much and long before taking part in local politics at the South in any such way as to aid, directly or indirectly, in organizing the ignorance and poverty of the State—above all, when these terms included a numerical majority of the population—against its property and intelligence, or, indeed, do anything that seemed likely to create or prolong the feeling of bitterness or distrust which excluded the natural leaders of society from the chief part in the conduct of its affairs. Mr. Chamberlain lent his support and countenance to the carpet-bag régime in its worst days, and helped to build up the odious and barbarous organization which he was compelled two or three years later to denounce as threatening "the civilization of the Puritan and Huguenot" with destruction, and which he would now have us mourn over as the down-trodden and betrayed "Republican party." The proper part of such a man as he in South Carolina during the carpet-bag régime was unquestionably not that of a dumb and blind Attorney-General surrounded by thieves, but that of an earnest laborer in the political education of the negroes; and this education included nothing so important as the creation in their minds of a just estimate of the difficulties of civilized government, of their own want of fitness for it, of the necessity to their own well-being of the conduct of the government by the native whites, and of the inexpediency of prominence, and still more of exclusive prominence, in it of new-comers from the North. There was, of course, no doubt of the right of Northern immigrants to turn politicians, and lead the freedmen against their old masters, and divide the offices among themselves; but it was a right which a conscientious man of statesmanlike training and views would not care to exercise under all the circumstances.

When Mr. Chamberlain was elected Governor in 1874 he did make a bold stand against his old supporters and associates, and thereby secured the applause and, it at one time appeared, the confidence of the whites. We must not underrate the services he rendered, or tried to render, at that period; but he found out very rapidly, in the course of his struggle, of what materials "the Republican party" in South Carolina was composed. He found that it was a mass of ignorance led by men who were far better qualified to serve the State in the penitentiary than in the Legislature. The persistence with which the majority in the Legislature, in spite of his protests, elected Moses and Whipper—one a rascally white man and the other an ignorant and vicious negro—to two unexpired judgeships in the latter part of 1875, appears to have opened his eyes, if they were not open before, to the real character of the men through whom he was trying to save the State; for he telegraphed to the New England Society of Charleston, in December of that year, that "the civilization of the Puritan and the Huguenot" was in danger from them. Of course it was; it had then been in danger for seven long years, and the wonder was that he had not found it out sooner. He then did what little he could to save it. He kept Moses and Whipper out of office, and showed every disposition to stand by whatever was left of civilization in the State. We thought then

that the wisest thing the unhappy property-holders could do was to stand by him and give him the Conservative vote, if he succeeded in obtaining the Republican nomination. They decided not to do so—for which, under all the circumstances, we cannot blame them severely—and he then without hesitation threw himself into the arms of the corrupt and degraded body he had been fighting. Moses, and Whipper, and Elliott, and all the rest of them were ranged on his side during the canvass. Whipper, we believe, was on the stump for him, and he began to bellow lustily for “troops,” and to pretend that it was Wade Hampton and his kind, and not Moses and Whipper after all, who were threatening “the civilization of the Puritan and Huguenot,” and that the way to redeem the State was to keep him and his “Republican party” in power, not with turnkeys and wardens, but with soldiers. Nothing could have been more deceptive and discreditable than his canvass, nothing more dangerous to the State than its success; and that it failed must be considered by all friends of good government as a great piece of good-fortune for South Carolina and the whole country, for he would have gone back into power in close alliance with the criminal class which he had been denouncing, and which controlled the Legislature. The only course open to the kind of man which his friends are now asking us to believe Mr. Chamberlain to be, was, after his last experience of the real quality of the Republican organization, to refuse to be put in place or power by their aid, and to throw in his lot with men of any color or party, and those only, who valued the Ten Commandments more than party platforms. As he did not do this, and failed in the other and worse course, we must not be called on to eulogize him as a martyr.

THE TURCO-RUSSIAN COMPLICATION.

IT is difficult to avoid seeing in the present position of the dispute between Turkey and Russia a proof of the remarkable skill with which the latter has conducted the negotiations that will probably end in war as soon as the roads are ready for the commencement of active operations, and apparently not a day sooner. There has been hardly a step taken on the Russian side which was not calculated not only to lure Turkey to her doom, but extricate Russia herself from what remained of the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Paris. The successive concessions made by the Conference at Constantinople, all of which had General Ignatieff's smiling approval, and some of which were proposed by him, had the undoubtedly (by him) intended effect of leading the Turks into the belief both that Russia was not ready or willing to fight, and that the other Powers were as certain to divide about the Eastern question in the last extremity as they had shown themselves to be in 1828 and in 1854. There was, after the bankruptcy of last year and the insurrection in Herzegovina and the war with Servia, only one way of salvation for Turkey, and that lay through reform in the administration and in the finances and an immense reduction of expenses. The course pursued by Russia during the winter had the effect not only of preventing any of these things, but of producing their opposites. Reforms of every kind were presented by it to the Mussulman mind in close association with coercion at the hands of foreign infidels; the slumbering fanaticism of the dominant creed was aroused at the exact moment when the safety of the empire required its total suppression; the disorder in the finances was increased by enormous and reckless expenditure in arms and munitions of war; and the flower of the Mussulman population, the very reserves of Mussulman strength, were drawn from the Asiatic provinces through the winter to shiver and perish or lose their courage on the inclement banks of the Danube. There has, in fact, been something almost childish in the prodigious outlay the Turks have made during the last year in the purchase of arms and ammunition; for, of course, these things are useless unless a thoroughly organized army is ready to receive them. Poured in, as they have been, on a confused host of semi-barbarous troops, not half-officered and ill-furnished with food, clothing, and hospital stores, they have been a sheer waste of the remnant of the national

resources, and have made it almost certain that the first serious check sustained by the Turkish arms on the Danube will be followed by collapse. In fact, it is difficult to suppose that things would have been differently managed if Ignatieff had had permission and power to prepare the Ottoman Empire in peace for fatal disaster in the field.

The Powers which signed the Treaty of Paris have been hardly less dexterously dealt with. Their reluctance to drive the Turks to extremities, which Russia made ostentatious professions that she fully shared, having produced the effect on the Turks which she doubtless foresaw and intended, they found themselves exposed at the close of the Conference to the extremely puzzling and, indeed, it would seem unanswerable question what course they would take next. The requirements of the Conference with regard to the internal administration of Turkey had substantially abrogated that clause of the Treaty of Paris which bound the signatories not to interfere with it; and, having taken upon themselves to interfere, the next question was whether they would allow Turkey to snub and defy them and disregard their recommendations, or whether, in short, they were going to let the matter rest there. They attempted, accordingly, to get out of this difficulty by drawing up a protocol recording the conclusion at which they had arrived about Turkey, and it inevitably contained a vague threat that if Turkey did not, within some period not named, put her affairs in order, something which was not described would be done to compel her. Russia having obtained this formal release from the joint obligations of the Treaty of Paris, and finding herself thus free to pursue her own course, Count Shuvaloff added the “declaration” which has brought matters to a crisis, for it is neither more nor less than a threat, which is by no means vague, that if reform should not be carried out in Turkey in a manner satisfactory to Russia, within a brief period, she would herself see to it. Of course the reply of the Turks has been defiant, and war will probably have been declared before this reaches our readers. Turkey has to fight; it is easier on the whole now to fight than to reform. In fact, it is almost certain that, even if the Government really means to reform, it must fight first, for before such radical changes as are needed can be made—if they can be made at all—the courage of the Mussulman population will have to be considerably cooled. That it will be difficult to cool it we feel sure is a great mistake. There has been no sign in the Turkish Empire for a full century of tenacious fanaticism—of the fanaticism which burns more fiercely under defeat and makes subjugation impossible. There is something amusing in the predictions of the Turcophiles in England as to the terrible things that will happen if the Turks are driven to the wall, when read in the light of recent Turkish history. Even Admiral Hobart, the very sensible Englishman who commands the fleet, goes so far as to hint that if the Russians do not let the good-natured Mussulmans alone, there will be “a general massacre.” On the contrary, if we are to judge by what has happened within the past century wherever and whenever the Turks have been worsted, the Mussulman population will accept defeat with a remarkably good grace. There is no population in Europe half so ill-fitted for guerrilla warfare, or with so little taste for it, or so little disposed to struggle against what seems to be fate. If the Turkish line on the Danube is badly broken, as we have no doubt it will be, early in the campaign, there will be doubtless plenty of outrages committed by flying soldiers and infuriated peasants on solitary or unprotected Christian villagers, but they will be nothing remarkable for time of war, and the march of the invader will be as easy and unmolested by popular resistance as Diebitsch's was in 1829, and he, as we all remember, found that as soon as he had passed Shumla he could have gone to Constantinople with 10,000 men.

That the army on the Danube, and everywhere in a fortified or selected position, will fight with determination there can be little doubt, but there is no reason to expect anything heroic from it as a whole. Capacity for determined resistance has not been a Turkish military trait since the siege of Vienna—a fact which many people

have been led to overlook by the desperate defence of Silistria in 1854. It is safe to say, however, that if that defence had not been conducted by an English and Prussian officer, and if the Russians had not been confused or paralyzed by the appearance of the Allies at Varna and the certainty that the capture of the place could not prove fruitful, the result would have been different.

How Russia is to advance without the sanction of Germany and the forbearance of Austria is at present the puzzling feature in the news of the day. Austria could stop the whole movement by marching into Servia and Bosnia. Neither the German nor Hungarian element in her population is desirous either of Slavic additions to her empire or of the creation of a great Slavic power on her border, and the motives which could lead her to acquiesce in the resolution of the Turkish Empire into its elements are for this reason hard to divine. If she and Germany permit Russia to cross the Danube, it is probably in the belief that interference will be easier at a later stage in the conflict than it is now, and that the settlement of the present imbroglio can be best reached through a moderate amount of fighting. But every true friend of civilization must hope that the fighting will not cease until the Turkish question is settled out of hand, and the European portion of the empire brought under a régime which can be defended in some better way than it is now defended in England, by appeals to the sanctity of treaties and the technical rights of Turkey as a sovereign state. If this defence were conclusive, neither Italy, nor Greece, nor Belgium, nor the German Empire would now be in existence, and in fact all change in the territorial arrangement of Europe would be well-nigh impossible. It is a better defence for the temporal power of the Papacy than for that of the Sultan, and of course must sound like cruel jargon to the insurgents of Bosnia or Herzegovina or Bulgaria, and probably does more to increase popular contempt for law, and especially for international law, than all the preachings of the Socialists. "You cannot argue a people into slavery," was well said by Burke; and he might have added that you cannot convince them that they should only get out of it legally.

MISS ANNA DICKINSON AND THE CRITICS.

MISS ANNA DICKINSON, after having enjoyed considerable success as a lecturer for ten or twelve years, determined, according to her own account, to appear on the stage in order to escape the hardships of the continual travel which lecturing necessitates, and composed the play in which she was to make her début. She has now been acting for about a year in various parts of the country, we do not well know with what success elsewhere, but her appearance in this city has been a failure. The newspapers have condemned both the play and the acting somewhat unmercifully, and, finding herself the other night playing to a house only one-third filled, she lost her temper, and, coming before the curtain after the performance in her stage robes, she gave her critics a severe scolding which lasted an hour. The episode has been curious and amusing, and is generally looked on as an evidence of Miss Dickinson's folly, and it does indicate a great want of wisdom and discretion; but then she is not so foolish or unreasonable as she seems.

She probably feels that she has just as much right to succeed as an actor as she had as a lecturer, and perhaps more, because she has probably taken far more time and pains to prepare herself for the stage than she took to prepare herself for the platform; and this view of her claims on society has certainly on the surface a strong appearance of justifiability. Where she errs is in failing to perceive that not only have the times and the manners changed since she began her career as a public speaker, but that in trying to become an actress and playwright she places herself before an entirely new public, in a new atmosphere, and under new conditions. As a lecturer on social and political questions she was the product of a state of things which has all but completely passed away, and which will probably never return. Lecturing as a help to reform took its rise and achieved its great success when the problem which most interested the public was of the simplest possible character, and when what was needed for its solution was rather a certain degree of moral enthusiasm than certain results of knowledge or reflection. Anybody who could express this enthusiasm with life, or point, or force, or grace, was sure of a hearing and even of eminence, and nobody who felt it and could express it at all needed to fear a rebuff. It was

during this period that the notion took its rise and gained strength that the sole or main function of criticism was to find out what the artist or author was aiming at, and let the public know what it was, even if he had totally failed to reveal it himself, and that good intentions constituted the first and greatest claim on the public attention. We need hardly say that this state of things gave mediocrity, and lack of knowledge, and lack of practical acquaintance with the real nature of social problems, a chance of conspicuousness and reward such as has probably never been offered them before. It was the period when orators and authors, if you objected to their propositions, asked you to feel their pulse, and escaped from the most cunningly devised logical corners by showing that their heart was in the right place. And, let us add, it was a state of things which worked well. It met the need of the day in a way for which no other state of things would have sufficed.

Miss Dickinson as a successful lecturer was one of the most interesting products of the period. She reached eminence on the crest of three waves which were thirteen years ago rolling with great force—the anti-slavery wave, the war wave, and the woman wave. She derived from her anti-slavery feeling a genuine glow of enthusiasm, which blended readily and gracefully with the martial ardor which pervaded the North when she began her career, and then she was young and pretty and had a decidedly interesting, not to say romantic, history. It was our privilege to hear one of her very earliest addresses in 1864, during the second Lincoln canvass, in which she literally took the stump, and it had all the excellences and defects which have marked her efforts ever since. About politics and war and the Constitution and the laws she apparently knew nothing, except that there was a good party and a bad party, and a good cause and a bad cause, pitted against each other in the field, and that pure women and manly men worthy of their mothers ought to sympathize with and support the one and hate and oppose the other. She then as now was happiest in "hits," and especially personal hits. The audience listened with indulgent attention to her youthful criticisms of the political situation; but when she turned, as she did frequently and gratefully, to castigate or ridicule a local Copperhead she fairly brought down the house. People were not as familiar then as now with public sarcasm and invective from the gentler sex; and, indeed, the appearance of a woman, and especially a young and comely one, on the political platform was still somewhat of a novelty. But no judicious listener could have avoided feeling deep regret that it was not in Miss Dickinson's power to devote herself for a few years to a course of study of some kind; almost any kind would have been useful. The best defence that could be made for her was that the country was swarming with male orators as ignorant and not half so attractive as she.

When the war was over she kept her place bravely and successfully, by applying her gifts to the public discussion of such questions as the war left most prominently behind it. The condition of the negro being the most perplexing problem of the hour, she valiantly assailed the color prejudice, and, we believe, wrote a novel intended to demonstrate the nobility under some circumstances, of marrying a woman with negro blood in her veins. The interest in this fading, and the determination of the whites to intermarry with their own race exclusively being apparently insurmountable, she took up the "Social Evil," and then the labor question, and we know not what besides. On all of them she spoke with fervor, and with more or less justness of perception, but, it must be confessed, with a strong reliance on commonplace. She was a preacher, and had to contend with the great difficulty of all preaching, in that she was telling the world what everybody knew. We all—even the worst of us—know so well that we ought to be temperate, chaste, industrious, and unselfish, that it is impossible to find fault with anybody who reminds us of it, but very hard to give them our close attention. This difficulty Miss Dickinson was very successful in meeting; but then she met it before her old audience, the serious-minded, somewhat ascetic, class, who love the name of reform, and to whose zeal she owed her earliest success; who were not troubled by the slenderness of her equipment, in view of the undeniable goodness of her aims; and who cannot bear amusement or even eloquence that is not hortatory and didactic. But even their receptiveness was probably becoming exhausted when she took to the stage. Figures had begun to loom up ominously and odiously in social questions; the results of several experiments conceived on the platform, amid thunders of applause, for making man and woman happy and virtuous had been revealed, and had not been gratifying. Doubts had spread whether a great orator is necessarily a wise man, and whether talk can do for the world all that was once expected of it, and whether there is in our day any inspired talk at all.

But what is of most moment in Miss Dickinson's case is, that in going on the stage she appears before an audience that cares nothing for her

views, and takes but a slender interest in the causes she has served. In Boston, at her start, her old admirers probably did their best to give her a good beginning, but a *succès d'estime* can carry nobody very far in the theatre. People go to the theatre to be amused, and those who go will accept nothing in place of amusement. No reputation in other fields of activity can lure them after their first curiosity is satisfied, and no goodness of intention or loftiness of aim can in their eyes atone for incapacity even in the small things which make up good acting. They cannot be argued into admiration either of play or performer, and, *per contra*, they cannot be argued out of it. The folly of Miss Dickinson's attack on the critics lay in her forgetfulness of this fact. Critics may keep a few persons from going to hear a play as soon as they would otherwise have gone, and may produce large audiences for a night or two; but all the newspapers in the world, working together, cannot by any amount of carping, or depreciation, or slander long keep people at home who like a pleasant evening and know that at a certain theatre they can have it. This knowledge, too, does not come through the newspapers; it is passed from mouth to mouth. Plays succeed by what friends hear from friends, as every frequenter of the play knows. What the critics do is to supply people with reasons for liking or disliking. Everybody can tell whether a play or an actor gives him what he came for; the number of those who can give reasons for their conclusion is small; the number of those who would like to be able to give them is very great. The service the critic renders lies mainly in the neat, formulated, orderly, and sometimes erudite way in which he justifies your pleasure or disgust, and shows that in feeling it you but obeyed the best canons of taste and the deductions of the wisest theatrical experience. He is to the public what the wind is to the æolian harp—

"All the wild sweetness he wakes is its own."

To scold him for his naughtiness in saying that a play is dull or an actor bad, is comically to misunderstand his function and his relation to the play-going world; and yet it is a mistake which it is not unnatural for persons of the didactic habit of mind to make. To Miss Dickinson the theatre is doubtless a place of self-improvement, to which wise people ought to go when a competent or trusted authority tells them it will do them good. To the bulk of those on whose verdict her reputation in her new calling depends it is simply a place where tired or bored people laugh, or are excited, or jaded nerves are relaxed. About the effect of the performance on "culture," or about the moral spectacle of the actor's life, they care, unhappily, nothing whatever; and we doubt if two different views of life could be brought into sharper contrast than by Miss Dickinson's quarrel with the critics for saying that her efforts were not entertaining, and by her supposition that high ambition and painful struggles could help the matter.

Correspondence.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the issue of the *Nation* of the 5th inst., in an article with the title "The Political South Hereafter," is found the following, viz.:

"It is true that the South has long been more 'provincial' than the North, that it is far from possessing similar educational advantages, that it is now almost barren of literary productions or literary or scientific men, and that these facts would seem to indicate a natural soil for the germination and growth of all kinds of crude and coarse theories of society and government," etc.

The general term, "the South," of course, embraces Virginia, and while I do not undertake to speak for the other Southern States, of whose educational systems and condition I have no data at hand, I do say that my State is not only not inferior to her sister States of the North in respect to educational advantages, but far superior to most of them. This is not a mere assertion of mine unsupported by facts, but is proved by statistics drawn from the reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education and of the Rev. W. H. Ruffner, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia.

In 1872 General Eaton, the U. S. Commissioner of Education, issued a circular showing the number of students at the colleges of six States, giving the whole numbers at the colleges, and showing also the number from the States in which the colleges are, viz.:

	Total No. of Students.	From the State.
Connecticut, ...	887	244
Massachusetts, ...	1,186	656
New York, ...	2,213	1,668
Ohio, ...	1,639	1,301
Pennsylvania, ...	1,622	1,145

Taking the census of 1870 as a basis, the following table will show the proportion of students at colleges in 1872 to the white population and to the whole population:

Connecticut, ...	1 to 1,520 of white population; 1 to 1,630 of whole.
Massachusetts, ...	1 to 1,588 " " 1 to 1,615 "
New York, ...	1 to 1,773 " " 1 to 1,790 "
Ohio, ...	1 to 1,520 " " 1 to 1,547 "
Pennsylvania, ...	1 to 2,011 " " 1 to 2,110 "

Now let us compare these figures with the statistics for 1873 of the Virginia colleges and universities, of which she has the following:

	Whole No. of Students.	No. from State.
University of Virginia, ...	342	157
Washington and Lee University, ...	263	81
Virginia Military Institute, ...	275	116
Emory and Henry College, ...	180	59
Hampden-Sydney, ...	92	65
Randolph-Macon, ...	234	167
Richmond College, ...	191	176
Roanoke College, ...	160	108
William and Mary, ...	68	63
Va. Agr. and Mech. College, ...	132	132
Hampton Normal and Agr. Inst., ...	133	83
	2,070	1,207

Only one State—the great State of New York—had a larger attendance of students at her colleges than Virginia, while Virginia was far ahead of all the States in the relative number of her own sons attending her colleges. The population of Virginia in 1870 was 1,325,163; the number of whites being 712,089, and of colored 512,841. Making the calculation on this basis, she had one of her own citizens at her own universities or colleges for every 634 white people, and one for every 1,015 of all colors. The population of the State, of course, increased from 1870 to 1873, and, making a fair allowance for this increase, we may say that the proportion would be about one in 700 as to the white, and one in 1,200 as to the total population.

So much for the colleges and universities; and how is it with the common schools? The Convention of 1867, which framed the constitution under which we now live, provided, in reference to the public-school system, for its "equal and full introduction into all the counties of the State by the year 1876." When the State government organized in 1870, notwithstanding the poverty of the people and the fact that it did not need, under the constitution, to be done before 1876, the Legislature at once proceeded to carry out in good faith and to its fullest extent this provision. A general Superintendent of Public Instruction was elected, and superintendents appointed in each county, school-houses built, teachers appointed, a census of school population taken, and taxes imposed to support the whole. The difficulties, growing mainly out of the general disorder produced by the war, the poverty of the people, and the sparseness of population, have been great, but we have persevered, and now the public-school system is in successful operation.

It must be remembered, also, in this connection, that as yet the colored people pay almost nothing in the way of taxation. This makes the burden of government, and especially of free schools, very heavy upon the whites. In the Northern States a white population of 1,000,000 provide for the education of their own children—nearly all the people being taxpayers; but in Virginia a white population of between seven and eight hundred thousand, not only educate their own children but the children of a colored population of more than half a million.

You seem to think it possible, rather than to expect, that this alleged want of educational advantages in the South may lead to the "germination and growth of all kinds of crude and coarse theories of society and government," and thus make the South rather a dangerous and disagreeable factor. But neither political nor social theories nor isms of any sort have ever originated in the South, or obtained footing there when attempted to be transplanted from elsewhere.

In looking into the history of our colleges, I find some things not very relevant to the subject of this letter, but rather amusing and somewhat curious, as illustrating the condition and manners of the country in colonial days—"In our hot youth, when George the Third was king." The College of William and Mary was founded in 1619, and chartered in 1693. It was an institution of care and pride both to the mother country and the colony, and shortly before the Revolution several regulations were made in regard to it, amongst them the following: Professors, masters, and students ate at a common table. The former were forbidden to marry. It was ordered that "no scholar in the college, of what age, rank, or quality soever, do keep any race-horse at the college or in the town, and that all such then kept be immediately sent off." And in the old laws is found these

statutes: "That the drinking of spirituous liquors, except in that moderation which becomes the prudent and industrious student, be prohibited." "That no liquor be furnished or used at the college table except beer, cider, toddy, or spirits and water."

I know very well that, although we are parts of the same Government and constitute a sisterhood of States, many Northern people are ignorant of the true condition of the South. Hence I write you this in the hope that you will give it a place in your columns.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN W. JOHNSTON.

U. S. SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, April 9, 1877.

WIRZ AND WINDER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have but one criticism to make upon your remarks relative to Andersonville in the *Nation* of the 6th inst., since they show an unusual degree of knowledge concerning that scene of horrors. My exception is to the placing General Winder and Captain Henri Wirz upon the same level of responsibility. This is not correct. Winder was the real author, after the Confederate Government, of all the horrors of that dreadful place, and upon him rests all the responsibility, save what may be thought to be taken off by the assumption that he was acting under express orders from his superiors.

Wirz, on the other hand, was too contemptible a figure to clothe with any responsibility; he was only a small-calibered underling, a servile executant, a mere roll-caller, whose possession of slender clerical abilities obtained for him a little promotion among a people where clerical accomplishments are comparatively rare. No man who ever came in contact with him could possibly imagine the squirrel-faced little Swiss to have a single manly quality, or one which would make him dangerous, except as insignificant things frequently become dangerous through the force of some peculiar set of circumstances. Wirz was not cruel with a deliberate, set purpose. He was so because of the weakness of his scant mental development. He presented the spectacle of a gnat-brained creature given unlimited power over the lives and well-being of thousands of men. It was easy to predict the result. He murdered and tortured right and left, with a perfect wantonness, to secure results in discipline which a stronger-minded man would have attained without the sacrifice of a single life. Doubtless he richly deserved death, but it was a melancholy farce to make his execution appear in any degree an expiation of the enormities of Andersonville.

I trust you will pardon the confidence with which I speak of these facts, Mr. Editor, when I tell you that I had a year and three months' experience in 1863-4-5 in the Southern prisons—mainly in Andersonville—as a private soldier, and therefore feel as if I have grounds for speaking positively.—Yours truly,

JOHN McELRAY.

Ed. Toledo Blade.

TOLEDO, O., April 9, 1877.

THE NATION AND BISHOP LEE'S CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Observer* of last week quotes a passage from your comment on the execution of Lee, the Mormon murderer, as follows: "He acted in what he did under a mistaken sense of right, and probably partly from the effect of moral depression, superinduced by religious over-excitement." The *Observer* then says: "The lamest possible apology for wilful murder, for a mighty massacre that deserves execration not excuse."

I addressed a note about this to the editor of the *Observer*, insisting that your comment had been entirely misunderstood, and, so far from condoning or apologizing for the crime, was in reality a neat parody on the language of the sentimentalists who condemn capital punishment, and that an apology was due you for the misapprehension. Dr. Prime replies that he read the whole passage carefully, and that he thinks he cannot be mistaken.

It seems to me that he is, and that it is hardly possible for me, who have read the *Nation* since it began, to have been so far out of the way in the matter. Will it be too much trouble for you to clear up the matter and let me know which of us is right? It seems to me very unfortunate for the *Nation* to have been so egregiously misrepresented if my reading of that passage is correct.—Very truly yours,

W. C. MACY.

NEW YORK, April 11, 1877.

[The best answer to this is the republication of the paragraph in question:

"We are somewhat surprised at the tone taken by a portion of the press with regard to the case of John D. Lee, the Mormon butcher, who was shot last Friday for the Mountain Meadow massacre of 1857. This cold-blooded villain planned and executed, with the aid of Indians less revoltingly cruel than himself, a massacre of an unoffending emigrant train on its way to California. All the circumstances were of the most aggravating character. The emigrants, with their wives and children, were strangers in need of hospitable assistance. They surrendered themselves on a promise of protection made for the purpose of allaying their suspicions, and were then foully butchered in cold blood, with the women and children clinging to the murderers and begging for mercy. In the discussion of this case the opponents of capital punishment have missed an excellent opportunity to advance their humane doctrines. It is perfectly plain that an atrocious crime like this could never have been committed by any one who was entirely in his right mind, and it appears that poor Lee was, in fact, laboring at the time under a religio-moral hallucination, artfully fostered and kept alive by Brigham Young and the elders of the Mormon church, that murderers of this kind were a religious duty when necessary for the sake of the church. He has now confessed that he was mistaken in this, and that he committed a crime. He acted, therefore, in what he did under a mistaken sense of right, and probably partly from the effect of moral depression, superinduced by religious over-excitement. There is not the least reason to suppose that, if let off with his life, he would ever have engaged in another massacre, and society, by taking his life, gains, men and brethren, what? It gains nothing and it loses the services of a member who was already convinced of his crime, and probably only needed the reformatory influences of a few years' confinement to eradicate entirely his homicidal propensities. Notwithstanding all this, newspapers ordinarily opposed to capital punishment have gloated over his execution. The next time they plead for some highwayman who has killed his victim to steal a pocket-book we trust they will explain their present behavior."

If Dr. Prime, after having "read the whole passage carefully, thinks he is not mistaken," and believes that the *Nation* has apologized for Lee's crime, we advise Mr. Macy to drop the subject and attend to his private affairs. The occasional occurrence of misunderstandings of this kind has often brought us appeals to desist from the use of jokes, sarcasm, irony, travesty, and similar weapons, but we have refused and shall continue to refuse to do so, on the ground that their inefficiency or harmfulness is not proved by the fact that somebody every now and then fails to appreciate or comprehend them. It seems to be often forgotten that the making of a joke is necessarily a co-operative undertaking. Two competent minds working in concert are necessary to its success, but not necessary to its merit. It may, though excellent in every respect, fall perfectly flat, simply because the party of the second part is not qualified by nature to be the recipient of a joke of any kind. If the *Observer* perceives the apology for Lee to be "lame," Mr. Macy must be content even if it does not perceive whose apology it is.—ED. NATION]

Notes.

B. WESTERMANN & CO. send us a good-sized map of European Turkey (twenty miles to the inch), by W. Liebenow, based on the best authorities, and calculated to prove very serviceable in the event of war. By the omission of all indications of surface, the rivers, railroads, and names of places are delineated with great clearness as well as fulness. The mechanical execution is excellent.—A map of the Purus and Madeira rivers, derived from official Brazilian data, accompanies a paper on the commercial and geographical relations by Mr. Geo. E. Church, the well-known engineer, in the *Geographical Magazine* for April. The "Log-book" contains a caustic criticism of Captain Howgate's plan for reaching the North Pole.—The second number of *Appalachia* (for March) is full of interesting matter pertaining to the objects and doings of the Club whose organ it is. During the past year Mt. Adams (N. H.) has been made accessible by a good path, on which a camp has been built at an elevation of 4,000 feet, paths have been marked on Carter Dome, and clearings for the sake of the prospect have been made there and on other heights.—James Miller has reprinted 'Elizabeth Barrett's Letters to R. H. Horne,' noticed in No. 607 of the *Nation*, together with a preface and memoir contributed by Mr. R. H. Stoddard.—Macmillan & Co. announce a special American edition of 'Harry,' a new poem by the author of 'Mrs. Jeringham's Journal.'—The newly-started *Index* has been absorbed in the *American Bookseller*, but not lost. Ten and a half pages of the latter for April are devoted to an alphabetical list of the contents of the latest English and American periodicals.—"How can we live if we are moderately poor?" is answered in a 'Manual of Practical Directions for Economical Every-day Cookery,' by Miss Corson, to be published by Dodd, Mead & Co.

—The death of Lorenzo Sabine is announced, in Boston, at the age of seventy-four. He held many public offices of trust and honor, and was a member of the Thirty-second Congress; but he will be chiefly remembered for his 'American Loyalists,' the product of devoted and laborious research.

—The Boston *Daily Advertiser* announced last week that Harvard College Library was going to abandon its subject-catalogue in order to save money for the purchase of much-needed books. The announcement was premature, it seems, and perhaps the *Advertiser's* vigorous protest against the measure may contribute to prevent any such blunder, if it has ever been in contemplation. The Boston Public Library, pursuing a very different policy, and deeming it of full as much importance to give the volumes which it has already their greatest use as to increase their number, has just brought out another of its remarkable series of annotated class lists—a sixth edition, entirely recast, of its "English prose fiction." A couple of years ago one of these lists—that of History, Biography, and Travels—within six months doubled the issue of history. It is perhaps hardly necessary that the present list should double the issue of fiction; Mr. Winsor will, no doubt, be content if he renders the fiction-reading twice as profitable by making it, as he says, an "allurement and a stepping-stone for the pastime reader to something better than the mere dispelling of ennui." The notes by which this is to be accomplished are of two kinds: First, the authors are briefly characterized. Mrs. Oliphant, we are told, is one of "the best of the second-class novelists," "Miss Kavanagh's tales are pure in tone and style," and so on. This is done to "help the public to comprehend the general standing of the principal novelists," which is a very good object, but a much better end will also be attained if the public is led, as some of them undoubtedly will be, to become their own critics. The instant a boy gets the idea that novels are not merely to be devoured, but to be judged, whether from a moral or a literary standpoint, and begins to read them with this in view—to consider, for instance, why Ainsworth should be "censured for what is called the robber-and-gallows spirit" in his stories—his literary education has begun; he has ceased to be a mere pastime-reader, and he is on the way to be emancipated from his enslavement to "the story." For this reason it would, perhaps, be well to increase the number of the notes of this class, and let some be condemnatory, not to give information or to warn off readers, but to excite thought. The second kind of notes give, under the names of countries, lists not only of the historical novels relating to them, but also those which, without any allusion to the public history, give good pictures of the social life, the manners and customs of various ages. The note under English history fills eight large pages of the finest type, is carefully subdivided, and by its skilful intermixture of references to histories will certainly lead many an idler to some real historical work; not that the whole Boston public will suddenly become profoundly versed in literary criticism and historical lore, or that there will be any marked falling off in the sales of sensational novels in that community. We must be satisfied with more moderate results. Missionaries think that all their labor is repaid by the saving of a single soul. In the present matter there will be, no doubt, obstinate cases of inert, flabby minds which nothing can move to any exertion. There are those who read two or three novels a week for years in a perfectly passive way. These are hopeless, doomed to mental perdition; but most people, and especially the young, have enough desire for improvement to be willing to make some effort when they get a little suggestion and help. The result of the History list was seen in the doubling of the number of histories read, with no doubt considerable gain in information and mental training on the part of the borrowers. But the gain from these Fiction notes must be almost entirely internal, private, and cannot enter into the statistics of the library. One can hardly doubt its existence, but it must be taken on faith, like the result of the work of a good pastor. We expect no startling announcements of the effect of this new catalogue, and if Mr. Winsor succeeds in putting it into figures, he will have added another to the list of his inventions in library economy. We have one fault to find with the notes—an occasional obscurity of language, especially to be regretted because they are intended for a public not expert in translation and interpretation. But this is a trifle, and if we mention that one of the Rollo story-books is catalogued as "Beluberrying," it is only that the small libraries may console themselves with the thought that all the resources of the Boston Public Library cannot ensure typographical perfection.

—While it cannot be said that the reformers who are endeavoring to change for the better the system of local taxation in Massachusetts have achieved any decided success, they have obtained some recognition at the hands of the General Court, and may possibly secure a committee on just

and equal taxation to sit during the vacation, with authority to send for persons and papers. Mr. Minot's pamphlet, of which we have already rendered an account, will aid the committee in obtaining light, and they will doubtless not be allowed to overlook an earlier brochure, by Mr. William H. Whitmore, on the same subject. Mr. Whitmore endeavors to show that the State may almost be counted out in discussing taxation in Massachusetts. What it calls for from the taxpayer is too slight a sum to be burdensome, however distributed, and would never have compelled resort to the present inequitable system. This has arisen solely from the needs of the corporations known as cities and towns, which it enables "to collect unjust demands for services never rendered," or, in other words, "to shift the burden of taxation for local purposes from one class of inhabitants to another." Mr. Whitmore takes the moderate view "that the State has gone far enough when it allows the irresponsible stockholder in these corporations [*i.e.*, the non-property-holder, such as are four out of every five voters in Boston] to vote away the property of a richer fellow-corporator," and that, with out contending against this inequality, "if the expense of supporting schools, and streets, and sewers, and policemen, and firemen is to be placed upon a helpless minority by the votes of a majority which contribute nothing thereto, it is unjust and impolitic to levy such taxes upon property which receives no benefit from these expenditures." He holds, however, that, "as at present, every qualified person should vote at State elections, but only the property-holders should vote on city or town affairs." To this conclusion every student of the subject is likely to come, and the principle of limited suffrage where the interests of property are involved is surely destined sooner or later to be established. Mr. Minot's and Mr. Whitmore's pamphlets should have a place beside the report of the New York Municipal Commission, in the armory of financial reformers in every State.

—*Nord und Süd*, a new German monthly, edited by Paul Lindau, has made its appearance in Berlin (New York: B. Westermann & Co.) It owes its existence, no doubt, to the success of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, which it resembles in its main features. It proposes, however—we think very properly—to devote no space to the discussion of theatrical events, and will also dispense with a political review. The first (April) number displays a variety of interesting subjects, most of which are treated by highly competent writers. The Austrian explorer, Julius Payer, has, perhaps, most fully done justice to his subject in his article on the English Arctic expedition of 1875-76. Summarizing its results, he expresses his belief in the practical impossibility of reaching the North Pole until, "instead of the powerless vessels of the sea, those of the air shall be employed," and he thinks that henceforth the geographical interest in Arctic expeditions will no longer be paramount. He reiterates the suggestion of Lieutenant Weyprecht that the countries most nearly interested should unite in simultaneous Arctic expeditions, with a view to researches in magnetism, electricity, and meteorology. Professor Ernst Curtius, writing from Athens, surveys briefly the excavations in Greece in 1876-77, of whose importance no one can speak with the same degree of authority. He acknowledges, in terms of warm praise, the indefatigable zeal of Dr. Schliemann, and confirms the correctness of his theory regarding the recolonization of Mycenæ after its destruction by the Argives in 463 B.C. Hence the greatly unequal character of the various objects discovered, which still await careful examination and classification. Schliemann's discoveries undoubtedly testify to the great antiquity of Mycenæ, but it remains to be seen whether they clearly reveal to us the civilization of the age of Homer. The tombs, in particular, seem to conflict with what until now has been considered one of the characteristics of that civilization. Thus, the high mounds peculiar to the graves of heroes are absent, the curious masks do not agree with the Homeric custom of burning the dead, and the location of the tombs points to a more recent age. The burial, with the body, of arms and utensils, indeed, conforms with the ancient custom, but it seems difficult to account for the presence of from twenty to thirty copper kettles in a single tomb. The Egyptologist, Professor Georg Ebers, contributes an article on "Alliteration and Rhyme in the Ancient Egyptian," in which, for the first time, the attempt is made to prove the employment of the rhyme in Egyptian poetry. It is to be regretted that the brevity of the article did not admit of more ample evidence in support of Prof. Ebers's theory. At all events, the specimens adduced, such as

"Chenti ta qemau—neb mat'au,
amen Ra—neb nest ta,"

coupled as they are with the remark that the rhyme nowhere recurs regularly, do not carry absolute conviction with them, and leave a doubt as to whether Egyptian rhyme was not the result of accident rather than design.

Another article of value is "Life for and through Others; or, Society," by Professor Rudolph von Ihering, one of the most eminent of German jurists. The light articles, "New Musical Portraits," by W. H. Riehl; "Modern Painters" (Franz Lenbach), by Fr. Pecht, and Geibel's "Distichs," are pleasant reading; but a novel, by Wilhelm Jensen, is a very learned, labored, and melancholy performance, and Bret Harte's "Man of Solano" cuts a queer figure in the presence of the German professors. The typography of *Nord und Süd* is exceptionally elegant, and a special feature of this periodical will be a monthly portrait of some man of letters. An etching of W. H. Riehl adorns the first number, and others are promised of Geibel, Turgenev (who will also be an occasional contributor), Wilbrandt, etc., etc.

—Many of those who have used Professor Stubbs's collection of documents illustrative of early English history will be gratified at the publication in Germany of a similar volume, prepared by Professor Gengler of Erlangen, and entitled 'Deutsche Rechtsdenkmäler.' The difference in the problem to be solved—also, it may be said, the difference in the nationality of the editors—makes the resulting volume very different in its kind. It is much more bulky, containing 936 octavo pages; and, being devoted to the institutions of several nations—Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, etc.—is able to cover a much smaller space of time. The latest documents belong to the ninth century. While, therefore, Professor Stubbs's collection, being devoted to only one nation, covers the entire formation period of its institutions, and thus affords full and adequate material for study into the growth of these institutions, the volume before us does not come down even to the full establishment of feudalism. For the period which it does cover, that of the Frank empire, embracing those centuries during which feudalism was preparing and developing, the material is complete and sufficient for any ordinary study. The execution in detail is thoroughly German. An introduction contains an excellent historical sketch and a discussion of the sources of the various bodies of law in question. The text, too, is accompanied by voluminous critical and explanatory notes, but has none of those historical notes and sketches which form so valuable a feature of the English collection. There is an admirable glossary. Besides copious extracts from the various Germanic codes and from writers like Cassiodorus, Einhard, and Gregory of Tours, the volume contains 110 pages of the capitularies of the Frank kings and numerous miscellaneous documents, among which may be mentioned some directions for ordeals and an entire book (the eleventh) of the 'Polptychum' of the Abbot Irmino.

—If M. François Lenormant, as somebody has said, publishes a new book on Assyriology every six months, it is only as a lexicographer might issue a dictionary in parts. His books are not finished treatises; they are records of progress, studies. What he has been giving his attention to (and he is a very assiduous and fruitful student) he puts into sheets and gives to the world. He has published a few really substantial works, of which we may mention his brilliant 'Ancient History of the East,' his 'Propagation of the Phœnician Alphabet,' which was "crowned" by the Academy of Inscriptions, and especially his invaluable 'Commentary on the Fragments of Berossus.' The 'Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes' is one of his fragmentary essays. Perhaps M. Lenormant has given more study to the Accadian language—that old agglutinative tongue for which the cuneiform characters were invented—than any other scholar. He has published considerable grammatical studies of the language, with partial vocabularies, and his conclusion that the Accadian of Babylon belonged to the Turanian or Altaic family is now accepted by such Altaic authorities as Koskinen and Hunfalvy. In this 'Study' he has simply taken fifteen Accadian words and compared them with the well-known Assyrian words by which they are translated in the cuneiform syllabaries, illustrating and explaining them with his familiar wealth of learning. Most valuable are an appendix on the moods of the Accadian verb and over a hundred pages of glossaries, giving every Assyrian or Accadian word quoted in the volume, with its place in the inflection of the root. Among the numerous isolated points of interest to Assyriologists scattered through the volume may be mentioned his identification of Nimrod with the god Merodach. The word Merodach he derives from *Amar-uduk*, "the brilliancy of the sun," and Nimrod from *Ana-amar-uô*, "the god brilliancy of the sun." This would hardly allow of George Smith's identification of Nimrod with Izdubar, the hero of the Assyrian epic.

—Another essay of considerable importance in Assyrian philology is Prof. A. H. Sayce's article on "The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb" in the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The title reminds us that it is now twenty two years since Dr. Hincks published his

papers "On Assyrian Verbs," the foundation of all later grammars of the language. This Irish scholar's intuition was marvellous, and where his conclusions, hazarded in the dim dawn of the study, were challenged by other scholars, the fuller light has confirmed them. Prof. Sayce has devoted considerable space to explaining the nature of the rare perfect tense, oddly called "permansive" by Dr. Hincks, and the existence of which both Oppert and Menant denied. The fact is that Assyrian shows us the perfect tense in the process of construction. The termination *aku* (Hebrew, *an-oki*) of the first person singular may be added to an adjective or to a noun, as well as to the participle or the infinitive, out of which, as a verbal root, the perfect was formed. Thus, we may have not only the verb *nasacu*, I bear; but the termination may be added to an adjective, as *dannacu*, I am strong, or to a noun, as *sarracu*, I am king. We are thus transported back to a period when the language had not lost the power of agglutination, and when the pronouns were freely attached to any stem with which they were needed. It is curious that in its latest stage the Syriac almost formed a new tense on the same principle, adding the first personal pronoun 'no to participles, adjectives, or nouns promiscuously, as *malco'no*, I am king; *kolel'no*, I am killing. The remainder of his paper Prof. Sayce devotes to the somewhat complicated variations of the imperfect, showing how remarkably it was developed. The grammar of Assyrian is now quite as well understood as its lexicography. It would be not a little to the advantage of the study if competent scholars could thoroughly develop the affinities of Assyrian with Arabic and Ethiopian roots, and inform us whether the dissyllabic roots are to be regarded as really Semitic, as M. Lenormant believes, or as loan words from the Accadian, as Prof. Sayce teaches.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.*

II.

IT now seems simply incredible that the visit to America of a young English authoress could have produced a marked excitement throughout this country, forty-three years ago. By the recent testimony of a competent witness, she received a welcome such as "has never before or since been accorded to a private individual." It must be remembered that such visitors were then comparatively rare; that the nation was still in its period of extreme sensitiveness to English opinion; that Miss Martineau's fame had been won in departments which claimed for her the respect of men and women alike; and that it had been a sudden fame, which is always more dazzling than one of slow growth. At any rate, her reception was one of exaggerated enthusiasm, such as is often followed by reaction. In her case the reaction took a form which was discreditable to the community, and creditable to her. Yet it is almost equally hard, at this interval, to understand the vehemence of the opposition. Miss Martineau expressed in Boston, by her own showing, nothing more than she had already uttered in her 'Demerara.' It was courageous in her to repeat it, and there was no want of modesty or caution in what she actually said (vol. i. p. 351). But it seems that she had previously said, on board ship (i. 336), when questioned about her opinion of American institutions, that she "went to learn and not to teach"; and there was no doubt a disposition to hold her to this attitude. It was just then more than Americans could well do to tolerate free speech among themselves; and it is always hard for any people to tolerate it from newly-arrived foreigners, especially if they are women, and rather young, and exasperatingly deaf.

There is nothing in these volumes—nor perhaps in tradition, if properly sifted—to show that Miss Martineau's American action in regard to slavery was other than honorable to herself. But there is much to show that her relation to individuals, in this especial connection, was anything but just or courteous. Let us take, for instance, what she herself says about Margaret Fuller:

"While Margaret Fuller and her adult pupils sat 'gorgeously' dressed, talking about Mars and Venus, Plato and Goethe, and fancying themselves the elect of the earth in intellect and refinement, the liberties of the republic were running out as fast as they could go, at a breach which another set of elect persons were devoting themselves to repair; and my complaint against the 'gorgeous' pedants was that they regarded their preservers as hewers of wood and drawers of water" (i. 381).

To those of us who remember the plain Boston of those days, there is something so unutterably absurd in attributing the sin of gorgeousness to the disciples of Margaret Fuller, that the charge seems hardly worth serious treatment. Had Miss Martineau been blind, instead of deaf, she would hardly have been excusable for such a criticism—for we take it that a well-educated feminine ear can detect gorgeousness by its rustling. But the

* 'Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. With Memorials by Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman.' 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

truth apparently is, that this adjective, twice quoted, is simply one of those inaccurate quotations to which, as was hinted in a previous paper, Miss Martineau was rather prone. It appears from the context that she had been reading Margaret Fuller's 'Memoirs.' There is in these a quotation from an eye-witness, who says "Margaret used to come to the conversations very well dressed, and altogether looked sumptuously" ('Memoirs,' i. 336). It seems to be from this rather exuberant phrase—apparently a bit of girlish enthusiasm—that this whole picture is constructed, and "gorgeousness" is made to take the place of the actual black silk or plain alpaca of the period. But this is a trifle. The sin of wearing good gowns is only a rhetorical amplification of the more specific charge, here brought against these ladies, of being lost in the clouds and "despising" the anti-slavery movement. Here again we must pronounce this sketch to be hasty and careless. It proceeds upon the assumption that there were two entirely distinct sets of women in Boston—the transcendentalists and the abolitionists. As a matter of fact, the two classes were largely identical, or at least shaded closely into one another. This is sufficiently shown, were it doubtful, by a list preserved in Margaret Fuller's 'Memoirs' (i. 338) of the members of one of these "gorgeous" classes. The list includes the names of the two women who first taught Miss Martineau in regard to the American anti-slavery movement, Mrs. Child and Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring; it includes the wives of Emerson, Parker, and Mann; and other prominent names on the list represent some of the leading anti-slavery families of Boston in those and later days—Channing, Clarke, Hoar, Hooper, Peabody, Quincy, Russell, Shaw, and Sturgis. There could hardly be a more complete proof that Miss Martineau's description quite distorts the facts.

But we have not yet done with this misrepresentation. There is printed in the 'Memoirs' of Margaret Fuller a letter to Miss Martineau, written after the publication of 'Society in America'—a letter which we do not hesitate to call one of the best ever written by one woman to another. It has nothing high-flown, nothing conceited, nothing arrogant. On the contrary, the writer voluntarily recognizes herself as inferior to Miss Martineau, and speaks not *de haut en bas*, but *de bas en haut*. She points out that one can sometimes criticise even one's superiors:

"When Webster speaks on the currency, I do not understand it, but I do understand his mode of treating it, and can see what a blaze of light streams from his torch. When Harriet Martineau writes about America, I often cannot test that rashness and inaccuracy of which I hear so much, but I know that they exist. A want of soundness, of habits of patient investigation, of completeness, of arrangement, are felt throughout the book; and for all its fine descriptions of scenery, breadth of reasoning, and generous daring, I cannot be happy in it, because it is not worthy of my friend; and I think a few months given to ripen it, to balance, compare, and mellow, would have made it so" ('Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli,' i. 193).

Which, now, is nobler and more generous—the tone of Margaret Fuller towards Miss Martineau or the tone in which the latter speaks of her critic? Even when Miss Fuller wrote of the anti-slavery question, in this letter, she simply said:

"I do not like that your book should be an abolition-book. You might have borne your testimony as decidedly as you pleased; but why leave the whole book with it? This subject haunts us on almost every page. It is a great subject; but your book had other purposes to fulfil" ('Memoirs,' i. 194).

Here is no haughty discouragement, no contempt of those who did not agree with her; Miss Fuller simply anticipated the judgment of posterity. Miss Martineau saw, and rightly saw, what was nearest her eyes and of most immediate importance. Slavery is now abolished, and we find that momentous questions remain upon which 'Society in America' has little or nothing to offer us, while De Tocqueville's book, written a year or two earlier, is still a classic.

We have dwelt thus fully on this point because it illustrates Miss Martineau's whole method. All her personal judgments are vitiated by the same sweeping positiveness, the same rhetorical inaccuracy. Indeed, her literary judgments share the same drawback. With what disparagement she speaks of Miss Edgeworth's stories, even of 'Helen' (i. 319, 327); and yet how immeasurably better has 'Helen' borne the test of time than 'Deerbrook.' In fact, Miss Martineau's whole theory in regard to fiction shows her not to have been, with all her vivid qualities of style, a born novelist. She believed it impossible to create a plot (i. 179), because all human action is the result of antecedents, and all the antecedents must be comprehended in order to reach the catastrophe. As no human intellect can do this, she thought that the only way was "to derive the plot from actual life, where all is done for us." But George Sand, a born novelist, drew—in her autobiography—just the opposite conclusion from very similar premises, and thought it the only way to derive the whole from imagination. In another way we should fear that Miss Martineau's theory and practice would be very injurious to young authors. She says of herself, with pride and satisfaction,

that at the age of nineteen she for ever abandoned the habit of copying what she wrote—"thus saving," she adds, "an immense amount of time, which I humbly think is wasted by other authors" (i. 93). We should say, on the contrary, that it is by the habit of copying, or at least of careful revision, that the best authors save themselves from wasting time—their own time and that of others. Indeed, we might go further and say that by the very adoption of such a method as hers—and still more by citing Cobbett as an adequate model—Miss Martineau defined her own limitations. She was essentially, in her literary practice, a journalist, not an author; her standard was quantity of work—work of high value, no doubt, but still deriving its especial merit from its quantity. The far greater importance of the qualitative standard she seems habitually to have ignored. She writes of Wordsworth, for instance, depreciatingly, that "he probably never knew what it was to have anything to do" (i. 508); but a century hence, when every line of Miss Martineau's vigorous prose may be forgotten, the work of those seemingly idle days of Wordsworth's will be remembered. And it is now fully proved that many of his finest poems owed their beauty to just that laborious revision which she disdained.

We have left but little space for the later career of Miss Martineau; her painful illness and its cure by mesmerism; her Nile journey and its results; her various books, each of sufficient note to arrest public attention; her advocacy of social reforms, and her sixteen hundred articles for the *Daily News*. Of the books, the 'History' was a thoroughly creditable piece of task-work, greatly aided as well as limited by its author's long personal contact with public affairs; but it is a book pretty sure to be superseded when further light shall have been thrown upon the same theme. This can hardly be said of the 'Eastern Life,' which will for many years retain a distinctive value, however thoroughly the same scenes may be explored. More than any other of her books, it possesses a quality approaching genius in its ready grasp of details, its picturesque unrolling, its reverential appreciation of mighty symbols. In her autobiography she sometimes seems to belong to the class of those who find something to reverence in every religion but Christianity; when they turn to that they are narrow, unsympathetic, and exacting. The mood is intelligible, but not gracious, nor is it even scientific. In 'Eastern Life' this spirit does not prevail, but the glow of a large enthusiasm goes with her through all.

It is difficult to revert to the Atkinson period without feeling some sadness that this brave and resolute woman should have been compelled to sacrifice her closest family affection and a part, at least, of her influence, under the guidance of a teacher who has made no other distinguished disciple, and who is now scarcely named among the eminent thinkers of England. While men quite as heretical have made great reputations around him, Mr. Atkinson remains still obscure. This can hardly be said of Comte, and yet the influence of his thought has been so brief and limited that this second enthusiasm of Miss Martineau must, after all, take rank with the first, and must be considered to throw light on her own statement about herself that "she could sympathize in other people's views, and was too facile in doing so" (ii. 572). This is taken from her sketch of her own character, written as a prospective obituary for the *Daily News*—one of the most remarkable specimens of honest self analysis in the literature of the world.

But whatever criticism we may make on these separate books, the fact still remains that to have planned and produced them implied a total of literary labor of which any writer, man or woman, might well be proud. There were doubtless authors in England and America who had produced a higher quality of work, but not one perhaps who had accomplished so large an amount of solidly good and useful achievement. Miss Martineau certainly did much to refute the lingering tradition, if it still needs refuting, that the minds of women are wanting in clearness, method, and logic. Her arguments, if unsatisfactory, were always coherent, and those who tried to cope with her in controversy generally repented it. This conscious power did not diminish her positiveness, but rather increased it, and she was often as dogmatic in her assertions as if she had had no arguments to back them. A very clever woman lately said to us, speaking of her young son, "I reasoned with him; I said to him, Charley, you are a great fool." Miss Martineau could supply the reasoning if needed, but she often came at once to the same decisive assertion. She speaks (i. 174) of Robert Owen as "laying down the law in the way which he calls 'proof'"; and says of William Taylor that when he began with, "I firmly believe," people knew that something incredible would follow (i. 227). But neither Owen nor Taylor could surpass Miss Martineau in these respects; and she had a peculiarly provoking way of putting the assertion in the plural number, and assuring you that all intelligent people felt just as she did. "All agree," or "It is now universally admitted," are crushing arguments to the

young and modest. "Those who understand mankind," she says when speaking of Wordsworth, "are aware that he did not understand them" (i. 508). After this, to praise the "Ode to Duty" is to admit that one does not understand mankind.

But, after all, people are usually ready to take advantage of this blunt decisiveness when it is employed on their own side; and there came a time when the American cause needed in England all the aid that Harriet Martineau could bring to it. We can bear that she should have dealt us an occasional hard blow during the contest; that she should have called Americans "the most profligate political writers, and speakers, and actors in the world" (ii. 492); should have said that "the *ideal* of temper and manners is widely different in the two nations [England and America]" (ii. 513); and should have doubted, speaking of free-trade, "whether anybody there [in America] has really studied the subject at all" (ii. 491). For she was more severe on the London *Times* than on us: she wrote constantly in four leading newspapers in our behalf; and Mr. W. E. Forster said of her, in his great speech at Bradford, that it seemed as if she alone was keeping the country straight in regard to America.

Mrs. Chapman's "memorials," occupying the greater part of the second volume of this work, give in many respects a more attractive picture of Miss Martineau than she gives of herself. They are without an index, which is a very great defect, especially as the main index is placed in the middle of the second volume, where no one would look for it. The memorials are rather too much subdivided for entire clearness, but must on the whole be praised for careful and excellent execution. There is not more of affectionate exaggeration than is desirable in a first biographer, and if Mrs. Chapman prints some things that would have been better withheld she is far surpassed in this respect by Miss Martineau herself. We have noticed no serious inaccuracy as to facts, except where she describes Colonel Shaw as the first white colonel of the first colored regiment; and the only serious blot upon this part of the work is in her going out of her way to impeach the reputation of Rev. Dr. Channing. A year or two of priority in anti-slavery work counts for little after an interval of forty years; and that a Massachusetts woman, who knew the record of that remarkable man, should say of him that "he had neither insight, nor courage, nor firmness" (ii. 273) is simply astounding. Dr. Channing, in the early days, made some criticisms on the words and acts of the abolitionists; and he had perhaps an exaggerated preference for individual over associated action. But when, in 1836, he headed the application for the use of Faneuil Hall for a meeting to consider the Lovejoy murder, and when he afterwards offered the resolutions at that stormy assemblage, he performed acts requiring more absolute moral courage than any ever demanded of Theodore Parker. Perhaps, however, Mrs. Chapman thinks that Mr. Parker also was deficient in that attribute.

Even the few specifications made by Mrs. Chapman are singularly inconsistent with the actual facts, as recorded by Dr. Channing's biographer. The severest of them is the imputation of having "deprecated the admission of the colored race to our ranks" (Martineau, ii. 273). Yet in his diary Dr. Channing records of the very first anti-slavery meeting he attended—in 1836: "The most gratifying circumstance at the meeting was a short address from a colored man" (Channing's 'Memoirs,' iii. 178). And those who refer to the volume just named will find in it an opinion of Dr. Channing by another pioneer abolitionist, Lydia Maria Child, which is strikingly at variance with Mrs. Chapman's sweeping assertion. The italics are our own:

"At first I thought him timid, and slightly time-serving; but I soon discovered that I formed this estimate from ignorance of his character. I learned that it was justice to all, not popularity for himself, which made him so cautious. He constantly grew upon my respect, until I came to regard him as the wisest as well as the gentlest apostle of humanity. I owe him thanks for preserving me from the one-sidedness into which zealous reformers are so apt to run. . . . At one time he was very doubtful whether it were right to petition Congress. He afterwards headed such a petition himself. In all such cases he was held back by the conscientious fear of violating some other duty in endeavoring to do his duty to the slave. Some zealous reformers did not understand this" (Channing's 'Memoirs,' iii. 154-5).

Mrs. Chapman, it seems, was and is one of this class. She was at any rate one of the most heroic and persistent of the anti-slavery apostles. It is unfortunate that, at this late day, she should thus have helped to justify Dr. Channing's one serious objection to herself and her associates—their alleged personal intolerance. But in spite of this fault her appendix is essential to the book, and the whole work makes a singularly complete and truth-telling memorial of one who was in many respects the ablest and most helpful woman whom this century or any century has produced. "And this woman," wrote Hawthorne ('English Notes,' i. 108), in a pas-

sage which Mrs. Chapman has quoted very incorrectly, "is an Atheist, and thinks that the principle of life will become extinct when her body is laid in the grave! I will not think so, were it only for her sake. What! only a few weeds to spring out of her mortality, instead of her intellect and sympathies flowering and fruiting for ever!"

RECENT TRAVELS IN GREECE.*

IT is so long since a really observant and unprejudiced book has been written on Greece, and Greek progress is so real, though slight in comparison with that which obtains in newer states, that we know almost nothing about the country since Sir Thomas Wyse's book was written. Prof. Mahaffy's volume does not fill the opportunity, and will not spoil the subject after the manner of those vexatious books which skim the theme of its interest and satisfy the careless man without having met the legitimate demands of real study. It is neither candid enough nor thorough enough to establish an authority for the critical, nor engaging enough as mere literature to satiate the curiosity of the mass of readers. The author's prejudices are too obtrusive not to make his opinions suspect, and when he has repeated the usual attacks on the Greeks with the usual tone of supercilious superiority which distinguishes the average insular voyager, he tells them that he gives the highest proof of his impartiality towards them by abusing his own countrymen in the same, or nearly the same, terms.

There are two frequently-recurring qualities in these "Rambles and Studies" which call for severe criticism—inaccuracy of observation which makes the author's indications utterly valueless, and want of common courtesy towards the hospitable country people, to whom he was placed under obligations of silence if not of gratitude. His extreme carelessness in the use of his eyes was well pointed out by Prof. Colvin in the *Academy* in the blunder as to what Mahaffy calls the *stèle* of *Aristion*. "The Athenian one is inscribed as the work of *Aristion*, doubtless an artist known as contemporary with those who fought at the battle of Marathon. Thus we obtain a very good clue to the date at which this art flourished." The curious part of this blunder is that in the engraving of the work alluded to the name is inscribed *Aristokleos*, *Aristion* being, not the commemorator, but the commemorated, and, of course, any identification of the work of art on the professor's basis would be most worthless, as well as all conclusions drawn therefrom. He blunders as to identification—by a convenient but far from convincing "doubtless"; he makes his next step to the chronology, and decides the date of the work and the character of the art of the epoch on two blunders, one of which impeaches his eyes and the other his logic. Then, as if this were not enough to show his untrustworthiness as a critic, he goes on to assume the evidence of influence of Assyrian style, saying "this influence seems as certain and almost as much disputed as the Egyptian influences on the Doric style of architecture"—which is undoubtedly true, but not at all true as the author takes it. The influence of Assyrian art is absolutely conjectural, and, for anything provable to the contrary, the influence may have been exerted in the opposite direction. If one should compare the archaic work of all nations there would be found a striking resemblance, for the same reason that all the first efforts of little children to draw men and women resemble each other—they see the same nature, and the conventional types by which they are most easily represented are the same under all circumstances. So far as there is any evidence on this question, it points to the origin of Greek art in Italian traditions, the earliest work of which we have any definite notice being that on the Lion Gate at Mycenæ, to which we must assign a date not later than about 1500 B.C. Now, the earliest Assyrian sculpture is probably about 800 B.C. (Lübke, 'History of Sculpture'), while in attainment it is very far (centuries as progress was then marked) behind the historical sculptures of Ægina, the connection and relation of which to the Lion of Mycenæ is unmistakable. Their relationship to known Etruscan work is far more close and evident than to any Eastern work, while to accentuate this kinship there are in the island of Ægina tombs, which Professor Mahaffy might have visited, of the same character and style of decoration as those found in Etruria—which, in fact, must be recognized as Italian and in all probability Italo-Pelagic, whose identity with Argive-Pelagic is sustainable by the absolute similarity in the architecture and technique of all the early remains in Etruria and in the Argolide.

The incapacity of the author for collecting evidence of any scientific value is shown by his insistence on qualities which he conceives ought to exist, and which he supposes, therefore, he has seen. At Orchomenus he says: "But if we did not study the remains still common in Greece, we might imagine that the use of square-hewn stones, the absence of mortar and

* 'Rambles and Studies in Greece. By J. P. Mahaffy.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

rubble, and the clamping with lead and iron were exceptional, whereas that sort of building is the most usual sort in Greece. The walls of the Peiræus cannot even have been the earliest specimen, for the great portal at Mycenæ, though somewhat rougher and more huge in execution, is on the same principle." One is tempted to say to this that Prof. Mahaffy can never have been at Mycenæ, for there is nothing in common between the Peiræus walls and those of the Argive city. The former are of cut stone, and in the massive Greek work of that time iron clamps were certainly used with lead, while in Mycenæ hewn stone is not to be seen, nor any evidence of edged tools, or iron, or lead—no clamping or other device to keep the stones together, except their enormous weight. In the description of Mycenæ, our author says of the great "Treasury": "It is in no sense a rude building or one of a barbarous or helpless age, but, on the contrary, the product of enormous appliances and a perfect knowledge of all the mechanical requirements of any building, if we except the application of the arch." Yet if any man will look at the stones of the Treasury out of the weather-wear, he will see that they are not hewn in any manner or form, but simply faced by trituration, and there is not from the door to the ceiling a trace of the use of an attempt to hew. The absence of iron is shown in all the excavations and examinations, while the bronze nails which the author could not see are perfectly visible in the ceiling, as we are able to testify on the evidence of our own eyes.

Nor is the professor more nearly correct in what he says of the modern language in relation to the ancient: "There is really very little change between the language of Plato and that of the present Greeks. . . . The present Greek will read the old classics far better at first sight than our peasants could read Chaucer." If the author means by "our peasants" the Milesians he is so fond of comparing with the modern Greeks, he may be right; but if he means any English peasant who can read at all, the assertion is simply stupefying. The modern Greek resembles Homer more than Plato, and we venture to say that there is not a peasant in Greece who, without a classical culture, could understand a sentence of Plato. We once asked an intelligent Argive boy, who had had the fair rudiments of education, if he read the Greek newspapers, and he replied, "No, he didn't understand newspaper Greek"—which is possibly what Mr. Mahaffy understood to be modern Greek, but which is in effect an attempt to restore classical Greek as far as may be, and so unlike the vernacular as to be absolutely incomprehensible to the masses. But we know many Greeks who have fair education, and speak, read, and write modern Greek perfectly and habitually, who cannot understand Homer much better than a Florida "contraband" could understand Chaucer.

For the sake of those who visit Greece in the future, we hope that these "Rambles" may not be translated into Greek—modern Greek, that is—as the way the author treats people who were unfortunate enough to offer him what they could give in the way of entertainment is not encouraging to hospitality. Being thrown without other claims than those of a friendless stranger on the care of the director of the mines at Laurium, "a very polished gentleman with a charming wife," he "stated his case and demanded hospitality for the night. Nothing could be more friendly than our reception. This benevolent man and his wife took us into their own house, prepared rooms for us, etc.," after which the least that could be expected of the guest was that he should not publish to the whole world that the night was spent in an unequal conflict with vermin of various kinds. The same breach of courtesy occurs at Livadia, "in later days the Turkish capital of the province of Roumelia."

It is hardly worth while to criticise the art-criticism of the book. Surely never before did any man opine so much and remain so persistently wrong. The sentence, "The hills were of that beautiful purple blue which Mr. Leighton so well understands in the background of his Greek pictures," suggests grave doubts to those who know Leighton's pictures whether the author knows what he sees, because certainly no man ever painted anything more conventional and impossible in landscape than Mr. Leighton, whatever its artistic merits may be.

Of course, the Greeks come in for a good deal of abuse of their political and industrial condition, and in the usual unintelligent way; but Prof. Mahaffy gives a rather comical tone to his reflections by seriously adding the following note: "It seems hardly possible that these remarks should not give offence, for the people to whom they apply are *ex hypothesi* no judges of the larger question of national liberty, and all feel an inborn right to personal liberty. I can only say to the Greeks that I hold my own nation—the Irish—to be equally unfit for an advanced constitution. Indeed for centuries to come most of the world were far happier and safer under an enlightened despotism"—an opinion neither new nor startling, though perhaps as much so as anything in the book. The Greeks would

doubtless reply to him that "enlightened despotisms" are rarer than people who know how to govern themselves, and that if the despot comes, and knows how to impose himself on them, they will submit and get the benefit of his great enlightenment; but that when the despotism must be enlightened and sustained by the people, it is no despotism at all. We have no data by which to judge what the Greeks would do if really free, for their political system is the result of perpetual meddling from the outside; nor is it their fault if they have as a head a frivolous youth instead of a capable king. In another sentence the author makes another trite remark to the effect that nations like children have their infancy, and then again says that the Greek nation is forty years old, and ought to show now what it is made of. Does the professor read so little history that he supposes that a nation passes its "infancy" in forty years?

Centennial History of Erie County, New York. By Crisfield Johnson. (Buffalo. 1876.)—Its peculiar distinction as one of the great gateways of our Western continent would alone make Erie County a tempting subject for the historian. People of all nations have passed through it as perhaps through no other portal on the earth's surface, while the Dutch, French, and English have contended for it with each other and with the aborigines, leaving it to-day in the peaceful possession of a population of which more than one-third are Germans. As usual, in all this shifting the most permanent things are names—of the Eries, crushed between the upper and the nether millstone of the Algonkins and the Iroquois; and of the buffalo, who in all probability frequented the creek which was called after him by the Indians. The descendants of the Senecas, who exterminated the Eries, remain in the county to this day, and it has produced no man more noted than Red Jacket, the most famous, though not the most estimable, of this tribe. Mr. Johnson's account of the Iroquois confederacy is one of the most interesting portions of his book. It is not new, but it will be fresh to most readers. Fresh and strange, likewise, will seem the facts about the employment of Indians on both sides in the war of 1812, and the terror with which they inspired the people of Buffalo when the city was burnt by the British. The history of this border warfare is well and fully narrated by our author; the incident of the *Caroline* closed, as we may hope, for ever, the hostile relations between the dwellers on the opposite banks of the Niagara River.

The influence of Erie County upon the political destinies of the country has been accidental but momentous. The fate of Morgan remains a mystery, and had no other connection with the county than his possible conveyance through it to his grave in the Niagara River; but it was the excitement growing out of it that first brought Millard Fillmore into public life, as the successful anti-masonic candidate for the Assembly. It was at Buffalo, again, that assembled, in 1848, the Free Soil Convention presided over by Charles Francis Adams, and distinguished by the presence of Chase, Giddings, and Dana, which gave us Van Buren for a candidate, and made Taylor President by the loss of New York to the Democracy. The unforeseen consequence of this event was the elevation of a doughface to the Presidency, ready to lend his signature to the Fugitive Slave Act, and so to sign the death-warrant of the Whig party and to hasten on the irrepressible conflict. Finally, it was a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress from Erie County, Elbridge G. Spaulding, who, as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and chairman of its sub-committee on loans and currency, introduced the first legal-tender bill December 30, 1861, and invented the "greenback," though not exactly as we now know it or as it will be known to posterity.

To the material growth of Buffalo the construction of the Erie Canal gave a prodigious impetus. The idea did not originate in Erie County, but a wise improvement of its harbor secured the city the terminus of the canal in spite of all rivalry. The town owed its laying out and virtual founding to Joseph Ellicott, a surveyor, who had assisted his brother in laying out the city of Washington, and had not forgotten the lesson. Mr. Peacock, who ran the first street-line in Buffalo, was yet alive last year at the age of ninety-six. The public-school system of Buffalo was instituted in the dark days succeeding the panic of 1837, when faith in anything but education was almost suspended. The tree thus heroically planted has borne good fruit. Buffalo has also an Historical Society, on which it prides itself. The Germans, too, early established (1841) their Young Men's Association, "which has ever since remained the nucleus of German literary culture," and (1847) their musical "Liedertafel," still flourishing and competing now with the Orpheus Society and the "Saengerbund." Buffalo had in 1875 a population of 134,573, of which the German element was estimated at 60,000. Does this large proportion of foreigners account for the comparatively obscure part which Buffalo plays in our national life?

Mr. Johnson's work was rapidly executed, and, if less perfect on that account, has escaped being overloaded with matter of no interest to the general reader. He furnishes no map, but also no genealogies, and his book is eminently readable almost from beginning to end, abounding in anecdote. His style is racy and animated, and one readily pardons his occasional lapses from the literary standard. The county is fortunate in having him for its historian.

How to Camp Out. Hints for Camping and Walking. By John M. Gould. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.)—There is many a medical treatise whose utility is less than that which this little book may easily have. The medicine of continuous exercise, free from care, in the open air and in novel surroundings—medicine which is, so to speak, at our doors, and need not, in the great majority of cases of overtaxed nervous systems, be sought in expensive journeys abroad—has not hitherto received due recognition at the hands of physicians. If prescribed at all, it is vaguely prescribed as rest from business, change of scene, etc., whereas its true shape should be an injunction to walk from New York to Niagara, from Buffalo to South Mountain, from Boston to Franconia, to spend so many weeks' camping out on Rangeley Lake or in the Adirondacks, or to enlist for six weeks in the Department of Improvements of the Appalachian Club. If we could have our way, we would make this the summer occupation of every student, if not of every schoolboy who had reached the age of fourteen, thus turning the vacation which is the privilege of youth to the best possible account in repairing bodily waste and building up or even creating constitutions. On the incidental advantages to the mind of travel and free contact with nature, it is of course unnecessary to dwell. Major Gould's handy volume is primarily addressed to the student class, but there is no age nor sex that cannot profit by its practical directions, in which, so far as we have observed, nothing that the novice ought to be told is omitted, while they are enriched by the author's army experience. When we add that the reader is not left in ignorance of the hardships of out-door life, there is little left us to say except that camping rather than walking receives attention in this work, whereas almost anybody can turn pedestrian at pleasure, while camping out depends on conditions that cannot always be fulfilled, even when the cost is not a consideration. Some extracts may show the author's fitness to instruct and his taking style:

"Many young men, before starting on their summer vacation, think that the barber must give their hair a 'fighting-cut'; but it is not best to shave the head so closely, as it is then too much exposed to the sun, flies, and mosquitoes. A moderately short cut to the hair, however, is advisable for comfort and cleanliness."

"Finally, leave your business in such shape that it will not call you back; and do not carry off keys, etc., which others must have; nor neglect to see the dentist about the tooth that usually aches when you most want it to keep quiet."

"Very few young men who read this book will find it possible to enjoy themselves and carry more than twenty pounds a greater distance than ten miles a day, for a week."

"On the whole, you will probably prefer the roll to the knapsack; but if you carry much weight you will very soon condemn whatever way you carry it, and wish for a change."

"You will find that a pound of shirt is as warm as two pounds of overcoat."

"Woollen or merino stockings are usually preferable to cotton, though for some feet cotton ones are by far the best."

"The question of wearing 'hip-pants' or using suspenders, is worth some attention."

"It is generally advised by medical men to avoid violent exercise immediately after eating. They are right; but I cannot advise you to rest long, or at all, after breakfast, but rather to finish what you could not do before the meal, and get off at once while it is early and cool."

"By all means keep a diary; the act of writing will help you to remember these good times, and the diary will prove the pleasantest of reading in after-years."

"If you have time, try to draw; never mind if it is a poor picture. I have some of the strangest-looking portraits and most surprising perspectives in my diaries written when fifteen to twenty years old; but I would not exchange them now for one of the 'old masters.'"

Holy Cross: A History of the Invention, Preservation, and Disappearance of the wood known as the True Cross. By W. C. Prime, LL.D. (New York:

A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 16mo, pp. 143. 1877.)—Dr. Prime's object in the pleasant little volume before us is to give as authentic and complete an account as possible of the relics said to be the wood of the cross, and incidentally to utter a plea for faith and reverence for holy things and places. He first speaks of crosses and the punishment of crucifixion, mentioning briefly the prevalence of the sign of the cross prior to its Christian significance. Then follows an account of Constantine and Helena, and the finding of the wood of the cross by the latter, with a discussion of the sacred localities at Jerusalem, which the writer sees no reason to doubt are the same now shown in the Church of the Sepulchre. The remainder of the book is taken up with the history of the fragments of the cross until the loss of the principal portion at the battle of Hittin in 1187. The author candidly states in the preface his own want of faith in the verity of the wood, but it is enough for him and for his purpose that it was generally accepted as true for eight centuries, and that this belief was an important element in the history of the Church and of the world. We cannot, however, help thinking that Dr. Prime greatly exaggerates its importance by confounding the symbol and the faith of which it was the sign. He does not adduce any proof of many of his statements, and we do not think they are supported by history. The conversion of Constantine was prior to and independent of the invention of the cross, and the Crusades were not undertaken primarily to recover the cross, as the author hints in the thirteenth chapter, where he says: "The entire history of the first, second, and part of the third Crusade belongs to the history of the cross. All over Europe oaths were taken upon its fragments to 'take the cross' and redeem the Holy Land. The cross was the sign worn to distinguish the Crusader." The way in which the above passage is printed might lead the reader to infer that to "take the cross" meant to endeavor to recover the relic. It only means, of course, to assume the badge of the cross, the token of the Crusades. Even from a poetical standpoint the object of the Crusades was only to recover the tomb of Christ, as Tasso says in the well-known lines:

"Canto l'armi pietose, e il Capitano
Che il gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo."

The subject of the influence of the cross on literature and tradition is very insufficiently treated by the author, who mentions only a few of the beautiful mediæval hymns which owe their origin to these relics—the "Vexilla regis," "Pange lingua," and "Laudes crucis." Dr. Prime also gives the legend of the wood of the cross, but without dwelling on it. We think he has made a mistake here. Although his object was to give a serious and historical account of the wood, he might easily have added a chapter on the legend and the important part it played in mediæval literature. It is found in almost all the languages of Europe, in prose, poetry, and the drama. In the last-named field it produced not only mysteries, but an *auto* and a play by no less an author than Calderon. A masterly essay on this subject was written a few years ago by Adolf Mussafia, under the title 'Sulla leggenda del legno della Croce' (Vienna: Academy of Sciences. 1869). The chief objection, in our eyes, however, to Dr. Prime's book is the desultory manner and florid style in which it is written, and which obscure a great deal of the labor doubtless spent upon it, as well as greatly reduce its critical value.

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Bickell (Prof. G.), Outlines of Hebrew Grammar.....	(F. A. Brockhaus) \$1 25
Browning (Mrs. E. B.), Book of the Poets.....	(James Miller) 20
Fairfield (F. G.), The Physiological Basis of Religion, swd.....	(S. H. Wells & Co.) 50
Globe Encyclopedia, Part 13, swd.....	(Estes & Lauriat)
Kerr (W. W.), Law and Practice as to Receivers, 2d Am. ed.....	(Ray & Bro.) 9 00
Kitchin (G. W.), History of France, Vols. II and III.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 5 00
Lange (Rev. J. P.), Commentary on the Books of Samuel (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)	1 25
Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, addressed to R. H. Horne.....	(James Miller) 75
Liebenow (W.), Karte der Europäischen Türkei.....	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Memoir of James Allen Hardie, Inspector-General U. S. A.....	(Washington)
Morton (Dr. T. G.), Transfusion of Blood, swd.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 60
Paige (L. R.), History of Cambridge, Mass., 1630-1877.....	(Hard & Houghton) 6 00
Roth (C.), Short Latin Grammar, Part 3, swd.....	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger)
Vapereau (J.), Dictionnaire universel des Littératures, Part 3, swd.....	(F. W. Christern)
Wharton (F.), Law of Evidence in Civil Issues, 2 vols.....	(Kay & Bro.)

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RARE ENGRAVINGS JUST RECEIVED.

66 BECKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, March 16.

A superb lot of Italian Line Engravings, by Longhi, Raphael Morghen, Anderloni, Garavaglia, and Toschi. Many are large pictorial subjects in proof states, suitable for framing. Also, a superb original impression of the Sistine Madonna, engraved by Müller.

FREDERICK KEPPEL.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1877.

The Week.

THE Louisiana commission has brought its labors to a more successful end than seemed at the outset possible. It has, to be sure, effected no external change in the Louisiana situation that would not have been effected by the simple withdrawal of the troops without the intervention of a commission; but it has given a moral weight to the proceedings of the unified Legislature which would otherwise be wanting, and, we suppose, this will almost of necessity result in the recognition of the new conservative Senator, Judge Spofford, who is spoken of as a man of excellent standing, by the Senate, and the final dispersal of the Louisiana claimants. On Friday the President issued orders for the withdrawal of the troops, and on the same day a sufficient number of members, elected on the face of the returns, went over to Nicholls to give him a legal legislature. On Saturday the rest followed, headed by Warmoth, who, according to the *Tribune* correspondent, has turned the crisis to good profit by selling State bonds "short" on a declining market caused by his earnest support of Packard, and buying them on a rising market caused partly by the general conviction that Packard had no chance, and partly by his own earnest efforts in private to get enough members to desert Packard to give Nicholls a quorum. The Democrats then proceeded to pay off all the public servants who, as employees of Packard, have given so much of their time and thought to the work of government in New Orleans for the past four months, and the "Packard Legislature" ceased to exist. At twelve o'clock on Tuesday the troops were marched from the St. Louis Hotel to the barracks outside New Orleans, removing from the South the last trace of the bitter conflict which for five years wasted half the country with fire and sword, and left behind it the legacy of a political curse that only now, after twelve added years of fraud, misgovernment, violence, and anarchy, has spent its force. There is to be a jubilee in Louisiana over their deliverance, as there has been in South Carolina, and there well might be others quite as hearty and sincere throughout the North, which shared with the South in the distress, dishonor, and shame of the "Southern Question," as it shares now in the relief from them. Now that it has come, the change to a better state of things must be rapid. We may look forward to an era, not of perfect government, but of intelligent and calm discussion of the great political problems which call for settlement by orderly and legal means, and of a national habit so fixed and peaceful that we shall be able to look back upon the distracted politics of the country since the close of the war as no better than those of "kites and crows."

Packard has maintained himself so firmly at the head of his "government" that we are afraid we shall now be treated to eulogies of him also on the "magnificent fight" theory. According to this theory, no matter what kind of person you have been, or what you are charged with, if you do not confess or fly, but stand your ground and shout and brazen it out, you are entitled to much sympathy, and even to admiration. But it must be borne in mind that Packard is not a new man in politics. He has for several years been laboring for the colored man down in Louisiana, as United States marshal and the colleague of Mr. Casey, the late President's brother-in-law. These two worthies have been all along at the head of the "Custom-house faction" in that State, and probably no State has been able to show a more rascally pair of politicians. Long before the unfortunate property-holders had attempted to save themselves by meddling in politics, this couple had quarrelled with the Warmoth portion of Republicans over their plunder, and it was in this quarrel that Casey used the

United States revenue-cutter to conceal for twelve days members of the Warmoth Legislature from the pursuit of the sergeant-at-arms. Packard, in 1872, played his part by getting from Judge Durell the famous "midnight order"—an *ex-parte* order, too, directing the United States marshal to seize and hold the State-House, and prevent all persons from assembling there under or by virtue of the Warmoth canvass of the votes, and to permit the entry only of such persons as the marshal thought entitled to seats. With this order Packard did seize the State-house, and actually organized the Legislature to suit himself, and got an immediate recognition of the government thus set up, by telegraph from Washington. Durell afterwards resigned to escape impeachment, but Packard has not yet been punished for seven years of rascality. His appearance as governor has been a huge but characteristic piece of impudence, and the only thing to which he is now entitled is a chance of atoning to the State and the country by work in some honest calling.

The comments made by that portion of the press which is opposed to President Hayes's policy at the South on Governor Hampton's course in sealing up the offices of the Republican State officers, pending the decision of the courts on their title, afford a good illustration of the utterly perverting effect on the mind of the Southern difficulty as managed by General Grant. Such papers evidently appear to think that the accession of Hampton to power is the result of a treaty between two high contracting parties, like Russia and Turkey, and not of the obedience of an American President to the law; and they talk as if any violation of the conditions of the treaty by Hampton would justify the President in again occupying South Carolina with troops as a guarantee, just as Russia might occupy Bulgaria in order to punish the perfidy of the Sultan. The fact is that there was and is no treaty in the matter. If the troops were properly in South Carolina, they were there under the law; if they have been properly withdrawn, they have been withdrawn under the law. Hampton's dealings with Cardoza and the other State officials, however arbitrary or perfidious, concern President Hayes no more than the dealings of Governor Robinson with the New York State Senate, and it is the duty of all journalists whom the Southern controversy has bemuddled to turn their eyes away from South Carolina and Louisiana for as many days as may be necessary to get the idea firmly reimplanted in their brains that there is in this Union legally only one kind of State and only one kind of Governor. As regards the propriety of Hampton's action there can be little doubt of it. It would be highly approved here in New York under similar circumstances. The State officers elected on the Chamberlain ticket are mostly bad characters, the legitimate successors of the Scott Ring, and there are the same reasons for shutting them out of the public offices, *pendente lite*, that there were for getting Tweed, Connolly, and Hall out of the City Hall immediately after the discovery of their frauds, had that been possible. Governor Hampton would have been false to his duty if, with ruin threatening the State, he had left them for one moment longer than he could help in possession of the public books, papers, and vouchers.

It is not surprising, considering the kind of talk one meets with in our own papers on this subject, that the London *Times* should recently, in discussing the Southern troubles, have found fault with President Grant for not having "cancelled what had been wrongfully done [in Louisiana] and ordered fresh elections," and it severely blames President Hayes for not doing the same thing in South Carolina, and for weakly allowing the title of rival candidates to office to be settled by the Supreme Court. It evidently has the idea that the State government is merely the subordinate government of a province, the operations of which it is the duty of the President to superintend and correct. There is nothing wonderful

in this. The language of a portion of the Republican press and the conduct of the President during the last eight years fully excuse it. We should not be surprised if the opinion prevailed in Europe also that there was something in the political relations of the States of South Carolina and Louisiana which distinguished them from the States of Georgia and Mississippi and Arkansas, and that under some old charter or grant it was permissible to the Federal authorities to cut capers in the former which would be unlawful in any other part of the Union.

Mr. Benjamin Wade, better known as "Old Ben Wade," of Ohio, has written a letter about Hayes of the most scathing character. He says he recalls his support of Hayes at the Cincinnati Convention, after what has since "transpired," with "an indignation and bitterness he never felt before." He says he supposed Hayes agreed with him about the emancipation of the negroes, and about justice to them, and now he feels "deceived, betrayed, and humiliated" "to a degree he cannot find language to express." He thinks Hayes's course is as infamous as the reduction of the colored population to slavery would be, and has no doubt that Hayes meditates the destruction of the party which elected him, "the contemplation of which fills him (Wade) with amazement and inexpressible indignation." We do not believe the indignation is "inexpressible." It is modest of the "Old Roman," as he used to be called, to say so; but he must be greatly changed if he has not been able to relieve himself fully by cursing and swearing. When the venerable statesman was in the Senate, and General Prim was looking for a king for the Spaniards, the suggestion was made that he should take an American Senator, and the eyes of many at once turned towards the Ohio publicist. We supported him with all our might, and had he got the place Spain would have been saved many calamities, and her sovereign would have been spared the horrid sight of Whipper and Elliot going into retirement, and "the bottom dropping out" of the Packard legislature. It is pleasant to those who remember that at one time Butler came near putting Mr. Wade into the White House to reflect that he can do nothing now but curse and vituperate in his own home.

The newspapers have discussed more or less during the past week the propriety of Mr. Evarts's alleged intention of continuing his practice as a lawyer while at the head of the State Department. The only precedent that has been found seems to be the appearance of Mr. Seward in court to argue a single case. The feeling of the bar in this city is said to be very strong that the occupation of a practising lawyer of Mr. Evarts's standing is entirely incompatible with the proper performance of the duties of the place. Besides the question of time, there is always the danger, in such complicated litigations as Mr. Evarts is usually engaged in, that questions will arise in which the interests of his clients will be opposed to those of the Government—a state of affairs which would at once lead to a newspaper scandal. That this would be the result, too, no matter what steps Mr. Evarts might take to avoid it, or how baseless the accusation of improper influence might be, is placed beyond a doubt by the attack on Mr. Fish during the late Administration for the supposed connection between his Cuban policy and the employment of his son-in-law as counsel by the Spanish Government—an attack which, silly as it was, in a crisis like that of the "Virginian affair" enfeebled the Administration. The connection of this question with that of Government salaries has not attracted the attention it deserves. Mr. Evarts has been taken from the class of lawyers that cabinet officers ought to be taken from—that is, from the first class. His character and professional attainments command an income popularly estimated at \$50,000. The Government offers him a salary of \$10,000 in exchange for it. It is idle to say in reply to this that in Washington the scale of living is not so high as in New York. The Government in employing its servants takes human nature as it finds it, and in the present condition of human nature

nobody will give up an income of \$50,000 for an income of \$10,000, even with a dignified position thrown into the bargain, unless he cannot avoid it. When Mr. Webster was Secretary of State, we believe a private subscription was made up for him—a scandalous commentary on our treatment of public men.

At Albany the Assembly has passed the "Omnibus" charter to a third reading, and the Senate has passed all of the constitutional amendments. The Senate committee appointed last week to investigate what the *World* calls the "Exposure of Woodin" and "Tweed's Confession," but which the *Times* more guardedly refers to as a "bogus statement," . . . has come to New York and examined Tweed and several other witnesses. Tweed, who declined to say anything as to the contents of his confession, remarked after his examination was over that "he had not forgotten what fun was yet, although he had not seen much of it for the last five years." We may add that the committee, though during the past five years at Albany they have probably seen a good deal of "fun" of one kind and another, might take a hint from this pathetic remark of the Old Man's, and ought not, on account of their superior advantages, to suppose that the public has no sense of humor at all. The public appreciation of "fun" in this city has, like Tweed's, been dulled a good deal by what it has gone through during the last five years, but we believe it is still able to appreciate the "fun" of a protracted examination of a witness who will not tell what he knows, and who, being already in prison, cannot be punished for not telling, and of an examination into charges against the character of a man which rest on hearsay evidence as to the contents of a document which cannot be got at, and of such an examination by a committee of the highest branch of the Legislature, which has already learned through the legal officers of the government that the document is a state secret, the contents of which it is against public policy to disclose. We judge by the testimony of Mr. John Kelly, who saw the confession and communicated some of its contents to Mr. Hurlbert, the editor of the *World*, that the exposure was substantially correct, and that it will be fairer to follow Mr. Hurlbert, who explains that it, like many other telegraphic despatches in the *World* and other papers, was "edited" by him, than the *Times*, which speaks of it as " concocted " by that gentleman. Mr. Hugh Hastings has, we regret to see, been unable to give any satisfactory explanation of what became of the \$20,000 placed in his hands by Tweed. The journalistic effects of the exposure have been partly good and partly bad, the *World's* circulation being improved by it, but the *Times's* temper, we fear, permanently soured by the appearance of "news" of an "exclusive" nature relating to the Ring in a rival sheet.

The suit of the Emma Mining Company against Park and other promoters of it has now nearly reached the seventieth day of trial, and will probably have gone to the jury by the time this reaches our readers. The company in London seem for some reason so satisfied with the prospects of the litigation that they had, the London *Times* says, "a large and influential meeting of shareholders" at Glasgow, on the 2d instant, when a resolution was adopted approving of the action of the directors in regard to the trial, and those present agreed to take the new £10 debentures, and recommend others to do so, for the purpose of supplying funds to push on the litigation. The case of the unfortunate jury has, we are glad to see, been considered by both sides, and counsel propose, with the permission of the court, to distribute \$5,000 among them—\$450 apiece—not too much, certainly, if they are men competent to try the case.

War news has furnished the motive power for the financial and leading trade markets during the week. In London, consols have fallen to 94½, and with us gold has advanced to 107½. The markets for breadstuffs and provisions have been almost buoyant, while that for cotton has continued depressed. At the Stock Exchange the war news has been overshadowed by the distrust of investment stocks, and there has been a quiet investors' panic, during which

dividend-paying stocks were sold down to ridiculously low prices. This panic was, so to speak, engineered by speculators, and was not checked until Monday afternoon, when an effort was made to buy back some of the investment stocks sold previously for future delivery, the result being an important rise in prices. The money market has been so freely supplied with loanable funds that demand loans have ruled at 2 to 4 per cent. The banks are stronger in reserve than last year by \$2,500,000. Silver in London has fallen to 54 pence, and at the close of the week the gold value of a 412½-grain dollar would have been \$0.9087. The gold value of the paper dollar has ranged during the week between \$0.9040 and \$0.9177.

Those who are troubled in England by the Ritualistic movement in the church have been flattering themselves that the movement, and sympathy with it, were confined to a small and influential body of the clergy. This consolation, however, has just been rudely shaken by an address to the archbishops and bishops, signed by the Deans of St. Paul's, of York and of Manchester, several archdeacons, the provost of Eton, and about fifty other prominent clergymen of various degrees. The address has been drawn forth by the prosecution of Mr. Tooth, who had recently to go to prison under the Public Worship Act for his refusal to desist from Ritualistic practices. It expresses "the anxiety and distress" of the signers over the way in which the relations of the church and state are maintained; protests against the present mode of trying to enforce uniformity, and above all, against the carrying of church controversies before secular tribunals; and expresses the opinion that no peace can be secured for the church, nor can her existing relations with the state be long continued, unless laws for the regulation of divine service and for other spiritual matters of primary importance are made by an authority "proceeding from the Synod of the Church, as well as from Parliament." This is in effect a proposal to arm the Convocation, which now meets and debates but has no legislative power, with the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. This proposal, however, as long as the church is a national and endowed church, neither Parliament nor the lay public will ever listen to, and it is therefore very startling to find so respectable a body of the clergy pronouncing it indispensable to the continued union of church and state.

The Pope's health continues to excite considerable anxiety. His fainting fits last longer and occur oftener than hitherto, and he walks less and is carried more. Preparations are therefore being made, in so far as they can be made at the Vatican, for the immediate holding of the conclave after his death in that building, as in 1775, so as to stave off or elude possible profane interference on the part of the Italian Government, against which there appears to be a considerable revival of hostility, owing to the recent legislation of the Radicals against clerical preaching on politics or clerical "troubling of the peace of families," of which we have already made mention. There are no indications worth notice as to the probable choice of the conclave. Pius IX. has filled so large a space in the public eye for nearly thirty years that he cannot have a real and complete successor, particularly as none of the cardinals is very able or very prominent.

There are conflicting accounts as to the conduct of the Ottoman Parliament now in session, but the probabilities are that as a mere debating body it is surpassing people's expectations. Turks are naturally grave and decorous, and the proceedings are, therefore, sure to be orderly, and all classes possess the faculty of clear and sententious speech. The deputies from the interior are said to be acquitting themselves very well, but the Mussulmans are, of course, fanatically devoted to the cause of the Empire, and are, therefore, an obstacle to peaceful courses at the present crisis. If the Christian deputies showed a different spirit it would prove them to possess an amount of courage of which they have hitherto given no evidence. The Speaker of the Lower House, Ahmed Vefik, who has the reputation of a scholar, appears to have the French notion of the duties of a presiding officer, and plays the pedagogue towards

the members, correcting and admonishing them both as to manner and matter while speaking, and then taking the floor and demolishing them after they have sat down. It is reported that he has found it necessary to call one deputy "an ass." The main difficulty in the way of the Parliament is that its members do not possess and cannot acquire any accurate knowledge of the real condition of the Empire, and that no matter what laws they pass there exists at present no adequate machinery for their execution.

The Russian army began the passage of the Pruth on Monday, and at this writing is well on its way to the Danube at more than one point. War was declared in an imperial manifesto on Tuesday. The newspapers begin already to be filled with wonderful strategy. The agent of the Associated Press in Washington has actually telegraphed that "fresh advices from the consulates" declare that "Russia is preparing to make a real or pretended flank movement on Constantinople around the eastern shore of the Black Sea and through Asia Minor"; that "small bodies of the Russian troops are moving" (stealthily, without doubt) "towards the Russian towns in that direction," (1) and it is surmised "that they will be eventually concentrated at some point on the north-eastern boundary of Turkey." This is not bad for those knowing fellows the consuls; but it is not so good as what is, according to the same authority, "believed in Washington diplomatic circles"—viz., that the Russians are going to "make a circuitous movement on Constantinople through Servia and Montenegro, as on this route they would encounter less formidable natural obstacles," besides getting food from the natives, etc. We are afraid the diplomatic circles in which this "is believed" must have been composed of attachés who had been trying some of the new brands of dry champagne. If there is anything in it at all, however, the Russians make a great mistake in not going to Constantinople by way of Bombay and the Red Sea, on one hand, and round by Spain, so as to see the Alhambra and the Murillos, on the other. In this way art-culture and war could be combined. Is it not marvellous, however, that the Associated Press, with its enormous paying capacity, cannot secure less gullible talent than this?

The Rumanians are said to be greatly alarmed lest Abdül Kerim Pasha, who is to command the Turks in chief, should cross the Danube and endeavor to seize Bucharest in advance of the Russians, and make the Principality the theatre of war. He is very unlikely to do anything of the kind, because he would quit a strong and selected line for the open plains of a hostile country in which the Russians would have every conceivable advantage of him, and in which, in case of disaster, he would run the risk of being thrown into the river. It is very doubtful whether the Turks have more than 150,000 effective troops on the Danube, but they hold a strong position and will defend it desperately. The Czar has declared in the manifesto addressed to his army and people that the object of the war is the occupation of Bulgaria as a guarantee of the execution of the reforms intended to protect the Christians, and he tacitly disclaims all idea of conquest. This relieves him, if need be, from the necessity of crossing the Balkan, and is doubtless intended to reassure the Powers. The Turkish resistance in Asia is likely to be comparatively feeble, the best portion of the army having been thrown into Europe, and the natural difficulties of a land advance towards the Bosphorus, to a force not in possession of the Black Sea, being very great. The movement of the Russians towards the Danube, in a force reported at 250,000 strong, is said to be slow, owing to the mud, but unless the season is unusually late the roads must be good enough for heavy guns by May 1. The headquarters will probably be for the present, as in 1853, at Bucharest, and the passage of the river be attempted, as then, at Silistria and Tultcha. It ought to be observed, however, that the war will be one of extraordinary mendacity, and that the armies on both sides are likely to be more than usually large on paper. One of the Turkish official organs calmly puts down the army of the Danube at 600,000 men all told.

THE PARTY-WISDOM OF THE PRESIDENT.

THAT there are burnings inside the Republican party is evidenced by Mr. Blaine's letter to the Boston *Herald*, by the lecture of Wendell Phillips at Philadelphia, by the last periodical "interview" with Butler, by "Ben" Wade's letter, and by the cutting irony of Mr. Martin I. Townsend, who compares the States of this Union with certain Indian tribes, and wants to know why we do not withdraw our troops from Sitting Bull's territory at the same time we withdraw them from South Carolina—as one might ask why we do not settle the supporters of Tilden on reservations instead of fighting them at the ballot-box. Certain radical newspapers also are in a gusty state respecting President Hayes and his Southern policy. How much of this is smoke, betokening the near presence of fire, and how much is artificial fume, can only be discovered further on. In addition to his Southern policy, Mr. Hayes has a civil-service policy which is popular with the country (notwithstanding some mistakes made in applying it), but extremely distasteful to the "old war-horses," the "plumed knights," and the "favorite sons" of our Republic. Moreover, another President is to be nominated in due course, and the shadow of that event is usually cast about three years in advance of its coming. If the old war-horses, snuffing the battle of 1880 from afar, shall fancy they can make Mr. Hayes's Southern policy odious enough inside the party to secure the next nomination for one of their own kind, and at the same time to swamp civil-service reform, they will have accomplished what appears to be their most notable designs, and it will not be necessary to consult any other oracle to account for the present rumbling.

Mr. Hayes's policy is certainly party-wise. He found his party decimated and himself brought into office by a minority of the popular vote. The State of Ohio was saved to him by only a fraction. In Illinois the Republican majority over the combined opposition had reached the vanishing point. Indiana was lost. Florida, that absurd keystone of the Union, had fallen into the enemy's hands after her vote had been counted the other way. The Democrats had been exasperated to the highest pitch by what they conceived to be the filching of the Presidency from them, while the Republican party as a whole were by no means proud of the apparition that had perched on their banner in the guise of victory. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Hayes became President—circumstances that might well be called desperate. With a party outnumbered at the polls and demoralized by the acts of the Southern Returning Boards, confronted by a hostile House of Representatives, and his very title denied by a respectable part of the constituency, he must certainly do something different from what the Grant Administration had done. The party being already prostrate, to go on in the old way would only complete its ruin. The first obstacle encountered was the one so often stumbled over before—the Louisiana question, to which had been superadded a South Carolina question of the same general character. When the Senate Committee reported that the "midnight order" of Judge Durell, upon which military interference in Louisiana in 1872-3 was predicated, was an unconstitutional and void order, the moral foundation of the Kellogg government and of everything resting upon or growing out of it was swept away. The President might "recognize" Kellogg, and when he did so it might be expedient and necessary for all other persons to refuse to recognize his competitor, since two governments cannot occupy the same space at the same time. But no one was bound thereby to call a falsehood the truth, or to give any place in the forum of conscience to the unconstitutional and void order of an impeachable judge, or to the outgrowths of such an order.

Mr. Hayes was called upon, not to undo what had been done by his predecessor, but to decide whether the military force of the United States should be longer employed to sustain a glaring untruth. Involved in it was the more general question how and where may the Federal armed forces be marched into a State or retained there to settle State disputes. The decision he reached was not only consonant with justice and conducive to the best interests of the country, but was absolutely necessary in a party point of view.

Those who fancy that Mr. Hayes could continue doing what General Grant had done, or that General Grant could have continued doing it any longer; that the country would have accepted as a good reason for doing so the fact that Packard's title was as good as Hayes's title; that the party leaders could have warded off the besom of destruction by crying *tu quoque* at each other from New Orleans to Washington, or from the Senate to the Executive mansion—if there be such simpletons, argument is wholly wasted upon them. Mr. Wendell Phillips may suppose that the way to recover New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana to the Republican column is to repeat on a more extended scale the manœuvres by which they were lost; but Mr. Blaine does not share that hallucination. "Old Ben Wade" may believe that, having arrived at the edge of a precipice, the way to be saved is to march boldly forward and trust the consequences to an overruling Providence. Mr. Hayes, having more responsibilities than Mr. Wade or Mr. Blaine or Mr. Phillips, is bound to give heed to the law of gravitation, and to withdraw from the dangerous neighborhood as soon as possible.

"But is the Republican party to be saved by turning over to the Democrats the only Southern States remaining to it?" Those States were really turned over to the Democrats long before Mr. Hayes took the helm, and the fact that the turning over was not acknowledged, but was resisted by force of arms, was the reason, in large part, why so many Northern States were turned over to keep them company. The Republican party, if saved at all, is to be saved in the North—by dealing justly with all parts of the Union, by observing the Constitution and laws, by abjuring lies and fraud, and by commending the party to the conscience of the nation. Incidentally this policy is likely to create a political division in the South on a better line than the color-line. Ridicule is sought to be imported into the case by charging that the whole game of the Administration is to revive the old Whig party in the South. The surviving members of that party and their descendants are perhaps numerous enough in the South to form the nucleus of a white party opposed to the Democratic party, and will naturally collect together for that purpose when all external pressure is withdrawn. In this sense, and in this only, are the remains and reminiscences of Whiggery worth considering. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Hayes or his advisers have viewed the matter in any other light. It is quite probable that a party beginning where the Whig party left off will grow up in the South to contest the field with the Democrats, and that in close districts both parties will bid for the colored vote. This would be something wholesome and worth helping to build up, and the Republican party in the North would be the gainer by it.

Nevertheless, the tactics of the Republican opposition to Mr. Hayes are not badly chosen. His policy is the one to strengthen the party as a whole, and theirs the one to control the organization and to reap the benefits. The party was born and grew for certain defined objects. These having been gained, the images of the objects will be worshipped a certain length of time, and those who are most expert in making images will be sure to command a large following, as was the case among the Ephesians in the time of the Apostle. "Great is Diana!" shouts Mr. Blaine, and all the workers in brass echo the cry. Perhaps Packard and Chamberlain bear enough resemblance to the real Diana to bring out a working opposition to Mr. Hayes within the party lines, though this is doubtful. But whether the old superstition is still strong or not, whether the threatened revolt breaks out in June or dies muttering before the new Congress meets, Mr. Hayes cannot be justly charged with neglecting or betraying the best interests of his party. Acting upon the maxim that the best interests of the country and of the party are identical, he is doing the only thing possible to make the country forget the rapacity and folly that preceded him, and that brought the party to the dire straits which the last election disclosed. His course, too, is not only dictated by the highest expediency, but is in strict accordance with the professions of the party platform as interpreted, with the tacit approval of the party, by his letter of acceptance.

MAJORITY GOVERNMENT.

A GOOD many people who support President Hayes's policy at the South because they do not well see that any other policy is practicable are, nevertheless, troubled in mind by the departure which it seems to involve in States like South Carolina and Louisiana from the well-settled American rule that the majority shall govern and represent the state; and this is a feeling which it will not do to despise or make light of. Firm belief in the right of the majority to govern, and in its capacity for good government, may be said to form the foundation of American polity. Everything in our system rests on it. We have nothing to take its place. So that it is not unnatural nor undesirable that when people hear that the majority in South Carolina has elected Chamberlain, and that, nevertheless, through the refusal of the general Government to aid him with troops, another man, who was, perhaps, only the choice of the minority, has taken his place, they should ask themselves with more or less anxiety whether the success of Hampton was not a blow struck at popular government everywhere, and whether, in short, it was not an admission that the minority had a right to decide that the majority was unfit to govern, and whether it would be possible in practice to place bounds to the operation of this admission.

In discussing the matter we propose to put aside the President's action, as something about the propriety of which there is no question among reasonable and far-seeing men. We are dealing with a problem of practical politics, of which, taking the darkest view of it, all that can be said is that it is not provided for by the Constitution. The framers of the Constitution, as we endeavored to show two weeks ago, in regulating the relations of the Federal with the State governments, assumed the union of power and authority as necessary to constitute a government. They never dreamed of such a thing as a State government which nobody would either obey or defend. They took it for granted that a government wielding the physical force of the community would be, barring accidents and surprises, or temporary checks, the lawful government. They had never heard, nor had anybody else, of moral popular governments as distinct from physical popular governments, and therefore made no provision for them. They never armed the President with the power to set up, and keep up, exclusively moral governments, and to supply them with the physical force necessary to make themselves respected. They directed him to suppress insurrection on a proper call for aid, but did not authorize him to remain in a State indefinitely to prevent insurrection from breaking out again, much less to take entire charge of the State government after the insurrection was over. In doing what he has done, therefore, the President has acted strictly in the line of his duty, and the proper course of those who do not like what he has done is to procure an amendment to the Constitution providing that whenever it shall appear that the majority of the voters of any State are unable or unwilling to supply the necessary physical force for the execution of any of its laws, the United States shall lend them as many troops as may be sufficient for the purpose for such period as the President shall consider requisite. At present there is no constitutional provision authorizing him to carry on a State government for an indefinite period by military force. Action of that kind at the South or elsewhere is lawless, and it would be the duty of Congress, if it were persisted in, to prohibit the employment of regular troops in any such way.

Looking at the matter without reference to its bearings on the pending Southern question solely, it is obvious that it is likely to do immense good by stimulating people to a more thorough examination of the current political phraseology than they have ever made before. When a rational man finds himself staggered by the failure of the majority in South Carolina and Louisiana to provide government, he inevitably asks himself what after all is meant by "majority" in the terminology of American politics, and he sees at a glance that although it means legally and from the philanthropic view of

politics the numerical majority of voters, yet that for the practical purpose of preserving social order it means, and has always meant, a majority of taxpayers, or a majority containing a fair representation of the intelligence, sagacity, and social and political experience of the population; and that it is because it has meant this that majority government has succeeded in this country. As a matter of fact, no other kind of majority has ever ruled. The great bulk of the American people have ever since the country was settled been property-owners, taxpayers, and people of considerable intelligence and business experience; and the reason that the establishment of universal suffrage by the abolition of the property qualification came about so easily was that it made no practical change in the seat of the sovereignty. It left power just where it had always been. The additions it made to constituencies, in the shape of ignorant and penniless voters, were so trifling that they attracted no attention, and produced no change in the character either of legislation or administration. It is only now in our own day, and only in the great cities, that the possibility of the severance of political power from intelligence and property has been brought home to people as a practical question, and the results of the rule of a mere numerical majority been made visible. If this severance had existed when the Government was founded, the republican form would assuredly never have been adopted; or, had it been adopted, it could never have been maintained, and the country would long since have gone the way of the South American republics. No such men as formed the bulk of the earlier settlers would ever have attempted the foundation of a political system in which the power was to be lodged in the hands of a proletariat; and the men who formed and overthrew all restrictions on the electoral franchise in the first half of this century only did so, democratic as they were, because they saw plainly that the change would rob neither property nor intelligence of its supremacy. Should the state of things which has shown itself in some of our large cities, and in some of the Southern States, ever spread over the Union, a change in the form of the government would be inevitable and rapid. The people who own something—or, in other words, the prudent, careful, industrious, and forward-looking portion of the population—to whose keeping civilization, with all its blessings, is in every country entrusted, would make short work of all political theories and constitutional arrangements and compacts which permitted their permanent spoliation by the shiftless and ignorant, and would be hugely diverted if the shiftless and ignorant claimed the right to spoil them on the ground of numerical superiority. The Anglo-Saxon race has owed its political success to the shrewdness which has seen through all attempts to make means more important than ends, and to the indomitable courage and self-respect which have always prevented any long or complete divorce between power and authority. It has always insisted that a government, whatever its form, should take care of civilization and morality, that the ruler should at least be able to punish the thief and the murderer, and that no paper title should ever give rogues the peaceful custody of the public funds or commit the public accounts to bookkeepers who could not write or add. Burke expressed the fundamental article of its political creed when he said, at the trial of Warren Hastings, "Talk to me anywhere of power and I'll tell you of protection. Mention a magistrate and the idea follows of property." Show me any government and you are to see the proposed interest of the governed. Power constituted otherwise is a monster; it is impossible in every system where there is any notion of the justice of God or the good of mankind." Many excellent people among us see this clearly enough when they are talking of power held by single rulers or oligarchies, but they seem blind to it when talking of power held by a numerical majority of poor, ignorant negroes and their demagogues. In this case they seem to think that there is something holy and glorious in a state of things in which power has no connection with protection, and in which the idea of a magistrate has no association with the idea of property.

The state of things which arose in several of the Southern States after reconstruction was not foreseen at the North before reconstruction. It was a state of things which, if established in every State, would have brought the American republic to an end in five years. It was the state of things, but in a far more aggravated form, which is justly exciting alarm in many of our large cities. It was a state of things which, if established in Northern States and it seemed unchangeable within a reasonable period by peaceable means, every man of character and patriotism and conscience among us would feel it to be his duty to resist, and in choosing his means of resistance would be guided solely by expediency. He would resist by force if he thought peaceful remedies were hopeless and that forcible resistance would be successful; but resist he would, and he would not be dismayed by the fact that the governing class could show more noses than his class, and had a legal right to oppress him. If, for instance, Tweed and the Ring had so entrenched themselves behind an ignorant numerical majority in this State that deliverance from them by argument seemed hopeless, and the future promised nothing but the slow destruction of justice, security, and property, no good man in New York would have been deterred from an attempt at armed revolution by anything but despair of success; and this despair would surely have caused at least a general refusal to pay taxes on the part of those who had anything left to be taxed. So far, therefore, from condemning the people of South Carolina and Louisiana for their opposition to Ring rule, and their determination to overthrow it by hook or by crook, and for their persistent recusancy in the teeth of all obstacles and discouragements, we are all indebted to them for an example of faithfulness to the higher morality of politics which makes all governmental machinery the servant of civilization. Their occasional resorts to violence we do not now, and never have, defended, but the discontent of oppressed communities shows itself always in ways traced out by their manners and antecedents.

If we were asked by what marks or indications a minority among us is to tell when resistance to the majority is justifiable, we might excuse ourselves from answering by saying that the question was not a practical one. We can hardly imagine its presenting itself again in any part of the Union in our time. A wonderful change would have to take place in the moral and material condition of the country before it could arise in the field of national politics. It seems too remote in all of the Northern States to be worth serious discussion. It could never have come up in the Southern States in the natural order of things. The ignorant majority in those States did not seize on power, it was thrust upon them by the Federal Government; and the instigation and protection of the Federal Government being withdrawn, they show no disposition whatever to cling to it. But even if the question were a practical one, no answer to it could ever be framed beforehand. Resistance to the constituted authorities is something so serious, and of which the justification must always be so complex a process, that none but those who purpose themselves to enter on it as a solemn duty can decide when the time for it has come; and no man can enter on it as a solemn duty who is not well assured that the interests for the protection of which human government exists are put by the very government itself in imminent and deadly peril.

THE EASTERN QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT.

LONDON, April 7, 1877.

THE first act of a session which promised to be one of the most eventful in recent Parliamentary history is over. The curtain dropped, on Tuesday in Passion week, after an acrimonious debate upon the conduct of our late ambassador at Constantinople; and ministers and members of Parliament retired into the privacy of family life with a certain sense of humiliation such as one can imagine a corps of amateur actors might feel when they had taken infinite pains to create a sensation by their performance, and had been greeted by that cold applause which courtesy demands from friends over even a conspicuous failure. Any one looking back over the promises of the autumn and the performances of the early part of the ses-

sion could not fail to appreciate the truth of what General Ignatieff is reputed to have said regarding the attitude of the English Government and the House of Commons on the Eastern question. "The Ministerial policy," he is reputed to have said, "is a hand-to-mouth policy. The English people are incapable of forming ideas. They only look at great questions from the practical side with a view to the expediency of the moment, and their rulers sacrifice everything to the chance of catching votes in the country and securing majorities in their assembly." So many sayings are attributed to General Ignatieff that I give the above with reservation. But if he did not say it any observant member of his suite might very well have said it, and he would not have been far from the truth. Since Parliament met, the two sides have been engaged upon a series of strategic movements with the object of outwitting each other. The Opposition have whittled away a strong case against the Ministry by allowing irresponsible and irrepressible members to make fragmentary motions dealing with small or technical points of a great question, and to carry on ill-organized attacks upon the Ministry which they were afraid to press home to a division. The Ministry, on the other hand, have aimed throughout the session at taunting or alluring the Opposition into a position from which they could not retreat without coming to an issue. The one party have staked everything upon discussion without division, the other party have staked everything upon division without discussion; and the result has been that onlookers who expected something great from what my countrymen are accustomed to regard as the grandest political assembly in the world, have been compelled for eight weary weeks to watch the two parties in the state trying, night after night, to outmanoeuvre each other, in complacent insular oblivion of the fact that their performances on this, the most momentous question of our time, are being watched with pity, if not with contempt, all over Europe.

It is not easy to apportion the discredit connected with the business between the parties. In the opening night of the session, when the responsible leaders of the Opposition, Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, spoke, it appeared as if the question was to be approached with gravity. But a change came over the deliberations of the leaders, and they relapsed into silence. They had not changed their opinions, but they learned, through the ordinary channels of communication between the leaders and the rank and file, that the latter were not prepared to follow where the former would have led. A large section of the rank and file, chiefly the old school of radicals, the Cobdenites, the peace-at-any-price men, and the representatives of commercial and manufacturing and ship-building constituencies, preferred the hesitating and suspicious policy of the Ministry to the more decided though somewhat sentimental policy of their natural leaders. Hence the silence of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. The practical instincts of their party were against them, and they took the hint. But Mr. Gladstone, who has kicked over the traces of party harness, could not be repressed by anything so commonplace as practical instinct. He would not be silenced, neither could he wait. He was as irrepressible as one of the youngest and wildest of the new school of radicals, who wish to have the whole social condition of Great Britain brought into harmony with their ideas of sociology by a stroke of the pen. He tabled a resolution upon the construction of treaties, and the discussion degenerated into an unseemly personal altercation between himself and a young sporting squire, whose influence on the country outside the walls of the Jockey Club is about on a par with Mr. Gladstone's influence within that patrician association. Mr. Gladstone then wrote a pamphlet upon Turkish misrule and called it "Lessons in Massacre." That pamphlet has fallen, it is said, still-born from the press. Unmoved by these unsuccessful overtures, and still hungering for discussion upon the subject which was seething in his brain, he, it is currently reported, encouraged Mr. Fawcett to raise the matter on a more general issue, but on an occasion when the forms of the House prevented the possibility of a division. Mr. Fawcett selected a Friday night for his resolution. On that night the House of Commons resolves itself into a Committee of Supply by the Speaker formally leaving the chair. When the motion "that I do now leave the chair" is put, members are entitled to propose amendments of the most general and miscellaneous kind, embracing any matter fitted for Parliamentary discussion, and, though any reasonable number of these amendments may be debated, only one division can be taken. On the Friday night in question Sir Charles Dilke, the Radical member for Chelsea, had the first amendment on the paper, and, by arrangement, Mr. Fawcett's resolution stood second. Sir Charles Dilke's amendment related to some matter of extending the hours for polling at elections, and it was understood that the Government would oppose it, as they had consistently done so in previous years, and that a division would be taken upon it. In this

case Mr. Fawcett's resolution would come on for discussion after the division, and might be debated for any number of hours without any danger of a division. These tactics, if legitimate, were smart; but the Government were smarter. They sent a message to Sir Charles Dilke when the House met that they would accede to his wishes, and therefore no division would be taken. And thus it came to pass that Mr. Fawcett found himself landed upon the open sea of discussion in his own boat, early in the evening, with a certain division, to which the Government had summoned their adherents from all the corners of the earth, staring him in the face—the very contingency that the Opposition had struggled throughout the session to avoid. Poor Mr. Fawcett had to submit to the indignity of being thrown overboard by those leaders of his party against whose urgent wishes he had pressed his resolution, and, worse than that, to be thrown over by Mr. Gladstone, who announced that he considered the resolution inopportune, though useful as a peg on which to hang a discussion, and that he would not vote. Mr. Fawcett bore his discomfiture as well as any man could bear it. He offered to withdraw the resolution, almost entreated to be allowed to withdraw it; but the resolution on being moved becomes the property of the House, and the young Tories who had come up from their hunting-boxes and country-seats in order to divide, declined to sanction the withdrawal. They were determined to force a division, and it was only by the unexpected assistance of some Irish irreconcilables, whose policy is now obstruction, and of some of his friends below the gangway, that Mr. Fawcett succeeded in staving off the dreaded division, and getting the debate adjourned about three o'clock in the morning.

But yet another bit of whittling was performed before the Easter recess. Mr. Peter Rylands, a sort of bitter Parliamentary bar-maid waning fast into sullenness, tried to induce the House to censure the Government through Sir Henry Elliott, the late ambassador at Constantinople, and here again Mr. Gladstone's irrepressibility broke out. He made a lengthy speech, a sort of recapitulation of the chief points in his last pamphlet, but, like the pamphlet, it fell flat. It was regarded as hardly worthy either of the question or the man to attack a policy through a subordinate who did his best to carry out what he believed to be the true interest of the country. And there the matter stood when the Easter holidays began. Since then the protocol has been signed and given to the world, and every one is perplexed and is asking what is to be the upshot of this new move. People are weary of the subject, but just at this moment there is more discomfort and uncertainty about the future than there has been at any time during the last eighteen months. No one knows to what this new departure may lead. Philo-Slaves maintain that the interests of the Slavic populations have been sacrificed by the craven dread of war, and that even Russia, to whom they looked in the last resort, is precluded by the protocol from vigorous action; or, at best, that nothing short of a new massacre of the Christians will arouse Europe to suffer Russia to act. Philo-Turks, on the other hand, maintain that the English Government have sold the influence of this country to Russia; that by the protocol the treaty of 1856 is practically repealed, and that Russia once more assumes the protectorate of the Christians and regains the position which she arrogated to herself in 1854, and in defence of which she fought and lost the Crimean war. Between such contradictory views, what is an outsider to say? Perhaps what a leading divine once said upon a not dissimilar document upon matters spiritual: "That between the Scylla of affirmation and the Charybdis of negation the truth may perhaps be found in the mid-channel of no meaning at all."

ALFRED DE MUSSET.

PARIS, April 6, 1877.

ALFRED DE MUSSET is the poet of my generation, and all the men of my age feel for him a peculiar tenderness. When I was at school, Lamartine had already assumed the proportions of a classic (he wrote his first 'Méditations' in 1820). Our professors condescended to recite long passages of his finest works. Alfred de Musset was still a *romantic*, as the word was then used in contradistinction to classic; some of his early poems were almost forbidden fruit to us. No professor would have dared to make even an allusion to the "Ballade à la Lune." When I came to Paris for the first time, it was after the revolution of 1849, and I felt a natural curiosity to see the great man who had been the President of the Provisional Government; I saw him many times in his little house in the Rue de la ville l'Évêque. I could never come in contact with Alfred de Musset; he was already what you may call a worn-out man; he had exhausted himself, so to speak, in the eighteen years between 1830 and 1848. He was living the life of a misanthrope, avoiding everybody, even his oldest friends—alone

in midst of the multitude. How often did I not meet him on the Quai Voltaire, where lay his ordinary promenade, pale, with a haggard look, walking slowly and, as it were, mechanically, gazing at the green little waves of the Seine. He had been handsome, but his beauty was gone; all expression had abandoned his face; if there was one left it was the expression of an incurable melancholy, of a sadness unfathomable. He used at that time to go every day to the Théâtre Français; he took long walks under the Arcades; he stopped at the Café de la Régence, and played long games of chess with professional players, to whom he was not obliged to speak. He would often drink a mixture of brandy and beer, which must have been detestable; he drank more than was good for his delicate frame. He was shy, timid, awkward, and as soon as he was recognized he disappeared. There was something ghost-like in his appearance, in his silent demeanor, and in his sadness.

The works of Alfred de Musset have just been republished by Lemerre; and Paul de Musset, the brother of Alfred, has added a volume of biography to the collection. You must expect all biographers to show you the brightest side of their heroes; if this holds generally true, even when your biographer chooses a hero in the past ages, how much more must it be when the biography is written by a brother. You cannot, therefore, expect to find the entire Musset in this new work; but who will ever tell the whole truth about the poor poet? What use would there be in it? His faults, his sins were only fatal to him; perhaps we have profited by them; is it for us to turn now against him? If Musset had not been abandoned once by a woman to whom he had given his love, though she did not deserve it, he would probably not have written this magnificent apostrophe:

"Honte à toi, qui la première
M'as appris la trahison,
Et qui de honte et de colère,
M'as fait perdre la raison."

If Musset had not spent days and days in solitude, ashamed of his own follies, discontented with himself, angry with his own idleness, his own weakness, would he have written the "Nuit de Décembre"? If he had not gone, like the diver, into the abyss of crime, of corruption, would he have written "Rolla"? We do not excuse him, we only know that he was guilty; it is hardly for us to accuse him. We have nothing but contempt for those who lead the life which Musset has led; he had an excuse which they had not—he was a poet of genius; he made experiments upon himself, not in *animâ vili*, in *animâ nobili*. He certainly thought of himself when he wrote in one of the "Nuits," which are perhaps his finest poems, the famous comparison of the pelican. The poet is the pelican which feeds humanity with its own blood; and of no poet can the comparison be held truer than of poor Musset, always ready to tear his own flesh, to inflict wounds upon himself. Think of this double life, one objective, the other subjective: the poet looking at himself from the outside, as it were, studying on himself the effects of all the stimulants of mankind—of love, of wine, of pleasure, of remorse, also of shame. He was his own model; he looked on himself like another Narcissus. And what was the end? If Musset had not written his poems the end would simply have been what it is in a million cases—a young invalid, an exhausted frame, a diseased mind, a living cadaver. As the experimentalist had the divine gift of poetic inspiration, all these experiments, which slowly killed him, forced out of him poems which have become immortal.

There was no system in this method of Musset. When you read the biography written by Paul de Musset, you see that he was never conscious; he was always driven by some natural impulse. Fortunately, the poetic inspiration was as natural to him as the other impulses which pushed him on and along. He certainly could have made no plan for himself when he published his first volume of verses; he was only nineteen years old when he published the 'Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie.' The effect of this publication was extraordinary; everybody felt that a new poetical star was rising. Musset became at once a lion, and he was a lion without claws. I am afraid he did not spend those years of 1830 and 1831 like a philosopher; still, even at that time, he often became serious. His brother found him once with his head in his hands, and asked him what he was thinking about. "I am thinking," said he, "that I am approaching my majority. In two months I shall be twenty-one years old, and it is a great age. Do I need to see so much of men, and to make so many woman talk, in order to know mankind? Have I not seen enough, if I am capable of speaking of what I have seen? Either you have nothing in you, and then the sensations awake nothing in the mind; or you have in yourself the elements of everything, and then it is enough to see a little in order to understand all. Still I feel there is something wanting—a great love? a great pain? Perhaps both."

The pain came quick enough; his father died in a few hours during the

first invasion of the cholera. The two brothers consulted each other. Alfred wrote to Paul this curious letter :

"Without fortune there is no leisure, and without leisure no poetry. The time is past when I could live the life of a spoiled child. It is time to think and to act like a man. The idea of being a burden to the best of mothers, to hinder perhaps the establishment of a sister whom we both love, and who ought to marry in ten years—this idea revolts me against myself. No, I will not put to so severe a test the devotion of those who are dear to me. This is therefore the determination which I have taken : I will try once more and write a second volume of poetry, better, if possible, than the first. If the publication of this work does not give me the means of existence which I expect from it, I will enlist in the Chartres hussars or in the regiment where my comrade, the Prince d'Eckmühl, is already. The uniform will suit me. I am young and in good health ; I like horses, and, with protection, it will be very odd if I do not become an officer."

This was a manly resolution, but fortunately the second trial was successful ; the new volume was 'Un Spectacle dans un Fauteuil.' It was first read before a few people, and coldly received by everybody except by Mérimée ; but Sainte-Beuve praised the new volume in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and its success was immediately assured. Musset became a regular contributor to the *Revue*, and it must be said in honor of Buloz that he always stood by his young poet, though almost all the Academy and many important critics of the time attacked Musset with the greatest severity. From that time every work of Musset's appeared first in the *Revue*.

"Rolla" appeared in the number of the 15th of August, 1833. The next day Alfred de Musset went to the Opéra, and he threw his cigar away on the steps of the theatre. He saw a young man who followed him pick up this end of a cigar and carefully wrap it in a piece of paper as a relic. Musset had received many homages in his life, and of the most flattering kind ; he told his brother that nothing had ever touched him so much as the act of this unknown young man.

Alfred de Musset left for Italy with Madame Sand, much against the wish of his family. "One evening our mother was alone with her daughter, before the fire, when she was informed that a lady was waiting for her in the street, in a cab, and asked to speak with her. She went down with a servant. The unknown lady named herself (it was Madame Sand). She begged the unhappy mother to confide to her her son, saying that she would have a maternal affection for him. Promises were not enough ; she resorted to the most sacred oaths. She employed all her eloquence, and she had much of it. In a moment of emotion my mother consented to the departure of her son." It is difficult to imagine a more painful scene. Alfred had always been a Benjamin, a spoiled child. He was well punished for his tyranny over the unfortunate woman whom he had forced to give her consent to a journey she deplored. The story of his punishment will be found in the famous books 'Elle et Lui,' 'Lui et Elle.' Madame Sand always pretended to be maternal to her lovers. She had torn the young poet from his home, and she had promised to be even more tender to him than his own mother. She was in reality at that time a female Don Juan. She was making experiments, and her experiments were not of long duration. She left poor Alfred de Musset sick in his hotel at Venice, and continued without him her experiments upon the fragility of passion. The prodigal son came back in a sad state of health and in great depression of spirit.

"My sufferings," said Alfred afterwards, "were slowly calmed ; my tears were dried, my sleeplessness disappeared. I became more tranquil, and began to look on what I had abandoned. When I read the first book which fell under my hand, I perceived that everything was changed. Nothing of the past existed, or at least all was changed ; a new world showed itself to me, as if I had been born the day before. An old picture, a tragedy which I knew by heart, a song a hundred times heard, a conversation with a friend, astonished me ; I did not find in things their accustomed sense. I then understood what experience means, and I perceived that pain is the teacher of truth."

This renovation of the soul is a favorite subject of study for the theologian ; the Christian sees in it the mysterious operation of grace, the philosopher a metamorphosis—one of the phases of spiritual life analogous to the various acts of the material life of an insect ; but what a fertile field for the poet ! Before going to Italy, Musset had sent to Buloz his "Fantasio" ; he was still Fantasio himself. After his illness, his long period of depression, when his strength came back he wrote "On ne badine pas avec l'Amour," a work which has in some parts the sublimity and the depth of Shakspeare, in others the gaiety and the observation of Molière. This comedy is by far, in my opinion, the best of Musset's ; it is much superior to those which have a mere varnish of elegance, and which are a new sort of *marivaudage*, such as the famous "Caprice," or "Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée."

The most agreeable parts of Paul de Musset's book are inedited citations from the poet. Here, for instance, is a definition of the poet :

"Whoever you are you will understand me, if you have loved some-

thing—your country, a woman, a friend ; less than that, a house, a room, a bed. Let us suppose that you come back from a journey, that you enter into Paris, that you are stopped at the barrier by the *octroi*. If you are capable of an emotion, do you not feel some pleasure, some emotion, when you think that you will see that house, that room ? Does your heart beat when you turn the corner of the street, when you approach, when you arrive ? Well, this natural but vulgar pleasure, this impatience for the bed, or the table, or the house, which you feel in you and which is familiar, suppose that you feel it for all that exists, noble or ignoble, known or unknown ; suppose that your life is a continual journey, that each barrier is a frontier, each inn your house, that at each door your children are waiting, that in every house is your wife. You will perhaps think that I exaggerate ; no, so must be the poet ; so was I at twenty."

So he remained always, in a certain sense ; the curiosity of his intellect remained the same to the end ; his heart preserved a tender sensibility for a few friends, for his own family ; for after the Venice journey he ceased to spend much sensibility in forbidden love. But this impatience, this ardor which he so well describes in his definition of the poet, finally ruined his constitution. He was obliged to calm his nerves, and he was ignorant of physiology ; the remedy he employed was worse than the evil. He passed the last years of his life in a pitiable condition ; he appeared to me, when I met him, like a fallen angel ; sometimes like a whipped child. I often entered the Café de la Régence for no other reason than a desire to look at him. I never spoke a word to him. Must I regret it ? His words were probably not much ; his poems are a solace to the soul. There is something in his too short work which suits every situation of the mind ; his scale goes from the most exhilarating joy to the lowest abysses of despair.

Correspondence.

INDIANA CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : When Mr. Hayes was inaugurated, the friends of the editor of a Republican paper in this place, following the time-honored custom which was in vogue when rotation in office was the rule, began to circulate a petition for his appointment as postmaster. The man was entirely unobjectionable, and signers were secured in great numbers. Thereupon, the incumbent of the post office, who had held the position for nearly eight years, and whose commission was about to expire, set about procuring signers to a paper stating that he was an honest man and had been an efficient and impartial postmaster. Those who were trying to oust him frankly admitted the truth of this statement, and indeed there is scarcely a person to be found in the city who thinks otherwise. Almost everybody to whose notice this paper was brought signed it, and the signers certainly included a large majority of the leading men of all parties and occupations.

The two papers, with the names, were sent to Washington, and in due time the postmaster was removed and the editor appointed in his place. Now, these parties and their friends all talk in favor of civil-service reform. Is this real civil-service reform, or is there such a thing as Indiana civil-service reform, the blessings of which do not extend to other States ?

Respectfully, C. S. R.

LA PORTE, IND., April 18, 1877.

[We cannot undertake to express an opinion on this case, as there may be facts in it of which "C. S. R." is not informed. As stated by him, the decision on it appears to have been reached under the "new rule" which some of the papers announced the other day had been adopted at Washington, viz., that "a four-years' term constitutes a presumption in favor of continuing incumbents in office, while an eight-years' raises a presumption in favor of immediate removal."—ED. NATION.]

METHODS OF TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEYING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : In the report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876, Part III., page 304, Lieutenant W. L. Marshall, an officer attached to Lieutenant Wheeler's Survey, criticises the ordinary methods of topographical work as follows :

"The method of covering large areas by sketches alone from high stations, those stations made on an average of from eight to ten miles apart, is defective :

"1. Because it can only be applied in a mountainous country, where well-defined points exist, which may serve as vertices for the triangles and for commanding positions, from which the necessary sketches may be made ; at best, then, it is only applicable to limited areas.

"2. Except in very exceptional districts, not more than one-half of the

points sighted from one station can be recognized or seen from another; particularly is this true of the lower points sighted.

"3. The details are good only in the immediate neighborhood of the points occupied—i.e., in the most inaccessible and practically the least important portions of the territory to be mapped," etc., etc.

His claim is, then, that the generally received idea that a topographer requires to see the country which he is to map, is absurd. That this deduction from his criticism is a fair one will be made apparent in what follows.

I say the *ordinary* methods of topographical work, inasmuch as this method of sketching from elevated points, and correcting the sketches by locations, is used universally for general topographical work, except in the case of the merest reconnoissances. This criticism is evidently aimed directly at the work of Mr. Clarence King, Dr. Hayden, and Major Powell, but the author forgets that he includes necessarily that of the Coast Survey and of nearly all European surveys—indeed, all those making use of the plane-table, for the use of the latter involves but a slight modification of that method condemned by Lieutenant Marshall, a modification by which the sketches are corrected in the field instead of in the office.

Let us examine Lieutenant Marshall's points in detail:

1. It is true that this method cannot be used in a plain or low, rolling country. On the other hand, it is applicable not only to a mountainous country, but to all country which is at all broken—in short, wherever commanding points exist; and this includes ninety-five per cent., at least, of the country west of longitude 105 degrees.

2. The second objection suggests to a topographer that the writer's knowledge of topographical work is very slight. It is a part of the work of a topographer so to select his stations as to enable him to locate such points as he may wish. It would seem scarcely necessary to add that a topographer of any experience will recognize points which he has once sketched and sighted, whether they be high or low, near or distant.

3. The third objection appears to be based upon the writer's own experience. An experienced topographer will sketch the near and the distant parts of his field of view with equal correctness and detail. Again, undoubtedly, any one acquainted with the work will admit that all details of sufficient magnitude to be represented on a scale of four miles to an inch can be distinctly seen at a distance of six or eight miles, or with a glass at a greater distance. The mean distance between stations of Dr. Hayden's work in Colorado is seven miles. These distances, however, differ widely among themselves with the character of the country. In a country of large, bold features, which can easily be overlooked, few stations are required. On the contrary, in a country of small features, with much detail, stations are needed at shorter intervals.

This system is certainly applicable for acquiring any degree of detail desired, as the number of stations can be increased to any required extent. A topographer does not necessarily select as stations the highest and least accessible points. He is by no means confined to the crests of the ranges. His work includes the valleys as well as the mountains, and when the accuracy and detail of his work require lower stations he employs them. His one general principle is to select such points as will enable him to overlook the country to the best advantage; not necessarily to overlook the greatest extent at once, for too great a difference of elevation, which this may imply, dwarfs the details of the lower country.

Lieutenant Marshall is an advocate of the meander system, or route survey. This method has been employed by all reconnoissances in the West since the days of Lewis and Clarke. It has descended as a precious legacy to the Engineer officers of the present day, who seem very loath to part with it. By it the route travelled becomes a base-line, from which stations are located and the topography in sight is mapped. The distances along the route are usually measured with an odometer, an instrument for recording the number of revolutions of a wheel to which it is attached. Courses are measured by the compass. The line is usually checked in latitude at camps by sextant observations, and, at long intervals, in longitude by astronomical observations. Between these check-points the line and the accompanying topography are stretched or contracted to fit, like the victims of Procrustes. These check-points, where fixed by astronomical means, are at best but rough locations. They may be from half a mile to several miles out of position, and this involves the topographical work in still greater error.

The stations, being on the trail or road traversed, are, generally speaking, in the lowest parts of the country, in the valleys or cañons, or, where the road crosses mountain ranges, in the lowest gaps, and not on the peaks. Now, to map a country at all it must first be seen. This is as essential as the catching of the rabbit in the old recipe for making a rabbit-pie; and, to make the best map of it, one must see it from the points most favorable

for the purpose. But the opportunities afforded by the meander system are the very poorest that could be devised.

Lieutenant Marshall's chief difficulty (and he is not the only one who labors under it) seems to lie in the fact that he considers the word topography as synonymous with drainage. In this understanding of the word orographic forms seem not to be included. But they form a very important part of topography, and no map can be complete without representing them properly. Drainage may be picked up, in a manner, by a *complete* meander of the water-courses—a work which, by the way, would be extremely slow and expensive—but the orographic forms can be studied only from above, and not by any possibility from below.

One would naturally expect to find all maps made by the meander system faulty in respect to orographic forms, faulty in the intervals between lines of meander, and the whole work more or less out of position. That this is the case an examination of any such map will show. N. N.

April 10, 1876.

Notes.

A SUMMER School of Science will open, or rather reopen, at Bowdoin College, July 16, for teachers, college graduates, and others, of both sexes, who desire to pursue the study of chemistry, mineralogy, and zoölogy. The course will occupy six weeks.—R. Worthington announces 'Ocean to Ocean,' by the Rev. George M. Grant, secretary to Mr. Sanford Fleming, C.E., in his expedition across Canada in 1872. A map will accompany the volume.—Henry Holt & Co. have nearly ready Dr. Lewis H. Morgan's 'Ancient Society,' and an essay on Christianity, by Moncure D. Conway, entitled 'Idols and Ideals,'—G. P. Putnam's Sons' spring announcements include 'A History of Protection in the United States,' by Prof. W. G. Sumner; 'Letters of Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen,' edited by William Hanna, D.D.; and 'Church Papers,' written from Geneva by the Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. They have in preparation a series of sermons, by representative Protestant preachers, under the general style of 'Pulpit Teachings on Great Subjects.' These will be published separately in pamphlet form, and the first twelve will be bound in one volume, called 'Witnesses of Christ.'—A second volume of addresses, lectures, and sermons, by the late Dr. Muhlenberg, compiled by Anne Ayres, is in the press of T. Whittaker.—Porter & Coates have in press the 'Recollections of Samuel Breck,' a Philadelphia merchant, born like Franklin in Boston, who died in 1862 at the age of ninety-one. A glimpse at the contents of this volume, including its autographic illustrations, is given by Mr. Horace E. Scudder in *Harper's* for May.—'Brief Honors: a Romance of the Great Dividable,' will be published next month by Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago.—Still another German periodical of high rank is announced, this time by Carl Habel, Berlin: the *Deutsche Revue*, whose scope is all that pertains to the current life of the nation (*das gesammte nationale Leben der Gegenwart*). The *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Saturday Review* are cited in the prospectus as models which will in many respects be surpassed by the new quarterly; and literature, science, and art sum up the departments, to which only "Autoritäten" will contribute.

—The *Globe Encyclopædia*, of which Estes & Lauriat, Boston, are the American publishers, reaches in Part 13 the word Douglas. It belongs to the class in which the subdivision of topics likens it as closely as possible to the common dictionary. Its range can best be stated by citing the topics of a few pages, taken at random—e.g. pp. 444, 445, Book, Bookbinding, Book-Club, Bookkeeping, Books of Adjournal, Books of Sederunt, Book Scorpion, Bookstalls; p. 467, Boussole Strait, Boustrophedon, Bouterwek, Bouts rimés, Bouvardia, Bouvet, Bovey Coal (Devonshire), Bovidæ, Bovino, Bow (of a ship), Bow and Arrow, Bowditch (Nathaniel), Bowdich, Bower (private chamber), etc. The scientific fulness is better indicated by p. 312, Cyanogen, Cyanosis, Cyanotype, Cyanuric Acid, Cyathea, Cybele (trilobite), Cybele (goddess), Cycadaceæ, Cychla, Cyclades, Cyclamen, Cycle, Cyclobranchiata, Cycloid, Cycloid Fishes and Scales, Cyclopean Architecture. The biographical portion seems fairly well executed, and the errors of fact and date here and there discoverable are perhaps not more numerous than omniscience generally is guilty of. Bismarck was born April 1, 1815, not "1814," and all will not agree that there is "little doubt that he deliberately forced war" upon France. Diebitsch, an historic character worth remembering just now, is omitted. American biography is liberally dealt with, and evidently (as may be seen in the case of Bryant) by a British hand. It is fresh, too, for we are told of Elihu Burritt that he is "at present (1875) residing in New Britain and teaching Sanskrit to ladies;" and Mr. R.

H. Dana, jr.'s, rejection last year by the Senate, as minister to England, is recorded. The war of 1812 becomes that of "1810" under Calhoun, where we also find the loose and obscure statement that "The National Bank (Union), the Tariff of 1816, and the reorganization of the War Department under Monroe's Presidency, were some of his achievements." A few inaccurate dates strike us under Bowditch, whose 'Practical Navigator' appeared in 1800, not "1802"; under Burr, who killed Hamilton July 12, not "July 11," 1804; under Buchanan, commissioned minister to Russia in 1832, not in "1831"; under Dana (J. D.), whose 'Geology of the Pacific' appeared in 1849, not in "1846." But then, if anything depends on strict accuracy, what encyclopædia commands such confidence that we do not need to check it by other authorities? (not encyclopædias if possible). On the whole, the present work seems to recommend itself of its kind, as a popular supplement to Webster or Worcester. Let us notice, in passing, the remark, under Constantinople, that the lofty gate of the Seraglio was the origin of the phrase Sublime Porte, "all political and diplomatic business being supposed to be transacted under it." The supposition is, however, based on an Oriental reality. Pouqueville, in his 'Régénération de la Grèce,' says of this phrase:

"The city gate was the place at which all business was transacted in the time of the patriarchs. Among the Greeks and Romans, affairs were discussed in the market, called *agora* and *forum*. Among our ancestors, the vassals of every lord used to meet in the court of his castle, whence came the *courts* of princes. In the East, as sovereigns and lords live shut up, business is done at the gate of their seraglio; and this custom of holding the court at the palace gate existed in the time of the ancient kings of Persia, as is seen in several passages of the Book of Esther."

—Prof. J. D. Whitney's article on Geographical Surveys, in the *North American Review* for July, 1875, which, though otherwise able, was marred by a tendency to see, in what has been done in this country, only that which is imperfect and faulty, and by the exhibition of what might almost be characterized as a feeling of personal hostility toward the Engineer Department of the Army, is answered by Gen. G. K. Warren in a short paper, originally intended for publication in the *Review*, but which, for reasons stated in the preface, has been only recently published, in pamphlet form, for private circulation. Gen. Warren is one of the ablest officers of the Engineer Corps—the one, perhaps, who has done more than any other for the advancement of our geographical knowledge of the West, and who is the author of the standard map of the Engineer Department known as the Warren map. When, therefore, he takes up the cudgels in defence of his corps he speaks *ex cathedra*, and his answers to Prof. Whitney's aspersions upon Government surveys seem, while free from captiousness and personality, strong and satisfactory, and tend to relieve the mind of those who, after having read the latter's article, may have felt despondent as to our country's geographical future. He makes an especial point of Prof. Whitney's statement that "not one foot of the ground explored by these [Government] parties for a transcontinental railroad is passed over by the line, as it has actually been built, excepting the valley of the Humboldt River," and shows, in answer thereto, that out of 1776 miles of this line only 200 were not so far examined as to be reported practicable, while in so doing he gives a most interesting and concise history of the various explorations and surveys that were made prior to the building of the Pacific Railroad. When we consider the grade of scientific instruction imparted at West Point, it is not to be wondered at if engineer officers, when engaged upon a work which required special training, have been at times obliged to have recourse to civilian aid, and if sometimes, by want of sufficient acknowledgment of that aid, the light by which they shine may be reflected rather than real. But if they keep clear of political entanglements, and select their chiefs according to the high standard which such men as Humphreys, Warren, and others offer, we need never be ashamed of the Engineer Corps or its work.

—Messrs. Cottier & Co. have recently arranged at their establishment in Fifth Avenue a collection of pictures, mostly imported, which promises to be the nucleus of an important art-exchange. The selection contains representatives of a school for which there has been little taste and no sale in this country—the British; it will be a novelty if Messrs. Cottier can persuade these Northern exotics to take root in our galleries, hitherto furnished in a pseudo-Parisian taste. An excellent picture by Orchardson, and a fine old Constable in admirable condition, with other British works of merit, are in the collection. American promise is shown in the boldly decorative flower-pictures of Mrs. Whitman, a pupil of William Hunt, and in the color-studies of Mr. Rider. Two French paintings of the highest excellence have hitherto formed a part of the collection, but if not almost immediately sold will return to Europe; it would be a pity if after thus becoming familiar to our collectors they should not remain in some

American gallery. One is the great Demidoff Corot, representing Orpheus; against a beautiful dawn, imprinted with high tremulous trees, is seen the figure of the lyrist seeking the distant tomb of Eurydice. The other is a large landscape by Daubigny, six feet across, No. 627 in the salon of 1869, "Une Mare dans le Morvan." Its study of different qualities of green is most harmonious and able, and the cumulus clouds are richly impasted in the best traditions of Constable and Troyon. Two finer landscapes than these have seldom been exhibited.—R. Berendsohn has published an etching by Mr. Barry, entirely inadequate to the original of Gabriel Max's impressive painting of "The Anatomist," exhibited at the Centennial. The shadings are without gradation, and the butterfly, resting beside the corpse of the fair girl, has become in the print a mere formless blotch.—The *Portfolio* for April (J. W. Bouton) continues Professor Colvin's most instructive article on Dürer, by tracing in detail his obligations to Mantegna, who culminated some forty years before himself, and whose figures he borrowed in several instances here particularized. An etching by Léopold Fleming, most richly colored, after one of Reynolds's many portraits of Lavinia Bingham, leads the number, which also has two admirable heliographs by Durand, from Mantegna and Dürer respectively.—Mr. Bouton likewise represents in this country a new work on costume, most expensive to the publishers and cheap to the subscribers. This is 'Le Costume Historique,' published by Firmin-Didot Brothers, with exquisite chromolithographs printed by themselves, and text by Racinet, author of 'L'Ornement Polychrome.' The publication is in parts, issued every sixty days, and complete with the twentieth number. Parts I. and II., with twenty five pictures in each, are ready; we have minutely examined them and find them worthy of great praise, both for general excellences of execution and for the recondite and curious sources drawn upon—the latter characteristic making the collector master of a great many pictorial facts and illustrations whose original sources are hard even to see and impossible to become possessed of. The plates begin as nearly as possible at the time when the "history of costume" was supererogatory from lack of material; and from the nudity of Egyptian slaves proceeds through Assyria, Persia, Greece, Etruria, etc., to recent times. Numerous rarities in the way of paintings, reliefs, miniatures, etc., are drawn upon, and copied with minute elegance.

—The annual reception of the Brooklyn Art Association was held on Monday evening, when five hundred works were exhibited. Mr. Bridgman sent a large and excellent picture of "Prayer in a Mosque," where the types—an almost nude penitent, bowing his forehead to the floor in a way to show the tension on a lean and muscular back; negroes in curious blond wigs, their bare bodies hung with phylacteries; Arabs with their weapons carefully taken off and placed on the ground before them, etc.—were curious and well rendered. The other picture—"An Egyptian Girl"—represented, on a small scale, a Pharaonic housewife or princess, sewing at the royal robes with the grace and simplicity of a Nausicaa, her large work-box of painted wood by her side and a gazelle crouched at her bare feet. Mr. Blashfield, one of our most creditable representatives at Paris, had on view "Waiting for the Stage-Call," a ballet-dancer nursing her little boy behind the scenes, and knitting small stockings for him at some inconvenience, as her fine muscular arms passed around the urchin's body and met in front for the labor. J. M. Hart's "Lake Placid" showed a good twilight effect, with wild deer startled at moonrise as they met beside the brink, and the after-glow of sunset caught upon a long-extended cloud like carded wool. Mr. McEntee contributed "October Snow," with a muffled glimmer of autumn leaves veiled with snow-flakes. Mr. Boughton's "Falling Leaves" resembles his large painting in the Corcoran Gallery, being a park scene with diminutive promenaders, this time a lady and girl in costumes of the Regency. Among the show pictures borrowed to give effect to the entertainment were Méréchal's great pastel of "Columbus in Chains," and W. F. Matthew's portrait of Lincoln, belonging to the State of South Carolina. A small room was filled with water-colors, including a good landscape by Bellows, and the Packer Institute contributed academic studies of discouraging puerility.

—A correspondent in London, under date of April 11, writes: "Ever since the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge complimented Miss Elizabeth Thompson at the Royal Academy dinner of 1874—the year of her clever picture of the 'Roll-Call in the Crimea'—this young lady has enjoyed the highest popularity. The picture in question has just been placed on exhibition in Bond Street, accompanied by its two successors, 'Quatre-Bras' and 'Balacava,' and, having seen neither of the three works before, I was anxious to examine the foundations of so great a fame. Without confessing to the 'iniquitous prejudice' against Miss Thompson to which Mr. Ruskin pleads guilty, I must admit that I half expected the 'endorsement' of two Royal Highnesses to have won a large part of the battle. But the

three pictures are more interesting than I was prepared to find them, and may serve as another proof that there is no smoke without fire. They are indeed a particularly interesting illustration of the English taste in art, and if M. Taine, who has had much to say on this point, has not seen them, he ought to come over and do so without delay, for they would furnish him an invaluable arrow for his quiver. They are English to the grain of the canvas—equally English in their merits and their defects. It is probable that if painted in France they would not have had the smallest success in that country; that the vulgarity of the execution would have seemed to French spectators to be in excess of the ‘anecdotal’ vivacity. But Miss Thompson’s work is on the whole good enough, I think, to warrant one in saying that if it could not succeed in France so much the worse for the French. This, however, is rather idle talk, for neither the ‘Roll-Call’ nor ‘Quatre-Bras,’ just as they are, could possibly have proceeded from a Paris atelier. They would have had inevitably much more *chic* of execution and much less real sincerity of spirit. This latter is their great quality, and they possess it to a remarkable—an almost touching—degree. The ‘Roll-Call’ represents a company of the Grenadier Guards, drawn up in the early morning on the Crimean snows, while a sergeant registers the vacancies in his note-book, and the colonel rides slowly by and looks at the thinned ranks with a drooping head. The entertainment of the picture is in the attitudes of the men, each of which is made to tell one of those ‘stories’ which the English art-patron is supposed to insist upon. The story is in each case very well told—very dramatically and yet very simply; the men are all excellent studies of the stalwart British soldier. Miss Thompson evidently knows her model, and there is nothing of feminine weakness or vagueness in her treatment of him, at the same time that there is much feminine subtlety. The men are all in their gray overcoats and (save where their bandaged heads prevent it) their bearskins; the sky is gray and low, and there is little color in the picture except the two or three patches of visible red in the sergeant’s and the colonel’s uniforms. Yet, in spite of this, the painter has skilfully avoided monotony, and arranged her gradations of tone with something nearer an approach to strictly pictorial felicity than we find in the other pictures. The ‘Roll-Call’ is, I think, the best of the three. ‘Quatre-Bras’ is even more ‘anecdotal’—it is full of spirit and keenness of intention, but the want of intrinsic charm in the painting, its thinness, garishness, and mere surface-look cut down the claims of the picture rather seriously. It is true that Mr. Ruskin praised it in his ‘Notes’ on the Royal Academy for the reverse of these things; but Mr. Ruskin’s praise is sometimes as erratic as his blame. The canvas represents one of the hundred episodes of the field of Waterloo—a portion of an English regiment of the line formed into a square in a trampled wheat-field, in the strong hot light of a June day, and being played upon by the French artillery and charged by cuirassiers and lancers. The best thing is the figure of a great French dragoon on the right, who has been brought down with his horse, and whose crash and confusion we seem to hear and feel. ‘Amazon’s work’ Mr. Ruskin calls this, and the phrase happily describes the boldness and intelligence with which Miss Thompson has rendered a movement she never can have seen. The red-coats, as they face us, are kneeling on the ground, taking the fire as best they can, and waiting to give back what they can with their fixed bayonets. M. Taine would probably find in the faces of the men an immense deal of the ‘psychological truth’ for which, in the absence of plastic qualities, he praises English art. One of the lads has burst out laughing at the sight of some down-toppling lancer who is out of our vision, and his comrade behind him is taking up his laugh with a quieter, more cautious smile, which is very handsomely rendered. It is to the frankness and vigor with which Miss Thompson manages such touches as these that she probably owes much of her success. The ‘Balaclava’ seems to me the weakest of the three works, though the subject is cleverly chosen—representing as it does the remnant of the famous six hundred struggling back, shattered and dying, unhorsed riders and riderless horses, to the hill-crest from which they made their charge. Miss Thompson’s coloring strikes me as disagreeable and her manipulation as rather primitive; but her work is full of intelligence and of a certain vivacity of feeling which, in a day when so many of the ingredients of painting have turned stale, ought to be very welcome.”

—A brief history of the Turks (‘Die Türken: kurzer Abriss ihrer Geschichte’), by Dr. Johannes Blochwitz, has just been published by Carl Habel in Berlin. In the space of 124 pages, 12mo, the growth of the Ottoman Empire is traced from its rise among the Altai Mts. to the proclamation of a new Constitution and the failure of the Conference—in other words, to the eve of the present war between Turkey and Russia. The narrative is very clear and orderly, and wholly popular. Nothing like this sketch is to be found in German, the publisher

states, and we certainly know of nothing like it in English apart from the encyclopædias. There are many reasons why an American should be interested in reading it, without reference to what the French would call its “actuality.” The reasons given on pp. 52, 53 for the decline of the empire under Soliman the Magnificent, beginning with the debasement of the civil service through appointments by favor instead of according to merit and experience, and ending with the debasement of the currency to meet the ever-increasing extravagance of the administration, suggest an instructive parallel between Turkey and the United States—a parallel, for the rest, which we have often had occasion to draw for our readers. Dr. Blochwitz has endeavored to write without animus; if he shows any it is rather against the French than against the Russians, though in their dealings with the Grand Turk all the Powers have by turns afforded opportunity for satire. He also indulges sparingly in reflections and comment. An appendix explains the meaning of the Turkish words which have obtained circulation abroad, such as firman, hat, imam, rayah, sandshak, etc. The dates on p. 26 are the most glaring signs of the haste with which this brochure was put through the press. From the same house we have ‘Turkische Skizzen,’ a series of letters by “Charikles,” who is described as combining in his person Western culture with the most intimate knowledge of the East. They describe, for the benefit of a female friend, his voyage from Vienna to Rustshuk, the trip thence by rail to Varna, and the further voyage to Constantinople. He professes to have started out last May, on hearing of the dethronement of Abdul-Aziz; and this Sultan’s death and the dethronement of his successor occur while “Charikles” is at the Golden Horn. These sketches have a literary rather than a political flavor, and though they are thought worthy of a place in the *Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen* series, we cannot say that they shed much light upon the Eastern Question.

—Amid the many volumes of criticism or comment on the life and works of Molière with which the French press teems of late, it is pleasant to be able to note a book which shows that the memory of his great predecessor is not in danger of being forgotten. In ‘Corneille Inconnu’ (New York: F. W. Christern) M. Jules Levallois, a townsman of the Norman poet, raises the standard of revolt against the commonplace repetition in anthologies and dictionaries of literature of the same extracts and quotations from the great works of literature. He shows that by deserting the beaten path, and exploring the less known of Corneille’s productions, we shall find beauties only second to those of his two or three great masterpieces. It is to the unknown—or rather the neglected—plays of Corneille that he draws our attention, and while he amply succeeds in his main object, he is especially interesting in the incidental corrections of those who have dared to malign Corneille. He is particularly severe upon the misstatements and inaccuracies of Voltaire, who, for instance, did not scruple to say that the last twelve plays of the poet were hissed, whereas it is a fact that few of his pieces had a greater contemporary success than some of these twelve. Voltaire could hardly be other than distasteful to so ardent an admirer of Corneille as M. Levallois, who finds in the “Cid” the first French tragedy, in the “Menteur” the first comedy, in “Andromède” the first opera, in the “Toison d’Or” the first *féerie*, and in “Don Sanche d’Aragon” the first romantic drama. M. Levallois points out also Molière’s indebtedness to Corneille, who was his precursor in the writing of simple and dignified French, and his preceptor in the composition of comedy; while he at the same time explodes another of the many legends which cluster around Molière. It has hitherto been believed that Molière declared to Boileau his obligation to Corneille, and especially to the “Menteur,” without which he might perhaps have written comedies of intrigue like the “Etourdi” and the “Dépit Amoureux,” but perhaps would never have composed the “Misanthrope.” For this anecdote there seems to be no foundation whatever.

—It was Mr. Kirk, in his ‘History of Charles the Bold,’ who first made the English public aware that there were two sides to the question as to the war with the Swiss in which his hero lost his life. The American historian, indeed, goes to the extreme of anti-Swiss feeling in pronouncing that people “the strong, intelligent, hired bravos of a foreign potentate”; the final result will probably be a view midway between this and the old blind admiration. Dr. Dändliker, of Zurich, has recently discussed the question in a brief treatise, entitled ‘Ursachen und Vorspiel der Burgunderkriege,’ and M. Vaucher has given a summary and criticism of his argument in the last (March) number of the *Revue Historique*. Dr. Dändliker, of course, admits the share taken by Louis XI. in bringing the Swiss into collision with the Duke of Burgundy; but he insists upon it that this collision was by no means a gratuitous and mercenary thing on the part of the Swiss—that events were drifting that way even before any action on Louis’s part.

Charles, he says, was no friend to the Swiss, was guilty of bad faith, and, in particular, his governor, Hagenbach, pursued a harsh and aggressive policy toward them. His conclusion, therefore—in which, by the way, M. Vaucher does not fully agree with him—is that, whatever the influence of Louis in the matter, and whatever the reluctance of Charles to get involved in hostilities with the Swiss, the war was nevertheless a natural and justifiable one.

IVAN TURGENEV'S NEW NOVEL.*

THERE are only two living novelists the appearance of whose new productions constitutes anything that can be called a literary event. If one of these writers is that blessing of reviewers the author of 'Daniel Deronda,' the other is certainly the distinguished Russian whose name we have inscribed at the head of these remarks, and who has now for some time been recognized, even among those people who are condemned to know him only in imperfect translations, as one of the profoundest of observers and one of the most fascinating of story-tellers. It had been known for some months past that Ivan Turgenev was engaged upon a new novel, which was to be in plan and purpose one of the most considerable of his productions, and the impatience of his admirers was increased by the fact that—Russian scholars being few—the book would be for some time before the world and yet be inaccessible. 'Nov' appeared in Russia during the first weeks of the present year; but it has been translated into French with commendable promptitude—with what degree of accuracy we are unable to say, though we may suppose that as the translation was made under the eyes of the author it is fairly satisfactory. This is a very good moment for a Russian novel to appear—at least out of Russia. As a *pièce de circonstance* we can imagine nothing except a Turkish novel which would be more opportune. We believe that in M. Turgenev's own country the prospective clash of arms has to a certain extent deadened the public ear to the voice of the artist; but among ourselves, disinterested yet observant spectators of what is going on in the East, we imagine the author will find the attention he commands has rather been quickened by circumstances. The designs, ambitions, prospects, and characteristics of Russia form a great spectacle, in which M. Turgenev's literary activity has its place. This is all the more the case that the subject of his new novel connects the work with an element in the spectacle which we hear a great deal about, and which is, perhaps, especially what appeals to our curiosity. The outside world knows in a vague way of the existence of certain "secret societies" in Russia, and of the belief entertained by some people that their revolutionary agitation forms a sufficient embarrassment at home to keep the Government of the Czar from extending his conquests abroad. Of one of these secret societies M. Turgenev has given a picture, though it must be said that the particular association he describes hardly appears to be of a nature seriously to alarm the powers of order. Whether it is because it is a characteristic of his genius to throw a sort of ironical light over all things—even to some extent over the things that have his deepest sympathy; to see with peculiar vividness the side on which human effort is comical, and helpless, and ineffectual; or whether it is that revolutionary propagandism in Russia is really too crude, and youthful, and vague to be, as the phrase is, counted with; certain it is, the impression left by Neshdanoff and Markeloff, by Ostrodumoff and Mashurina, even by Marianne and Solomin, is not so much of a sinister as a touching and melancholy, or even of a softly-exhilarating cast. Ivan Turgenev always shows his superiority in the choice of his subjects; his themes are never conventional and stale; he is certain to select a *donnée* which means and reveals something. He has shown this admirable instinct here—shown it much more strongly than by producing, as the mention of his subject may have suggested, a story of mysteries and surprises, excitements and escapes. He has approached his ground on the moral and psychological side, and made, as is usual with him, a profound study of character. The vulgar capacities of the theme have not been taken advantage of, but the finer ones have been handled in a masterly manner. The author's wisdom is shown in his deep perception of the fact that the clandestine movement of which he gives a sketch is particularly fertile in revelations of character—that it contains inevitably the seeds of an interesting psychological drama. The opposition of different natures convoked together by a common ideal—this ideal being one which appeals with peculiar force to youthful generosity, accompanied by a due share of that "little knowledge" which is a dangerous thing; such, roughly speaking, is the subject of 'Terres Vierges.'

The story is a picture of a certain portion of the "young generation"

in Russia, the generation of which we had a glimpse in 'Fathers and Sons,' and of which the "nihilist" Bazaroff was so robust an exponent—the young people of liberal instincts who find no legitimate channel of expression, and who expend their ardor in aimless machinations, compounded in equal parts of puerility and heroism. The central figure in the present tale is a young man named Neshdanoff, selected, like most of the author's central figures, on account of his being a particularly good subject for irony. Ivan Turgenev's heroes are never heroes in the literal sense of the word, rather quite the reverse; their function is to be conspicuous as failures, interesting but impotent persons who are losers at the game of life. The utmost that the heroic can hope for is to be obscurely embodied in some secondary figure whose quiet robustness helps to satirize its companions. Upon M. Turgenev's predilection for failures, losers at the game, his acute observation and extensive knowledge of them, there would be a great deal to say; in the eyes of foreign readers he has almost made them the Russian type *par excellence*. We suspect that if they are not this, they are at least, in Russia, a very characteristic class of persons; though whether such persons are always as interesting as the art of Ivan Turgenev renders them is possibly doubtful. Their interest, in his hands, comes in a great measure from the fact that they are exquisitely conscious of their shortcomings, thanks to the fine and subtle intelligence, that "subjective" tendency, with which he represents all Russians who are not positive fools and grotesques as being endowed. His central figure is usually a person in a false position, generally not of his own making, which, according to the peculiar perversity of fate, is only aggravated by his effort to right himself. Such eminently is the case with young Neshdanoff, who is the natural son of a nobleman, not recognized by his father's family, and who, drifting through irritation and smothered rage and vague aspiration into the stream of occult radicalism, finds himself fatally fastidious and sceptical and "aesthetic"—more essentially an aristocrat, in a word, than any of the aristocrats he has agreed to conspire against. He has not the gift of faith, and he is most uncomfortably at odds with his companions, who have it in a high degree—these types of "faith" which surround Neshdanoff being most vividly portrayed. He accepts a place as resident tutor in the house of a certain Sipiagin, a liberal of the discreet and official sort, whose ideal of conduct, costume, and manner is the English country gentleman of large fortune, Parliamentary training, and "progressive" tendencies. One of the features of the story is the contrast between the passionate fermentation of the four young revolutionists and the urbane and patronizing sympathy with progress of this happy proprietor, whose liberalism is hardly more than an affair of the toilet. In his house lives his niece, Marianne Sinetzkaïa, who forms, with Neshdanoff, the connecting link between genteel society and the little group of propagandists. Turgenev's young girls are always remarkable creations, and this striking figure of the young lady by birth, who is an ardent democrat by temperament and aspiration, is perhaps the great success of 'Terres Vierges.' Like all Turgenev's heroines, Marianne is both very original and very real; never was there less of a portrait in pastel. She crops her hair short and keeps her own counsel; very soon, of course, living under the same roof with Neshdanoff, the preceptor of her little cousin, she discovers his propagandist affiliations and falls more or less in love with him. We say "of course"; but, in fact, in Turgenev's novels events never take the conventional and expected course; there is always some deeper complexity—some closer "twist." Marianne and Neshdanoff exchange ideas and expressions of sympathy, admire each other greatly, become very intimate, and have secret nocturnal interviews. At last they agree to leave the house together and throw themselves into the revolutionary movement, and they wander forth like brother and sister, hand in hand, like the Babes in the Wood, and take up their abode with a certain Solomin, a radical of the sturdy and practical type, who can bide his time. (This Solomin is an admirable portrait.) There is something very beautiful and very characteristic of Turgenev in the idea of the mutual purity of these two young people. They have started on a wild-goose chase, and would be quite at a loss to say what they propose to do, and how they propose to do it; but the delicacy of their enthusiasm is such that they do not even desire to possess each other, and in their moments of tenderest *épanchement* they only shake hands affectionately, like plighted comrades.

There is another young man, Markeloff by name, a character directly opposed to Neshdanoff—a revolutionist whose perceptions are narrow and whose faith is absolute, so that his attitude towards constituted powers and beliefs is very much that of a projectile emitted from a cannon-mouth. In his dogged, dusky, unlovely, but unshrinking and fatally consistent figure there is a certain tragic impressiveness. He has but one touch of inconsistency—he is in love with Marianne, and

* 'Terres Vierges. Par Ivan Tourguéneff. Traduit par E. Dorand-Gréville.' Paris. 1877. New York: F. W. Christern.

he therefore finds himself for a moment in apparent rivalry with the younger, handsomer, more agreeable Neshdanoff. The finest scene in the book is that in which his jealousy of Neshdanoff, who is engaged with him in a common and sacred cause, breaks out in the course of a jolting drive which they take together at night. One has, of course, read Turgenev to little purpose if one has not observed that the Russian character, as he portrays it, differs strikingly at a dozen points from that of other peoples with which we are more familiar; but we remember no incident in all his novels that more forcibly illustrates this difference. Markelloff, in his wrath, suddenly reminds Neshdanoff of his irregular birth, and declares that his gaining Marianne's favor is nothing, after all, but the "usual good luck of the d—d race of bastards!" This affront is mortal, and is felt in the keenest manner by Neshdanoff, who declares that it can only be washed out in blood, and prepares immediately to part company with his companion. But the latter has hardly uttered the words before he repents of them; he entreats his rival to remain, and offers to go down on his knees and beg his pardon. This is a most extraordinary scene, and it is evident that the author feels it to be such. Neshdanoff shakes hands with his insulter, and the author explains that before three minutes were over the two were addressing each other with *thee* and *thou*, as if nothing had happened; all of which seems to prove that Russians have not the idea of "honor" as strongly developed as some other races, though in that very phase of their character upon which this episode throws light there is something very interesting, spontaneous, and human.

We will not spoil the reader's entertainment by disclosing the solution of poor Neshdanoff's difficulties further than to say that it is a solution to which Ivan Turgenev's heroes have more than once resorted. Of course, his career receives the final tragic stamp; the "æsthetic" young man, venturing to play with revolution, finds it a coarse, ugly, vulgar, and moreover very cruel thing; the reality makes him deadly sick. Very happily invented is the incident which completes his disillusionment—his being brought home dead-drunk from a propagandist excursion among the peasantry, who have insisted on his proving himself a good fellow by swallowing long draughts of their pestilent brandy. Marianne, who is not æsthetic nor addicted to hair-splitting, loses no illusions and we feel that she never will. The author leaves her with the excellent Solomin, in whom she finds her proper counterpart as a type of one of the latent forces of the future, in a country in which these will probably let themselves loose on a great scale. Marianne, as we said, is very real so far as she goes; but we confess that we find her the least agreeable of Ivan Turgenev's young girls; and this, we think, contrary to the author's intention. She lacks sweetness and softness; she is somewhat too acrimonious, too pert, in her dealings with Mme. Sipiagin, her highly uncongenial aunt. The book contains a great number of other figures, which we have not left ourselves space to pick out for especial commendation. Particularly good is the female devotee of the "common cause," Mashurina, who is big, ugly, and awkward, but profoundly pure and sincere. She has taken her diploma in obstetrics, and she is privately in love with Neshdanoff, who never knows it and would be horrified if he were to do so; she is one of those intensely individual figures which form Turgenev's great strength. We must also pass over Mme. Sipiagin, the lady remarkable for her resemblance to Raphael's Dresden Madonna, who represents the feminine side of cultivated liberalism—represents it in a manner to make the reader shudder. We have seen the episode of Zimushka and Zomushka, the grotesque old couple living among their rococo coffee-cups and snuff-boxes, condemned as a *hors d'œuvre*—an excrescence; but this strikes us as an inattentive judgment. The picture of their ancient superstitions, their quaintness, and mellowness and serenity, is intended as a dramatic offset to the crude and acrid unrest of the young radicals who come to see them; it has a "value," as the painters say. It is, moreover, very charming in itself. Subtle intentions are far from wanting in 'Terres Vierges'; there are always more of these in Ivan Turgenev than even the acutest critic can gather together the threads of. In the present work they all throw into relief the author's great quality—the union of the deepest reality of substance, of *fonds*, as the French say, with the most imaginative, most poetic, touches.

M. CERNUSCHI AND THE SILVER COMMISSION.*

THIS volume embraces the testimony given by M. Cernuschi before the United States Silver Commission, together with sundry short essays which have been heretofore published in other places and in different languages; and in our view is the clearest and most satisfactory of all his works. In the presence of interlocutors and a short-hand writer there is

little room for the play of fancy. Accordingly we miss the imagery which is to be found in most of the author's writings, and which, to Anglo-Saxon conceptions, is ill-suited to the stern requirements of the science of Money. The extensive knowledge of facts bearing upon the silver question, and the clear understanding of principles, possessed by M. Cernuschi, are here shown to the best advantage, and it is not too much to say that the abundant literature of the period has given us nothing comparable to these pages in the way of practical popular instruction on the subject treated. Nobody else, perhaps, could tell us so well what ideas are harbored, though unexpressed, among the financiers and governors of the old world in reference to the crisis in silver, or what are the real springs of action of such potent institutions as the Bank of France—knowledge of which is of prime importance to guide us in taking any steps whatever in monetary legislation.

Before the publication of M. Cernuschi's evidence, a substantial accord had been reached, among persons qualified to discuss the question at all, upon one or two essential points—viz., that it would not be wise for this country to attempt the remonetization of silver without the concurrent action of some considerable part of the commercial world, and that it would be impracticable for us to remonetize it on a different basis (as regards its legal relation to gold) from that adopted or to be adopted elsewhere. Upon those points bi-metallists and gold mono-metallists were agreed, however widely they may have differed from politicians and from the advocates of the "dollar of our fathers" in or out of Congress. Upon both these points M. Cernuschi is emphatic, as will be shown further on; and the testimony of so eminent a defender of silver ought to have weight with the country at large.

M. Cernuschi's first contribution to the collections of the Silver Commission is a definition of money. "Money," he says, "is a value created by law, to be a scale of valuation and a valid tender for payments." This proved to be confusing to Mr. Willard, of Michigan, who, by the way, appears to be rather a seeker after truth than a plaintiff's attorney in the premises. After a number of questions propounded by Mr. Willard, converging to the point, Whence comes the value of money? M. Cernuschi allows that "the Government gives no value to money"; it merely elects what metal, or metals, shall be money, and leaves the regulation of their value—i.e., their purchasing power—wholly to nature. M. Cernuschi's dictum respecting silver and gold is substantially this: that it is practicable for governments, a sufficient number of them joining in convention to that end, to establish any legal relation whatever between the two metals, and that while the convention remains in force there cannot possibly be any different *market* relation between them. We call this a dictum because it has never been proved by experiment. It is opposed to the teachings of the economists, and is, to say the least, a rash assertion, and not necessary to the purposes of bi-metallism, though M. Cernuschi esteems it the very pillar of the edifice. The fact that both metals have uses outside of their use as money must always pull more or less strongly against any wide departure from their market relation; but it is perfectly safe to say, as Dr. Soetbeer does, at page 31 of the volume before us, that if all nations would agree upon the ratio of 15½ to 1, "then for the present, and probably for a long period to come, a permanent and stable relation between gold and silver would be secured." For all practical purposes this is sufficient. Nobody desires to adopt a legal relation very widely different from the market relation, and the ratio of 15½ to 1 has this in favor of its adoption—that it already exists by law among seventy or eighty millions of the most thrifty and intelligent people on the globe.

Assuming that bi-metallism is right in principle, that silver and gold are equally adapted to the uses of money, and that the world cannot dispense with either except at heavy loss, M. Cernuschi next delivers the opinion that the United States will gain nothing, but lose much, by attempting to remonetize silver by separate action, and that to remonetize it on the old basis of 16 to 1 would be perfectly futile. Both these propositions seem to have been distasteful to certain members of the Commission, for we find Senators Jones and Boggy frequently recurring to them and putting leading questions to the witness, who gives satisfactory reasons for his belief, viz.: that separate action by the United States (specie payments being restored) would soon deplete the country of gold, the silver of both Germany and France coming here to be exchanged for gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, making the country silver mono-metallic and not bi-metallic. Another effect would be to prevent any more United States bonds from being sold abroad, for until silver regains its legal-tender character in Europe, or until some strong guarantee is given for its fixity of value, foreign investors will not buy bonds payable in silver. Austria has been compelled to make her new obligations payable in gold. But to issue

* 'Nomisma'; or, "Legal-Tender." By Henry Cernuschi, author of 'Bi-Metallic Money.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877. Pp. 137.

bonds expressly payable in gold while silver is legal-tender among private citizens is to keep up the distinction between the two metals, and to put fresh difficulties in the way of bi-metallism. The demand of the United States for silver for token currency has temporarily raised the price of that metal from the "panic level" of last year. When this demand shall have been satisfied, M. Cernuschi apprehends that the price will again fall, and that it will be found we have paid too much for our new dimes and quarters.

The Bland bill and the "dollar of our fathers" are alluded to by M. Cernuschi as signs of national pride rather than of sound common sense. If the dollar of the fathers (to wit, a coin containing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver) is wanted as a matter of prevailing sentiment, it can be obtained by raising the weight of the gold dollar from 25.8 grains to 26.61 grains, which would make the ratio of the two metals $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, assimilating our ratio to that of a large part of the civilized world. Then France and the Latin Union would lend a ready ear to the suggestion for reopening their mints to silver, whenever specie payments are resumed in the United States. But if specie payments are not to be restored, the influence of the United States upon those countries will be *nil*. France will not reopen her mint. She will not expose herself to the loss of her gold by exchanging it for German thalers on the basis of $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. This is the reason why the Bank of France does not resume specie payments, although abundantly able to do so. Her stock of gold is equal to her whole note issue, but she will not pay it out with the liability of having it replaced with silver *écus* at a loss of 10 or 20 per cent. It would be better for the United States, M. Cernuschi thinks, to keep her irredeemable paper than to buy the demonetized silver of Europe at the ratio of 16 to 1, with no assurance of being able to sell it again at so good a price, and with the probability of being compelled to sell it, in the exigencies of international trade, at a reduced price.

The thing to be accomplished, and the only thing worth accomplishing, is to restore fixity of value to silver, to save to the world one-half of its currency, which is now slipping away through the contradictory action of nations, and to bring about a monetary treaty of peace. In M. Cernuschi's view, the public opinion of Europe is in a state to lend a ready ear to any suggestion from the United States for an international conference to remonetize silver on the basis of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and he thinks that Germany would offer no resistance. Perhaps the Latin Union would act with the United States (if we restore specie payments), regardless of Germany and England. The Latin Union and the United States acting together would be strong enough, in the author's opinion, to serve as a balance-wheel for the world, having on the one side India and China silver mono-metallic and on the other England and Germany gold mono-metallic.

A few minor points and suggestions of the author may be briefly noticed. M. Cernuschi thinks that the United States has the right to pay its 5.20 bonds in silver, but that the exercise of such right at present would close the markets of Europe to the sale of any more of our bonds. He holds that the sole cause of the silver crisis is the German law of 1871, because this law produced the action of the Latin Union limiting their coinage of silver. If this limitation had not taken place, neither the increased production of the Nevada mines nor the lessened demand of India could have disturbed the parity of exchange between the two metals. The amount of demonetized German silver remaining to be sold he estimates to be equal to seventy million trade-dollars. In his opinion the United States has been paying its interest-bearing debt too rapidly. If it had applied its resources to its greenback debt it might have resumed specie payments many years ago. This statement being made in the presence of Mr. Boutwell, that gentleman enquired in what manner the French Government puts its loans upon the market; to which M. Cernuschi replied that the French Government always deals directly with the public and never through bankers or syndicates. The "Morgan loan," so called, was made while Paris was besieged and the public service disorganized, and was only for a small amount. Finally, according to M. Cernuschi, the remonetization of silver on the basis of 16 to 1, as proposed by the Bland bill, will have the effect to give the United States three kinds of money, all of different values—viz., gold, silver, and greenbacks—and will warrant the establishment of a silver-room in New York alongside of the gold-room.

Accompanying M. Cernuschi's testimony is an elaborate plan for the resumption of specie payments by the United States, with an explanatory note prepared as an answer to one of the interrogatories of the chairman of the Commission. This plan is deserving of treatment in a separate article.

Young Folks' Book of American Explorers. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1877.)—The high praise awarded

Mr. Higginson for the execution of his 'Young Folks' History of the United States' must be renewed for the idea of the present work, the second of the series. He has rightly conceived that the *narrative* sources of history can be made as clear and as interesting to the youthful mind as 'Robinson Crusoe'; and happily the size of our continent, and the fact that three nationalities took a leading part in its discovery and settlement, combine to give a fascinating variety to the relations that are available, partly in the quaint English of the original, partly in that of Hakluyt and others, and partly in the sympathetic versions of modern scholars. Mr. Higginson's selections, which begin with the Norse discovery of Vineland and end with the Puritans at Salem, have been made with great discrimination, and often with a more subtle purpose than children, not on the lookout for historical "side-lights," will discover on the first or on the twentieth reading. The field covered is surprisingly wide for the size of the volume. Columbus, the Cabots and Verrazzano, Cabeza de Vaca, Cartier, De Soto, Ribaut and Laudonnière, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Capt. John Smith, Champlain, Hudson, the Pilgrims and the Puritans, appear in chronological sequence, telling their own stories or celebrated by contemporaries and associates. Every book or chapter is introduced by a statement of the authorities quoted, and brief foot-notes, not too numerous, explain the hard words and otherwise illustrate and correct the text. In short, the plan and the performance are admirable, and Mr. Higginson's success with this early period ought to encourage him to carry out the intention expressed in his preface—viz., to "recommence with the Massachusetts colonies and tell their story down to the Revolution," either in extracts like the present or in his own words, but we may hope by the former method. Regarding his 'History' as a sketch, he will, we think, make the filling in for every period much more vivid by pursuing the course here begun, besides accustoming his young readers to historical research and comparisons, and enabling them to make use of any good library to gratify their curiosity beyond the point to which he has gratified it. The innumerable memoirs and biographies of the statesmen of the Revolution, and the collections of our historical societies, furnish even too ample material for this purpose; the labor of sifting and selecting will be great, but we hope that Mr. Higginson may find the heart and the leisure for it as well as the strength.

The typography of this little volume is what it should be. We have remarked but a single error—"beware of" for "because of," in the explanatory note on p. 333. The illustrations, as in the 'History,' leave something to be desired. All but one of the seven full-page cuts could have been spared as purely imaginative, and at least a dozen others are open to the same objection. There is, indeed, something absurd in the illustration, on p. 63, of "Verrazzano in Newport Harbor," when on p. 60 the reader is warned that the authenticity of Verrazzano's narrative is still in dispute among scholars; the artist might at least have waited. The publishers, it seems to us, would have been more judicious if they had bestowed the cost of these superfluous woodcuts on the portraits, giving *them* the honor of the full page, and sparing no pains to make them as faithful as possible. We might easily, for instance, have had a heliotype from some one of the portraits of Governor Winthrop, and fac-similes of old engravings of other worthies.

The Gates of the East: a Winter in Egypt and Syria. By Henry C. Potter, D.D. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1877. Pp. 259.)—There are some delusions which have taken such a hold upon the popular imagination that it will require the continual reiteration by fresh witnesses of their falsehood to undermine their dominion. It is not superfluous, therefore, to quote Dr. Potter's fresh exposures of the disappointments in visiting Palestine:

"It is perhaps a discreditable admission to make, but I must needs own that, during our stay in Jaffa, we did not visit the house of Simon the Tanner, the scene of Peter's vision, etc. If only we could have forgotten Joppa's history; if we could somehow have eliminated from our recollection the stubborn facts of Roman, and Norman, and Turkish conquests; if we could have reasoned ourselves out of the unwelcome certainty that Vespasian, and Godfrey, and Saladin had, each in his turn, dispersed and pulverized every meanest habitation in the town, we might have found motive enough to go and look at something which was standing when Peter, looking westward, etc. But no; when Bertrand de la Broquière, who visited Jaffa in the fifteenth century, has recorded that he found the city so utterly razed that no solitary wall or roof was left, and that his only shelter from the sun was a rude reed hut, even the most sanguine credulity must yield. Yet I think we felt a little bit ashamed when, meeting some of our fellow-voyagers at breakfast, we found that we were alone in our apathetic incredulity, and that one of them had lingered long enough to make a careful and graphic sketch, under which was written 'The House of Simon the Tanner.'"

"One needs something exhilarating to sustain him amid the inevitable disappointments of first days in Jerusalem; for, familiar as one's reading may have made him with all in the Holy City that is incongruous with its associations, yet the actual contact with those incongruities is inexpressibly shocking—I had almost written sickening. . . . The Holy Sepulchre, the

hill of Calvary, the scenes of the mockery are all pointed out as scarce a hundred feet from each other. You mount a flight of stairs and have pointed out to you the holes in which the three crosses stood, and within a foot or two of one of them the fracture where the rocks were rent. And yet *underneath this very spot* is a robbing room, which is regarded as having no particular sanctity whatever. But I have no heart to pursue the story. Of course we saw all that the records of travellers have made so familiar; and as we looked, the sense of the dreary hollowness and bitter mockery of the whole grew every moment more keen."

As will be perceived from the above extracts, Dr. Potter's style is eminently clear and coherent, and his sense of proportion excellent—three of the most desirable features of a narrative work. His "cloth" is not made offensively conspicuous, and a reader who is too earnest to stop for sentiment can easily skip the sermon which is lugged in on occasion of an allusion to the suicide of Judas Iscariot. The most interesting chapter is one treating on the Khedive's sugar-refineries, and the effect of factory-labor upon Arabian character.

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From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn. By Henry M. Field, D.D. (New York: Scribner. 1877. Pp. 355. 8vo.)—This book diverges still further than the one above noticed from the itinerary style, being merely a series of disquisitions, whose contents are less sentimental than might be inferred from their titles: "The Melancholy Sea," "Ireland, its Beauty and its Sadness," "The Lights and Shadows of Paris," "Under the Shadow of Mont Blanc," "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," etc. The most marked excellence of manner is that continuity or gradualness of approach which is so pleasing a characteristic of the best sermons. There is no dry recital of facts and details, but rather a philosophical consideration of the relation of existing conditions to the author's own theories of life and death. Some chapters are purely historical, and contain a great deal of information well told, though with occasional slips, such as the statement that Nice is in Savoy.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1877.

The Week.

THE talk of organizing the next House in the interest of the Administration has died out, as we predicted it would, no Southern Democrats having been found who are willing to abandon party lines for the sake of giving Mr. Hayes an opportunity to carry out a policy which has already gone into effect. The Democrats, North and South, as it is easy to perceive from the tone of the party press, feel that, with the House already in their hands for two years, the Senate certain soon to be Democratic or evenly divided, a popular majority behind them, the negro abandoned to his fate, and military politics in the South at an end, the Administration must play into their hands in any case, without any equivalent being given on their side. The Republicans, too, make a mistake in underestimating the sense of wrong felt by the Democrats at the result of the Presidential election, and its effect on their policy. It is not merely that they think Mr. Tilden was actually elected, and ought to have been counted in; the practice of rotation and the "spoils" theory has been so long acted upon as a part of the unwritten law, that the sense of property in offices has been developed to an enormous extent. The notion may be said to have reached that stage in which all offices are regarded as vesting in the party, immediately on "capture," under the forms of law, of the machine, the share of individual members of course being determined afterwards by an equitable division, in which, as in the Russian Mir, the spoils are allotted to the members in different quantities, determined by the fatness of the soil, their need of support, and the "work" they can do. The counting-in of Mr. Hayes is therefore looked upon by the great body of the Democratic party not simply as a political wrong, but as a theft from its rightful owners of a vast amount of property, yielding an income of about \$100,000,000. This property they see they have an opportunity of securing four years hence, and it is on account of this chance, quite as much as because of their detestation of wrong in the abstract, that they evince so stubborn a disposition to hold together till 1880.

The *Herald* has published several interviews on the subject of the proposed disintegration of the Democratic party at the South, from which, as from other indications, it appears that a "Whig Revival" is thought of as the most feasible plan for effecting a reorganization of parties. Of these perhaps the most interesting was an interview with Mr. Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy (an old Whig), who in his time has fathered platforms enough to give him the right to speak on such subjects. He says that the idea of a Whig revival is not seriously thought of in the Cabinet; that were it to happen, it would merely reinforce the Republican party; that a change of name or principles would not result in anything, for "it would still be the Republican party"; that the latter is in favor of "a sound national currency based on gold," a "judicious system of national improvements" ("right here, let me say," the good old man continued, "I am an original advocate of the Texas-Pacific Railroad scheme"), and for a tariff, "protective, but not prohibitory legislation." Mr. Thompson went on to say that he hardly thought the subject of education would enter into national politics, but if it should, "everybody knows the Republican party is the school of education." The Republican party, in other words, will do everything for the South that any party can do, and do it better. The "Whig revival," and the continuation of Republican supremacy, mean one and the same thing, and that is internal improvements and a high tariff.

Such talk as this coming from a Republican, after what was said during the late campaign of the danger to the country of Mr. Tilden's pandering to Southern greed, may well make one rub his eyes, but nevertheless it is clear that this is precisely what a "Whig revival" means. We take the liberty of saying that it is pernicious talk. There is already a new party in the country, which has been in existence since the close of the war, which is the real reform party of the country and holds the balance of power in its hands. It is constantly growing in numbers, and will unquestionably decide the next Presidential election. It is in favor of civil-service reform, of a sound currency, of the reduction of taxation, the stoppage of all grants and subsidies, and of a tariff for revenue only. To attempt to wheedle the South into a support of the Administration on the basis of subsidies and a high tariff is for the Republicans simple suicide, because it will permanently alienate from them the support of which we speak—a support the strength of which has been already seriously impaired by the conduct of the late campaign. Nobody need give himself the slightest trouble in getting up a Whig revival. If the country wants the Whigs back it will have them, just as it will have the Federalist party if it wants that; but as long as it sees that Whig principles mean the Texas-Pacific job, and that the leading "Old Whig" is no other than "Tom Scott," we doubt if it will take much interest in the movement.

Any one troubled by lingering doubts concerning the propriety or justness of Mr. Hayes's course with regard to South Carolina and Louisiana affairs would do well to read the report of the Louisiana Commissioners. It is an unusually candid and unpretentious document, the Commissioners contenting themselves with giving a simple statement of the facts of the situation upon their arrival at New Orleans and the method of settlement of the controversy. They found Packard in possession of the State-House indeed, but with an inactive Legislature, an inactive Supreme Court, no organized militia—with nothing, in short, but "an alleged legal title" to the governorship. Nicholls, on the other hand, possessed a Legislature "actively engaged in the business of legislation," and a Supreme Court "holding daily sessions." All departments of the city government of New Orleans recognized his authority, and taxes were voluntarily paid into his treasury. He undoubtedly represented, in fact, the "majority" government of Louisiana, and as soon as the withdrawal of the troops was positively announced, the reality of his government and the sham of the other became apparent. There was no time even for the adoption of any method of settlement. Packard's government merely fell to pieces, and the curtain went down upon an affecting scene, in which Packard was taking leave of his 450 protecting policemen, whose salaries, by the way, are to be paid by Nicholls.

The validity of Packard's Supreme Court was admitted by many good lawyers, and it has been supposed that if this court could manage to maintain some show of life until a case could be made up for the decision of the United States Supreme Court, unpleasant complications might result. Its members were appointed by Kellogg and confirmed by his Senate, while the latter had yet a majority of "Returning Board" members. Kellogg, however, only appointed three members, leaving two vacancies; and as the presence of a majority of justices is necessary to legal action, the continued absence of any one of these three members would break up the court. The appointment by the President, therefore, of Mr. James E. King, one of these judges, to the collectorship of New Orleans, will prevent a possible contest between the rival Supreme Courts of Louisiana, although it may weaken Packard's "firm trust," as announced in his farewell address, "that eventually right and justice will pre-

vail," and may induce him even to reconsider his determination not to "waive his legal rights." The appointment, moreover, disposes of the notorious Casey, and puts in his place one who is said to be an honest and capable man. Everything, in fact, seems to conspire to confirm the hope of the Commissioners, that "better days for all races in Louisiana" are at hand.

The most important of Hampton's suggestions, in his message to the South Carolina Legislature last Thursday, were those relating to the financial condition of the State and to public education. The former, as everybody knows, is as near chaos as is possible in a community supposed to be civilized, and the Governor accordingly suggests the appointment of a commission to which the whole question of the financial condition of the State may be referred. He begins his references to financial matters with the following commendable passage, which the members of the commission, it is hoped, will keep in mind throughout their investigations: "It is due alike to the honor and credit of the State, as well as to its future prosperity, that there should be no question or doubt as to our determination to meet every honest obligation of the State fairly and faithfully; but"—we quote the rest of the same passage separately, not that we consider it less commendable, but because it requires much greater caution in practice than the preceding portion—"it is equally our duty to ascertain what are its honest liabilities." The recent illustrations of "honesty" in the ascertainment of liabilities by Virginia and Georgia have impaired the reputation of those States as badly as any doings of the Carpet-baggers; and South Carolina, notwithstanding much greater temptation, can hardly be excused if she join the number of repudiating Southern States. With regard to public education, Hampton's recommendations are all that could be asked for by the most exacting advocate "a mere mockery under which the children have been imperfectly taught, the teachers have been swindled out of their pay, and the money of the people has been squandered." As an illustration of this system and as a literary curiosity he exhibited a teacher's pay-certificate to which every one of three members of a board of school trustees had affixed a cross-mark as his signature.

Amid all the talk of the terrible attack Mr. Blaine proposes to make on the Administration and its Southern policy when the extra session begins, it has not seemed to occur to any one that, instead of Mr. Blaine's making the attack, the Administration might make an attack on Mr. Blaine. It is refreshing to see that this idea has at last occurred to some one, and it is even announced that such an attack will be made, and by no less a person than Mr. Stanley Matthews. It will be recollected that this Mr. Blaine is the same Mr. Blaine who was formerly Speaker of the House, and whose correspondence attracted so much attention a year or so ago, particularly a letter in which he called the attention of some of his friends in the lobby to a railroad ruling of his, and intimated that he did not make such rulings for nothing. He is the same corrupt man and tricky politician that he was then. He shielded his reputation for a long while under the cover of ferocious attacks on the Democrats, and now that that poor line of defence is taken away from him, he is in a position in which the first bold attack will put him to rout in all his nakedness.

The *World* has recently published a long letter from Washington on the subject of the powers of the Clerk of the House, designed to show that the *Nation* has made a "sad mess" of it in attempting to discuss the matter. We have no expectation of being able to convince the *World's* correspondent, because it is apparent that he has not that general acquaintance with the nature of legislative bodies which would enable him to handle a matter of detail like this intelligently. We will, however, re-state what we have already said. The House of Representatives is a sovereign legislative body, and as such organizes itself. For purposes of preliminary

organization it consists of those members having single legal returns. For the purpose of ascertaining who these members are, and for no other purpose, the clerk of the preceding House is directed by the Revised Statutes to make a roll; but what the *World* correspondent does not seem to understand, and what we despair of making him understand, is that in making out this roll he can no more add or subtract a name to give his party an advantage than we can; or, in other words, he has "no more to do with the organization of the House than we have ourselves." That is to say, if the number of members entitled to participate in the organization were one hundred, and the Clerk should make it ninety-nine or one hundred and one, the decision would be null and void, and it ought to be treated as null and void by the House. It will be seen that any other rule than this would make the Clerk of an expired House an autocrat, clothed with a power to determine the political complexion of a House which had no voice in his selection. There is nothing in all this at all inconsistent with the statutes or rules quoted in the *World*. The general principles governing the subject which we gave were simply those laid down in Cushing's 'Manual,' but this the correspondent declares has "little or no standing in the House of Representatives." Barclay's 'Digest,' he says, is the "standard authority" in the House, but he does not cite any passages from the 'Digest' which upset what Cushing says. To say that Cushing has "little or no standing" in the House, is simply to say that the general principles which govern the proceedings of legislative bodies have little or no standing there; if this is the case, there is no use in talking about the Clerk's powers at all.

Southern legislation in the States from which the troops have been recently withdrawn must expect to be closely watched and sharply criticised by opponents of the President's policy, and considerations of expediency, therefore, if no higher motive, should suggest the avoidance of anything likely to set Northern sensibilities on edge. Of such a character was a scene in the South Carolina Legislature last week, when some of the members of the former Mackey House were admitted to their seats. These members, whose case had been submitted to a special committee, were adjudged to be in contempt of the House, and it was decided to admit them only after "purging themselves at the bar of the House of their contempt." Instead of allowing them to do this in the usual manner, however, every man as he came forward was compelled to admit that he had done wrong and to ask the pardon of the House, and the entire performance soon became a piece of coarse burlesque in which the returning negroes were made to play a most humiliating part, the white Democrats shouting at them if they failed to speak loud enough, and compelling a repetition of the precise formula fancied necessary. This was in marked contrast to the conduct of the Louisiana Democrats, who welcomed the incoming members of the Packard Legislature with applause, and assisted them in maintaining as dignified an attitude as the character of the men permitted. Southern Democrats will have themselves only to blame if we ever learn to look back with complacency upon the rule of the field-hand and his white ally.

Mr. F. B. Gowen, the President of the Reading road, has published an explanation of the action of his road in its struggle with the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers." From this it appears that the company received news some months ago that it had been selected as the next object of an attack by the Brotherhood, on account of its supposed financial weakness, and that on the 15th of March the first move was made by a formal demand for an advance of twenty per cent. in the wages of engineers and firemen; that the manager of the road, on asking the applicants' committee whether a refusal to comply would be met by a strike, was told that the committee were "not authorized to answer"; that the company thereupon declined to recognize the committee until definitely informed whether it was not acting in the interest of an attack

by the Brotherhood, and followed this up by notifying all the engineers in the employment of the company that, in view of the dangerous character of the Brotherhood, they would immediately be called upon to leave either it or the railroad, while the latter would, as a substitute for the benevolent features of the society, establish a life and accident insurance fund. Without waiting for a strike, the company thus forced the Brotherhood to meet the issue, and the way in which it did so is a revelation of the character of the organization. Instead of choosing between the two, most of the engineers, who had formed the intention of striking, gave their word to the company that they intended to remain in its service, and six representatives (all but one of whom have left the company's service since) met in conference to discuss the terms of the insurance fund. The object of this was to lull the company into a feeling of security, and prevent any attempt to secure new men, so that the strike might produce the more distress and inconvenience. The applications for employment, however, were so numerous, that this scheme failed; and when the strike took place, at midnight, April 14, all vacancies were immediately filled. The strike was followed by a variety of operations—offers of reward to all who would leave the service of the company, the circulation of printed statements that the road was unsafe for travel, an organized attempt to threaten merchants using the road with loss of custom, and the intimidation of employees—all acts, as Mr. Gowen points out, constituting a criminal conspiracy, for which every participator is indictable at common law and under the statutes of the State. The energy and determination of the company, however, has been thus far successful, eighty-three per cent. of experienced train-hands yet remaining in its service, while there are for every vacancy at least fifty applicants, and it has a large force of extra engineers in reserve. The road and its president, Mr. Gowen, deserve the thanks of the public for their vigorous resistance, which was all the bolder because it differed so totally from the usual dilatory and shifty policy of corporations in dealing with trades-unions. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has already proved itself, under its present management, a public enemy, and it is only by treating it as such that its criminal attempts can be brought to an end.

There is a good deal of discussion in the papers as to the rights and duties of this country as a neutral in the war between Russia and Turkey, and it may be worth while, apropos of this, to call attention to the fact that there is a not very remote connection between this subject and the disposition of the Geneva award. In case of any war in which the Western European powers are concerned, it is very possible that American cruisers will be sold to some of the combatants, and many of the same questions will arise which were involved in the *Alabama* case. Thus far we have involved ourselves in no neutral obligations which did not exist at the outbreak of the Rebellion, but if we hand over any of the Geneva award under an act of Congress to any of the present claimants other than England or the insurance companies, we may involve ourselves in very ugly consequences. To hand the money over to the "war-premium men," would make it very difficult for us, in any future controversy of the same kind with England, to escape liability for the general increase of cost of insurance caused by war; to pay it over to those who lost by the "exculpated cruisers" would be dangerously like an admission that we should in any such controversy be liable, whether negligent or not; to keep it in the Treasury would equally resemble an admission of a responsibility for "national" losses. We are not belligerents now, but neutrals, and it would not be at all agreeable or convenient to have the rules of international law, as laid down in the treatise of Mr. Bancroft Davis, formally adopted by Congress. Mr. Evarts ought to understand this as well as anybody.

It has been a week of excitement and wide fluctuations in the markets for securities, breadstuffs, and cotton, all having been stimulated into activity by the war between Russia and Turkey,

In London consols, which before had fallen $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., fell $\frac{3}{4}$ more on the report that England intended taking a hand in the contest; later there was a recovery of $\frac{1}{4}$ on a proclamation of neutrality issued by the Queen. Money in London became more active as the week advanced, and the chances as we go to press are that the Bank of England will advance its discount rate either this week or next. In New York the price of gold declined, the effect of the war on the premium, unless England should become involved, having apparently been "discounted." Should England be drawn into the war, the situation, so far as American securities are concerned, would be changed for a time, and the best of our securities would be converted into cash, which would draw gold from here. Ultimately United States bonds would be bought back in England, because they would be the best available securities, which could not possibly be impaired by a general European war.

At the Stock Exchange there was a complete reversal of the share speculation, and prices were advanced from 3 to 17 per cent. This sudden change was made possible by the fact that there were outstanding a week ago contracts to deliver an enormous amount of shares, on the calculation that they could be bought below even the lowest prices of last week. When the market was turned there was a sudden demand for these shares, and accordingly prices advanced until the demand was satisfied. The war news was used to stimulate the buying, it having been urged, and not without reason, that the railroads which bring to the seaboard the provisions and breadstuffs of the West will be benefited by an event which causes a large movement of these products. The unknown quantity is the amount of the next crop of cereals; if this is large, then grain and provision freights for the next autumn and winter will be large. At present there is a small stock of wheat in the country, but a large stock of corn; the upward speculation in both, however, has been carried to a point during the week which stopped exports, prices having been higher in Chicago than in Liverpool. At the close of the week prices for breadstuffs declined sharply. In addition to the war news the stock market was advanced by the failure of a "bear firm," which alone caused a large buying of stocks. Whatever the ultimate effects on this country of the war, it is certain that it has already quickened general trade, and that it will continue to do so at least during the present year.

No important battle has yet taken place in Europe, notwithstanding the efforts of newspaper correspondents to bring one about. A considerable portion of the Russian army has reached the Danube and brought to a close nearly all navigation upon that river. No passage of the river, however, has yet been attempted. Skirmishing has occurred in Asiatic Turkey, near the northeastern frontier, in the vicinity of Kars, the scene of the heroic defence of the Turks under General Williams, in 1854-5. Rumania has concluded a "convention" with Russia, adopted by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 79 to 25, by which she places all her material resources at the service of Russia, in return for the endeavors of the latter to carry the battle-ground of the war beyond Rumanian soil. The effect of this treaty upon the future of Rumania (especially as she refuses to make a similar "convention" with Turkey) can hardly be unimportant. It places her in direct opposition to Turkey, and apparently ensures her independence of the latter at the close of the war; or, perhaps, her absorption by Russia. England alone has sent an official reply to the Russian circular announcing the beginning of war "in the interests and according to the wishes of Europe." The reply will not be made public until it has been delivered to the Russian Government, nor is it known what limits, if any, have been determined upon by England to the preservation of her neutrality. Austria and Rumania are said to have received from Russia a promise to reopen the navigation of the Danube, a report which may be true, as Russia must certainly wish to keep Austria out of the contest as long as possible,

AMERICAN OPINION ON THE WAR IN THE EAST.

THE United States have happily no political interest in the conflict now breaking out on the Danube, and there is therefore no danger that American opinion will be biased by influences of a selfish origin. But this makes it the more desirable that any opinion about it which is formed or finds general expression in this country should be based on a fair knowledge of the facts, and should be marked, if not by justice, at least by a plain desire to be just. American opinion on the war will probably be the only one which will have the character of impartial judgment. To this the press of no European country now makes any pretence. The partisans on both sides in England, for instance, acknowledge that when they are denouncing either the Turks or Russians—for they have not yet reached the point of praising either—they have in mind above all things either the fair fame or the solid advantage of the British Empire.

It is therefore to be regretted that any portion of our press should allow itself to be led into defence of or sympathy for the Turks on the "magnificent-flight" theory—that is, on the theory that a bad fellow who, being found out, and called on to disgorge and reform, puts his back to the wall and makes a vigorous resistance, thereby not only atones for his sins, but is left with a balance of positive virtue which entitles him to our pity and applause. The Turks have no claim to indulgence on any such ground. Even if a government like theirs could justify its existence by the plea that those who carried it on were good fighting men, it would not avail them. If they are not good soldiers, they are nothing; and good soldiers they are not. For one hundred and fifty years nearly every power which has attacked them has beaten them. They have during all that period been steadily losing territory, to the holding of which by the sword they had sacrificed everything else. During the last fifty years they have owed their existence as a nation solely to the jealousy of the Christian states, and have had to submit abjectly to all sorts of patronage, dictation, and interference, and this though they claim the rights, privileges, and dignity of a nation of 40,000,000, and, leaving all other business and occupations aside, have devoted themselves steadily to the profession of arms. Their fighting in 1828-9 was feeble; it was no better in 1853-4. They repulsed the Russians in two small affairs on the Danube during the first winter; they held Silistria desperately, but under the command of two foreign officers, and with the knowledge that the allies were landing in their rear; while the Russians conducted the greater part of the siege with the knowledge that Austria was going to occupy the Principalities, and that the war would probably be transferred elsewhere. It is forgotten, too, in the greater interest of what followed, that the famous fight of Balaclava was brought on by the precipitate flight of a strong force of Turks from a line of entrenchments which resolute men might have held all day, and from which the Russians drove them simply with loud hurrahs and a dashing charge. The Turkish infantry is composed of brave and temperate troops, but there is nothing in its history or composition, considering that all the arts of civilized life have been neglected for its creation and maintenance, to entitle it to our admiration or good wishes. If fighting capacity is to be allowed to color our moral judgments, we certainly must go elsewhere for our favorites. If the exploits of the army can atone for the quality of government, surely the troops which fought at Eylau and Borodino, and defended Sebastopol, are far better whitewashers and apologists than anything Turkey has to show.

We are not admirers of Russia, nor of the Russian Government, nor of the Russian political system, but surely it is impossible to overlook the fact that for two hundred years she has been a civilizing agent of extraordinary effectiveness. She has within that period raised an enormous body of people from barbarism to a high, if not the highest, degree of civilization, and extended the blessings of peace and security over a vast area which had within historic times never known anything of either. Surely, too, it is impossible to

forget that while she has been doing this Turkey has been reducing the fairest portions of the earth's surface to degradation which the most careful observers begin to call hopeless, and that the Turks themselves, their morals, manners, ideas, and ambition, constitute the great obstacle to any process of regeneration. If they displayed for the next five hundred years the combined virtues of all the progressive nations of the West, they could hardly atone for the mischief they have wrought on European soil during the last four hundred.

It is perhaps pardonable in those English newspapers which defend the Turks to endeavor now and then to show that the Russians as rulers are no better, because these papers own that in discussing the Eastern question they are considering mainly the interests of England, and are deeply sensible of the difficulties which will attend any attempt to provide a substitute for the Turks, and know that in that attempt England must perforce play a prominent part. But it is hardly excusable in American writers, to whom the whole struggle has the air of a historic drama, to profess to believe that the Turkish subjects would be no better off under the Czar than under the Sultan, and that the contemptuous toleration of the Turks for other creeds than their own makes them as masters preferable to the Russians, who keep an iron hand on all dissenters from the orthodox faith. If a man says this out of regard for the safety of his own country we can, as we have said, understand and overlook it; but to have it said as a calm and impartial contribution to the discussion of a point of contemporary politics, is almost inexcusable. The Russian régime under the Czar Nicholas was, no doubt, a hard and in many ways a cruel one, and had most of the characteristics of a military despotism, but then it was the military despotism of a civilized man. No one in our time, even in Poland, has had anything to dread from the Russian Government if he avoided politics and obeyed the law. The law, however stern, was the same for all; property was secure; justice, if more or less corrupted, was accessible; the police followed the murderer or the thief, and he got his due; no man had to fear more for his life or limbs, and no woman for her honor, throughout the Czar's dominions than throughout those of Queen Victoria. The taxes were even then fairly collected, the public liabilities honestly met, the public servants regularly paid. Since then the worst abuses of the Nicholas system have disappeared, the serfs have been emancipated, and the whole machinery of the state brought very directly under the control of the modern ideas of humanity and progress by which the Western nations are influenced.

Any comparison between this state of society, between even Russian rule in Poland and the state of things in any part of Turkey, to the advantage of the latter, is very discreditable. It would be easy to show that whatever exemption from annoyance or oppression the Turkish rayah enjoys in a greater degree than the Russian subject is due to Turkish carelessness and indolence; in no case, or next to none, to a fixed policy of benevolence or a persistent desire for the popular welfare. The religious toleration is part of the hatred of trouble which makes even the collection of the taxes a piece of unorganized brigandage. But no liberty of worship can compensate for the absence of courts of justice, or for the want of police, or for the lawlessness and violence of the police, or for constant exposure to spoliation and outrage at the hands of an armed caste, raised by custom and tradition above the law; or for that most awful cloud over the life of Christians in Turkey, in the country districts, which makes the possession of a pretty daughter the source of an anxiety from which there is no respite, and which an accident or a piece of neglect may any moment of the night or day convert into a tremendous misfortune. It is easy for the European, who faces the Turk on equal terms, with his pistol in his belt and a great government behind him, and the swelling pride of superior civilization in his heart, to philosophize over the possible mitigations of the Turkish Christian's lot; but to those who have lived under it all this philosophizing is mockery, and Russia is disregarding it, and

whenever she moves, going right at the oppressor's throat and bidding him beg for quarter, is establishing a hold on the imagination and gratitude of the men of all Christian races in European Turkey which will hereafter probably make any division of the Turk's estate, in which she does not receive the lion's share, a task to which neither fleets nor armies will be equal. She is accumulating in all her quarrels with Turkey a great reserve of moral influence among the populations on the spot, to which the finical discussions of Englishmen, as to whether the rayah is really as badly off as some say he is, whether he is as much massacred and robbed or as often impaled as Russian writers try to make out, only lend fresh strength.

THE KEY TO CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

THE attention of the President and his advisers having been engaged upon the problem how to get the Federal troops out of places they ought never to have been in, the more complicated enigma of the civil service has been necessarily postponed. Nor must we expect that the thorough reformation so urgently demanded and so confidently promised will be speedily achieved. The disease is too deep-seated for any sudden cure. The conditions in which the civil service was left by the outgoing Administration may be likened to a bad case of delirium tremens—the slow but sure product of a forty years' debauch—from which the patient is to be rescued by gentle but firm and systematic treatment.

A formidable embarrassment exists in the personnel of the service left by General Grant, which is in many cases so bad that amendment has to begin by an apparent violation of the principles of civil-service reform—that is, by removing persons from office out of hand. The principle of permanency in the public service is of the first importance, but it cannot be put in force unless the persons in office are fit to be retained; and the question of fitness must be determined by the Executive either by common notoriety, or by examination of records already made, or after some considerable test of the qualifications and character of the incumbents. At present it may be assumed that all Federal officers have been appointed either at the behest of members of Congress for their efficiency in manipulating conventions and “developing strength,” or through the personal preference of the ex-President. Of the two sorts the latter are, perhaps, the worse, for the private likings and personal grudges of General Grant, whether exercised in filling offices or emptying prisons, were about equally detrimental to the public interests. To build any kind of reform upon such a foundation is a hard task, and all the harder since the attempt exposes the very principles of reform to a certain amount of local opprobrium. Smith or Jones, a noted incompetent and blatherskite, chosen for his unscrupulousness and want of self-respect, skilled only in cheating other people out of their choice in the party caucuses and in stifling every honest conviction that dares show its front in public, suspected of bribery and known to be capable of it, has been handed down here and there as the raw material with which Mr. Hayes is to make a reformed civil service. It is useless to expect that the neighbors and acquaintances of such characters will see any reform under their baleful shadows, or that they will sanction by their votes the continuance of it. There is perhaps no city of the first, second, or third rank that cannot show one or more Federal office-holders whose past record and daily walk and conversation are effective and potent arguments against permanency in office. If the proposed and needed reform could be enforced by imperial ukase or irrevocable statute, we might impose upon this class of incumbents rules and regulations which should reduce the mischief they are capable of to a minimum, and leave the rest to Time, taking care that their vacancies ultimately should be filled by better men, chosen upon better principles. But civil-service reform, like any other reform in a free government, can advance no faster than it is impelled by public opinion, and public opinion is liable to be affected more by the concrete exhibitions of the system than by the abstract principles upon

which it is based. One Smith or Jones may produce more popular disgust for civil-service reform than twenty philosophers can ever counteract.

It is not surprising that the incumbents of the Federal offices are still following the old methods so pointedly condemned by Mr. Hayes in his letter of acceptance and his inaugural address. With few exceptions they are still acting as a trained body of servitors to promote the political fortunes of those to whom they owe their appointments, or to whom they fancy they owe their retention in office, and the men of the “machine,” who are trying to oust them here and there, are doing so for the express purpose of putting in others who will labor more effectively in the same vineyard or who will acknowledge a different personal allegiance—the offices themselves being regarded as so much ammunition and quartermaster's stores for the next campaign. It is time that a stop were put to all this. While the embarrassment attending a general reform of the civil service is very great, there is none whatever attending this branch of it. An order issued to all Federal office-holders setting forth that the Government expects their exclusive service in the duties of their respective positions, and that they are not to meddle with politics beyond casting their own votes at public elections, and that any infraction of this rule will be followed by dismissal, will smooth the way for all other reformatory steps in a wonderful manner. Unless we greatly mistake the public temper it will be sanctioned by instant popular approval. It is not sufficient to say that the incumbents must not use their official positions to promote the interests of one man or one party at the expense of another. Such an order would be open to construction, and a coach-and-six would be driven through it straightway. Not to meddle with politics beyond casting their own votes at public elections, and not to allow their subordinates to do so, is a requirement which cannot be evaded or explained away, any violation of which would be speedily reported to headquarters by the injured parties. Civil-service reform means this, if it means anything. The public offices are supported by the public revenue drawn from all citizens, and from Democrats as well as Republicans. Taking the proceeds of public taxes to build up one set or one party and to put down another is the conspicuous shame of the American civil service in the eyes of ourselves and of the world, and all the lesser troubles issue from it. In principle it is nowise different from making an annual appropriation of the public funds for the same end. Indeed, the latter would be much the more advantageous and respectable, for if the office-holders were remitted to a strict and exclusive attention to their lawful duties, and the assistance intended to be given to political coteries were handed over to them at stated periods in money, we should, at least, have a civil service unspoiled by the degrading work now put upon it. Assessments upon office-holders for campaign expenses are only a refinement of the existing system and a quasi-public acknowledgment that the post-office and the custom-house are engines of corruption. Assessing the office-holder's time and labor is the same thing in substance as assessing his salary. Inveterate custom has made the one respectable in the eyes of politicians, while the other, being a later invention, is still daubed and sugar coated with apologies. A few years more of unchallenged practice would probably furnish us a printed schedule or price-list of all the offices in the country, showing how much of the compensation it is lawful to retain and how much is to be handed over to Chandler or somebody else, to be used in keeping Chandler & Company in power.

Fortunately, such an order does not require an act of Congress to give it validity. On the contrary, it is the law now. Not that there is any statute expressly forbidding the use of public patronage for private and partisan ends, but since there is none authorizing it, it is essentially unlawful as well as indecent. Nor can it be supposed that such an order would be unwelcome to the office-holders themselves, if they believed it would be honestly enforced. Low as the public service has fallen, we are not required to believe that they would complain if they found themselves relieved from

the necessity of "bossing" somebody else's job in the county convention, and paying a stipulated part of their income to carry the ticket at every general and special election. The present Administration has the power to abolish at one blow, and for at least four years, this gigantic abuse, and to do so irrespective of any other reform; and if it shall accomplish this and no other it will have served the country well. After four years of freedom from the tyranny embodied in the present civil service, whose chief function is to stifle public opinion and rob citizens of their votes, he will be a bold President who shall dare to annul or relax so beneficial a rule.

JOHANN JACOBY.

FREIBURG, April 8, 1877.

IN spite of the cold and the snow-storm the funeral procession was large which, on the 11th of March, wended its way to the Jewish synagogue of the city of Kant. But those who followed the hearse were certainly not a thousandth part of those who accompanied it with their thoughts, saying to themselves: "There is not a single man in Germany who could claim to have been his peer." And yet the old physician, whom they carried to his last resting-place, was no great scholar who had filled the world with the fame of his discoveries or his brilliant cures. No great works of fiction or learning and research will hand down his name to future generations. Two volumes of moderate size contain all the writings which he himself deemed worthy of being collected as the lasting record of his life and labors.* There are some philosophical and literary essays—'Hegel und die Nachgeborenen,' 'Kant und Lessing,' 'Schiller,' 'G. E. Lessing, der Philosoph,' etc.—which are very highly valued by his more especial friends; but though they certainly deserve to be read and, perhaps, even to be studied, still they could not save his name from being forgotten. The bulk of the two volumes is made up of a number of short political treatises, some still shorter political speeches, and some pretty long forensic arguments, all written in his own defence when his liberty and even his life were at stake under charges of the highest of political crimes. There are many grave and important political truths in these pages, but not one of them is new, or even presented in a new light. The writer on political questions may learn a good deal from the almost grand simplicity of the style, the soberness and clearness with which every thought is expressed, and the great logical power with which the whole argument is worked out into a chain of uncommon evenness and seeming perfection. But the student of political philosophy will be disappointed if he expects to find these volumes a rich mine, and the statesman will often turn away with scorn if not with disgust. The student of the history of Germany, however, cannot spare them, for they are themselves a part of this history, and, in part, of no little importance. But, then, the nearer we approach the present day the more the writings and speeches (the second volume closes with a speech delivered September 14, 1870) cease to be a part of the history of Germany, until, at last, they can claim only the interest of curiosity. In a certain sense, Johann Jacoby was dead long before he died. With the present generation, the young men of the nation, the Jacoby who was a living reality was the Jacoby of twenty-five and more years ago, of whom they only knew what they had read in books or heard from their fathers. And yet he who had "cut the tablecloth" between himself and almost every one of those with whom he once acted; he, the patriot, who stood now among the Social-Democrats—those poor dreamers who, mostly, have to be satisfied with claiming the whole world as their country, because their hearts are not big enough and their blood not warm enough to render them capable of loving their own country—he was carried to his grave without a single hand daring so much as touch a single leaf of his hard-won laurel-wreath. Surely, there is something extraordinary in that. Such a career is, to say the least, strange; and in spite of such a career, to be looked upon by the whole people with the highest respect, that is astonishing. I cannot bethink myself of a single precedent in the annals of Germany.

Johann Jacoby, the son of a Jewish merchant in Königsberg, born on the 1st of May, 1805, was by profession a physician. In 1833 he entered the field of literary strife as the champion of the emancipation of the Jews ('Ueber das Verhältniss des Herrn Streckfuss zur Emancipation der Juden'). The young Jew candidly and gratefully acknowledges the steps that have been taken towards raising the Jews from the Pariah-like

condition in which they were heretofore held in Germany; but with utter scorn and contempt he rejects the idea that the Jews could ever become and rest contented with anything less than perfect civil and political equality, and this equality not bestowed upon them as an act of grace, but yielded as the right which had been unjustly withheld for a thousand years. *Ex ungue leonem.* This man knows of no compromise between principles, and as a man can as little jump out of his own skin as Jacoby can help being a Jew in all his feelings and reflections.

Some other treatises followed in the next eight years, which, however, like the first, found but a limited circle of readers. One dash of his pen was to make the name of Jacoby a household word wherever German was spoken. Friedrich Wilhelm III. had died, and his son, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., sat on the throne of the Hohenzollern. The genial *homme d'esprit*, who liked to talk and who talked well enough to make him, as a private gentleman, the centre of attraction in any salon, was met with the highest expectations by his people. Now at last the solemn promise would be fulfilled which Friedrich Wilhelm III. had given to his people on the 22d of May, 1815. Now, at last, the *Reichstände* would be summoned to Berlin, and Prussia become a constitutional monarchy. Alas! Friedrich Wilhelm III. was weak, and the dupe and slave of his unfounded fears; Friedrich Wilhelm IV. intensely hated the idea of seeing any constitutional restraints put upon his absolutism. When the Landtag of the Province of Eastern Prussia reminded the king of the law of the 22d of May, 1815, he declared himself not bound by the promises of his father, and so much the less so because his father, before his death, had become convinced that a representation of the whole kingdom was incompatible with the welfare of the state; he therefore gave instead of that a Landtag to each of the provinces. This event called forth the 'Vier Fragen, beantwortet von einem Ostpreussen (1841).' The four questions were: "What did the *Stände* wish?" "What gave them the right?" "What answer did they get?" "What remains for them to do?" The questions are discussed and answered with perfect coolness of temper, in the most respectful language, but with a directness and precision which admit of no refutation. The creation of the *Provincial-Landtage* is not the fulfilment of the promise of 22d of May, 1815; the people of Prussia have proved themselves by their deeds to be of age, therefore they have a right to demand that they be treated accordingly; the decree of the 22d of May, 1815, has never ceased to be the law of the land, because it has never been formally and expressly repealed, as a law must be in order to become invalid; therefore Friedrich Wilhelm IV. is not only morally but also legally bound to fulfil the promise of his father. That, in a few words, is the gist of the argument, and the conclusion derived from it is: "What remains to be done? To claim as a proven right what heretofore has been solicited as a favor."

The pamphlet sent an electric shock through the nation. The most simple-minded felt that a great political deed had been done. And the author did not hesitate to show how absolutely he was convinced that he had claimed a right and nothing but a right. The title-page of the treatise did not contain the author's name; but on the 23d of February, 1841, he sent it to the King, accompanying it with a letter in which he begged to place it under his protection, because the police had seized and confiscated it, though it had received the *imprimatur* of the censor. The answer was an indictment for several crimes, and among them for high treason. The suit in the lower courts deserves a lasting place in the annals of despotism; but finally the historical word of the miller of Sans-souci, addressed to Friedrich the Great, was borne out once more by the facts: "There are still judges in Berlin." On the 19th of January, 1843, Jacoby was acquitted of all the charges preferred against him. Far from being spurred on to any rash step by his popularity and his final triumph over servile judges, he calmly and collectedly bided his time; but when it came he returned to the charge with increased vigor and undiminished resoluteness. 'Das königliche Wort Friedrich Wilhelm III.' (1845) again brought him into court to answer the charge of the *crimen læsæ majestatis*; again the lower court found him guilty, and again he was finally acquitted.

Jacoby's historical task was done. To force an unwilling government to the practical recognition of the general principle that the people are not created for the sake of the government, and that they had outgrown the rules and practices of the nursery—no man was better able to do that than he. But when by the revolution of 1848 he was called upon to act the part of a legislator, he failed at every step. His doctrinarianism did not go so far as to let him join the Republican patriots from Baden, though, in theory, he was as decided a Republican as any of them. He was very far from being aware of the fact that one had to be satisfied with very little if anything at all was to be attained. He opposed the idea of uniting Ger-

* 'Gesammelte Schriften und Reden von Johann Jacoby,' Hamburg, 1872.

many under an emperor. And why? "The German people have, indeed, spared existing thrones; but they certainly had no desire to erect new ones." The governments were fast regaining their strength and collecting their forces, while the Parliament in Frankfurt was sinking still faster into the condition of a debating club, and he was still fully convinced that the thrones only stood by the grace of the people. "The unity of Germany can only be furthered if all the governments of the states yield obedience without reserve to the behests of the Parliament in Frankfurt." It was the dream of a political child; but the dreaming child at least lived up to his convictions like a hero of ancient Rome. He dared to tell the King of Prussia in his own palace at Sans-souci: "It is the great misfortune of kings that they do not want to hear the truth." After the rump-parliament at Stuttgart had been dispersed by the military, he took refuge in Switzerland; but as soon as he read in the newspapers that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him, he returned to fight once more with his tongue for his head. This time he stood before a jury and they acquitted him unanimously. His head was safe, but his hopes were gone for the time being. Up to the end of 1858 he stood perfectly aloof from political life. The accession of the present Emperor to the Government as Prince Regent brought him again on the stage at the head of the Democratic party in Prussia. He resumed his old place without ostentation and with a moderate programme. Yet all his sad experiences had not sharpened his eyes for the realities of politics. Though his heart beat for Germany, the influences of his Jewish extraction drove him irresistibly into the foggy notions of a citizen of the world. As early as the 5th of June, 1848, he had said to his Berlin constituents: "With all our political thinking and striving, let us keep one thing steadily in view—political liberty is not the highest, not the last aim; it must only open the way to a higher, the social task, only serve as a means to elevate and ennoble man, to attain the welfare of *all*, which is founded on moral liberty. This aim can be attained, not through one people, however powerful it be, but only through the intelligent brotherly co-operation of all nations." Now, the dawn of the political greatness of the Fatherland warped his judgment entirely. He opposed in the Landtag the creation of the Nord-deutsche Bund, and he alone refused to grant Bismarck the asked-for indemnity. After that nobody could be astonished to find him the decided opponent of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. This heresy at last brought him into a Prussian fortress, with the acquaintance of which he had so often been threatened. On the 20th of September, 1870, General Vogel von Falkenstein had him arrested for a speech he had made a few days before, and kept him confined in Boyen till October 26, without even deigning to ask what he had to say in his defence. This outrage cast a new lustre on the head of the old man in the eyes even of those who considered him politically lost for ever. Either the times did not understand him or he did not understand the times. Two years later he joined the Social-Democrats; but, when they elected him in Saxony to the Reichstag, he declined entering once more the national legislature.

In 1865 his friend Moritz Hartmann wrote:

"*„Ir schien er stets ein Spartaner zu sein,
Der lang in Athen studirte;
Ein Sohn der Stoa, der hinterdrein
Bei Plato hospitierte."*

That expresses, in a beautiful manner, the present opinion of Germany on Johann Jacoby, and will, I think, be the judgment of history.

Correspondence.

CRIME AND HANGING IN MAINE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An editorial in the Portland *Press* of April 21, in reply to a paragraph in your paper on "Murder in Maine," is calculated and was probably designed to mislead its readers living outside of Maine. The facts are these: Maine was admitted to the Union in 1820, and began its independent existence with an unmistakable capital punishment law. During the first seventeen years only two capital convictions took place, each resulting in an execution. In 1837 the law was so amended as practically to leave its execution optional with the governor. But the operation of this two-faced statute was not generally understood until 1845, when the third capital conviction took place, twenty-five years after the organization of the State. As soon as it was found that under the law of 1837 "the gallows had been practically abolished," to quote the language of the *Press*

and other opponents of the death-penalty, capital crime began to multiply in a geometrical ratio, until in 1860 Maine had become notorious for its murders. This was before the war, to which it is fashionable to attribute so large a share of modern crime. Yet during those fifteen years no murderer was executed. Indeed, from 1834 to 1864, a period of thirty years, no execution took place in Maine.

At length a State-prison convict, perhaps emboldened by this neglect, murdered his warden, and for this act, singularly enough, he was hung by Gov. Corry, as if the slaying of a prisoner's natural enemy were a more atrocious crime than the murdering of a wife or a friend. So illogical an enforcement of the capital law, of course, produced little effect, and murdering went on until, in 1869, Gov. Chamberlain executed Harris, a negro, for the murder and rape of two old women. But his successor, Gov. Perham, refused to enforce the law, and capital crime soon proceeded more rapidly than ever, until, in 1875, the Legislature passed an honest law, restoring the death-penalty without evasion, and in June of that year Wagner and Gordon were hung for the murder of five or six victims—man, women, and children.

The combined effect of the new law and this double execution was unmistakable: *during the entire year following its enactment only one unlawful homicide occurred in Maine, and in that solitary case the murderer instantly took his own life.* Unhappily, the Legislature of 1876, by a very small majority, abolished capital punishment by an act which took effect March 24, 1876. The result of this unfortunate unwillingness to let well enough alone is seen in the murder record of the ensuing twelvemonth, which exhibits no less than ten unlawful homicides—one more than the number which you stated. A majority were, as you say, "family murders." Page shot his wife almost within sight of the State-House, within eight days after the law protecting him from the gallows took effect. Finn cut the throat of his daughter Maud, aged 4, and then split her head in two with an axe, at Waldboro, May 23. Herrin shot his son-in-law at Canaan, three days after. Lois E. Tibbetts drowned her son Hiram, aged 5 months, at Boothbay, September 19. Ianthe Morgan mashed her infant's head and broke its neck at Bethel, October 23, aided by her sister, Mrs. Libby. Both these women have been indicted and convicted of murder. And this morning's *Press* (April 25) discloses a new "family murder," Mary M. McDonald having smothered her own son in a privy-vault in Cape Elizabeth, March 18, for which murder she has, on her own confession, been committed to jail to await indictment, the body having been discovered yesterday. Geo. H. Richardson was murdered by unknown assassins at Norway, March 6, according to the coroner's jury. On the night of October 13 an entire family of three generations, the grandfather of 74, the widowed daughter of 34, and the only granddaughter of 4 were massacred at Bucksport, and the family mansion burned down, by a retired sea-captain of the town, who was committed to jail to await his trial May 2, at the first term of court for the county held since the triple murder—a *fact suppressed by the "Press."* The number of murders ought probably to be increased to *eleven*, for another dead body was found yesterday in a rubbish-heap in this city, much decomposed, and probably the victim of foul play.

It is to be remembered that our population does not much, if any, exceed 600,000, and has decreased within the past twenty years, and it is a significant fact that these murders have been perpetrated in the rural districts or in comparatively small towns, and, with one exception, by our native-born citizens. Another alarming result of the abolition of the death-penalty has been a startling increase of high crimes *not* capital. During the year 1876 the number of our State-prison convicts has risen from 148 to 171, a gain of nearly sixteen per cent., and the last Legislature, in February, was obliged to appropriate \$15,000 toward an enlargement of the prison, although sixty-eight convicts had been removed from it to fill jail-workshops, built within the past three or four years, at a cost of over \$60,000, to accommodate prisoners sentenced for not more than three years!

The foregoing facts, which will not be denied by the *Press*, demonstrate that, in spite of our rigid prohibitory legislation for the past twenty-six years, during which between thirty and forty liquor laws have been passed, crime has never been so defiant or so rapidly on the increase in our State. At no period in the history of Maine has the social problem presented so gloomy and alarming an aspect to the friends of law and order as in this year of grace 1877, one year after the abolition of the death-penalty. Only six days after the opening of the second year after that legislation a boy of fourteen in the country town of Bowdoin deliberately shot his father, under circumstances that offered not a ray of palliation, and, although the crime elicited a thrill of horror in other States, the parricide has obtained

a substantial acquittal by a verdict of "manslaughter" and a sentence of six years' imprisonment.

It is asserted by those who ought to know that nine-tenths of the intemperance that prevailed in Maine forty years ago has been suppressed, and the standard of education has been, it is to be presumed, greatly advanced by the creation of normal schools and a quadrupled expenditure for educational purposes. If drunkenness and ignorance have as much to do with crime as has been supposed, what explanation can be given for so enormous a multiplication of murder and other high crime in a single generation, amid a population receding in numbers and rapidly becoming temperate and intelligent? I send you the last annual report of the warden and inspectors of our State Prison.

* * *

PORTLAND, ME., April 25, 1877.

PENNSYLVANIA CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When Mr. Hayes was inaugurated the editor of the Republican paper in this place had been for eight years our postmaster. Following the time-honored custom which was in vogue when rotation in office was the rule, he began to circulate among his political faction of the Republican party a petition for reappointment. The man was thoroughly objectionable, being a virulent partisan of the Cameron school, who has used the office for political purposes. Thereupon the business citizens of the place set to work sending in remonstrances to the Postmaster-General, and also charges that the incumbent had abused his official power in various ways, to the injury and inconvenience of the inhabitants. I enclose the assessor's published list of special, that is business taxpayers, and have marked those who have notified the Postmaster-General that a change is desired. From it you will infer that substantially the entire business community are opposed to this man's reappointment.

The two sets of papers went to Washington, and the postmaster went with one of them, and in due time he was reappointed for four years more. The Democratic paper here exultingly asked if this did not demonstrate the falsity and humbug of Hayes's civil-service reform, and congratulated its adherents on the certainty of a split in the local Republican party. Like your Indiana correspondent, I ask is this real civil-service reform; or is there such a thing as Pennsylvania civil-service reform, the blessings of which do not extend to other States? Please also observe that the "new rule" does not here "work both ways," and certainly does not explain the contradictions of the Pennsylvania case.—Respectfully,

X. Y. Z.

TITUSVILLE, PA., April 27, 1877.

[Neither on this case can we undertake to express an opinion, as there may be facts in it of which "X. Y. Z." is not informed; but we are informed from Washington that the President very properly leaves the appointments (under proper civil-service instructions) to the Postmaster-General, and he, feeling the embarrassment of dealing with appointments for his political opponents, leaves those in the Northern States to Assistant Postmaster-General Tyner, the gentleman who was appointed Postmaster-General for the purpose of "organizing victory" in Indiana last fall. Whether a gentleman who was selected by one administration to "organize victory" with the Post-Office should be selected by another to organize civil-service reform we need not stop to enquire. It seems tolerably certain from Mr. Tyner's antecedents that, so far as he is concerned, no one politically offensive to himself or to Senator Morton will be appointed postmaster in Indiana, and that no one politically endeared to the Messrs. Cameron will be removed in Pennsylvania. The President undoubtedly designs to do all that he has promised, but he has to deal with facts as they are presented to him by his subordinates, his personal examination of all the papers of every case being absolutely out of the question; and we hazard the guess that in the cases of our correspondents the real facts were never made known to him.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MR. HENRY JAMES, JR., has in the *Galaxy* for May an article on the London theatres which gives a picture of the present condition of the English stage in sharp contrast to that given of the French stage in the

previous number. Much that is here said of London might be said of New York, though the connection between the stage and the popular character would be more difficult to trace. Most of our plays come from France; we take the same childlike pleasure in "realism," and derive the same naïf and uncritical enjoyment out of play-going that Mr. James notices in London. The price we give for our seats is less, but the same white cravated master of ceremonies ushers us into it; and the audience with us, too, is respectable, well-dressed, and quiet. But, notwithstanding some general points of resemblance, there would be great difficulty in making out such a connection between any ordinary scene in an American restaurant and the American stage, as Mr. James acutely manages to find between his little scene in an English pastry-cook's shop and the Anglo-Saxon drama as it exists to-day. And this leads us to say that we think Mr. James attributes perhaps too much weight to the moralistic turn of modern England in disqualifying it for appreciating and producing a drama. Certainly, we have succeeded as little on this side of the water, and our failure will hardly be attributed to excessive morality. The gorgeous opera-house which the late Mr. James Fisk, jr., erected at the corner of Twenty-third Street and Eighth Avenue, was built out of the plunder of a great public highway by a man who robbed the public on a gigantic scale for years, and was a representative and leader of a civilization as corrupt as the strangest products of any previous age; but even his wickedness and that of his time did not improve the stage. If wickedness is all we need for the production of a good stage and appreciative audiences, the granite hills of New England alone could probably furnish enough to fill the world with good theatres. Probably the condition of the Anglo-Saxon stage is due to a variety of causes which, if we were called upon to give them any single name, we should be inclined to call the general spread of democracy, and equality of condition, capacity, dress, and manners. The democratic ideal, pure and simple, is a world in which one person is exactly like another in all respects, and it is obvious to any one who has given any attention to the dramatic art that the nearer this ideal is reached, the more hopeless the position of the stage. What the stage undertakes to do is, as Mr. James says, to reproduce life—not with a slavish photographic reality, but imaginatively. The means which it uses are men and women who, on a stage remotely suggesting or reproducing natural scenery, streets, rooms, woods, lakes, and so on, and at a distance of a few dozen yards from the eye, assume certain characters, and then perform certain acts and speak certain words as they would do in real life were they the characters they take. For such an art to convey an impression of reality, it is obvious that the originals of the characters must be sufficiently distinct and recognizable to reconcile the spectator to the extreme coarseness of the method. He must be made to forget the patent deception of the surroundings, which are far more "theatrical" than in any other art, by the vividness of the types presented in them. But, as modern society has become more and more uniform, the destruction of the old types has proceeded with a rapid pace, and instead of them has made his appearance the "average man," an excellent person no doubt in his way, but unfitted for the theatre. The *Galaxy* also contains an article by John D. Champlin, jr., on some "irregularities" in the seal of the United States, from which it appears that the seal as it exists is no more than half a seal of the United States, no reverse having ever been made, while, besides this, several alterations have been introduced into the original design without any authority of law. In the legal seal, for instance, the eagle held in his sinister talon a bundle of thirteen arrows, a number which had a real significance. In the existing seal, which we owe apparently to Webster, he is allowed only six—a number suggesting a shameful reduction of the area of freedom. No authority for any change has been discovered. It is interesting to notice what we escaped in taking the eagle. Of the original committee on a device for a seal, Benjamin Franklin proposed a representation of Moses dividing the Red Sea, with Pharaoh overwhelmed in the waters; Jefferson, the Israelites in the wilderness led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, and "on the other side Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended," further identified as being the authors of the "political principles and form of government we have assumed." John Adams proposed the choice of Hercules, "the hero resting on his club; *Virtue*, pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand and persuading him to ascend; *Sloth*, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground, displaying the charms both of her eloquence and person, to seduce him into vice"; but he admitted that the design was too "complicated" and not original.

—Mr. Clarence Cook, who, if he were less impressed with the strength of his own powers as a humorist, would be master of a better style, has been contributing some articles to *Scribner's* on household furniture,

which he is apparently bringing to a termination. Some time ago we took the liberty of remarking that Mr. Cook's readers ought to guard themselves against believing that all the pretty things of which they found pictures in his pages could be bought or made cheaply, and pointed out that Mr. Cook's own references to the subject of cost were not as frank as they might be. He first declared that many of "the best things in house decorating and furnishing are those that cost least," and, on our objecting to his course in this matter as "tortuous," replied that he stood by all he had said "about economy and simplicity"; but declared also that the costliness of pretty articles such as he wishes us to buy "does not affect us, because their costliness is in their material, . . . and it was not their material, but their forms, that was the subject of praise," and suggested that if we could not pay for mahogany we might buy pine—to us an entirely unsatisfactory proposal. In the present number, however, he abandons these devious ways, and candidly admits, as a sincere devotee of moral furniture ought, that people here in America, "unless they give a great deal more time to it than they ought to be able to afford," . . . "cannot furnish their houses elegantly and individually on a little money." This is exactly what we said a year ago, and we are glad to see that Mr. Cook is convinced of his error, though, as a devotee of truthful and worthy art, he ought to have cried *peccavi* before. He is still of opinion, however, that we might have pretty furniture which should still be cheap and well made, and declared that "there is a fortune in store for any one who to-day will supply the public with well-made, well-designed furniture—well-designed both for beauty and use—at cheap rates. It can be done by first getting from competent hands designs that have been thoroughly thought out, reduced to their simplest elements, and so planned that they can be made in quantities—on the same principle that Canal Street furniture is made, the difference being in the workmanship and in the design." We hope it may be so. Mr. A. R. Macdonough has a readable article on "Sea-Trout Fishing" in the provinces—a sport which is yearly becoming better known to Americans. Mr. Macdonough is a sceptic on the subject of flies, of which he says:

"The indifference of sea-trout about kind, when they are in the humor to take any, almost warrants the belief of some anglers that they leap in mere sport at whatever chances to be floating. It is true that they will take incredible combinations, as if color-blind and blind to form. But experiments on their caprice are not safe. If their desire is to be tempted, that may most surely be done with three insects, adapted to proper places and seasons. One need not go beyond the range of a red-bodied fly, with blue tip and wood-duck wings, for ordinary use; a small all-gray fly for low water in bright light, and a yellowish fly, green-striped and winged with curlew feather, for a fine cast under alders after the patriarchs."

This we believe to be the simple truth with regard to these trout, all local reports to the contrary notwithstanding. An article on Smith College contains some pictures of interiors which, we fear, may cause a pang of regret in the minds of male readers that the college admits one sex only.

—The *Atlantic* for May is a very good number. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., contributes a curious piece of local history on the "May-pole of Merry Mount," familiar to most readers through Hawthorne's description of the dispersal of Morton's godless crew by the authorities. Mr. Adams's researches do not add much to Hawthorne's imaginative sketch, but his paper (apparently the first of a series) is an excellent bit of antiquarian historical writing of that sort which carries us back to the time and place of the acts narrated in a way that most of the writing about the early episodes in the history of this country fails to do. The Puritans, with their prosaic earnestness, their Protestant religion, their Bible, and their avoidance of form and ceremonial, seem almost to belong to the modern world, and as we always in imagination people the past New England with them, we are apt to forget to how very remote a past the year 1627—with Cromwell and Hampden yet unknown names, Lord Bacon and Shakspeare just dead, Guido, Rubens, and Rembrandt alive, Henry IV. lately murdered by Ravaillac, Richelieu in power, Louis XIV. unborn, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew a recent event—really carries us. Mr. George E. Waring, jr., discusses the "Life and Work of the Eastern Farmer" in an article in which he exposes a good many of the fallacies with regard to farmers' lives which have come down to us with the traditions of agricultural existence on the shores of the Mediterranean or in England, and proposes a remedy for the hard, solitary life of the New England farmer, consisting of the adoption by him of a village life combined with farming at a distance. No doubt much of the solitude of his existence would be taken away by this change, but is not the agricultural progress of New England carrying him in another direction? Are not the facilities of locomotion and the growth of large towns making the system of small farms in parts of New England give way to farming on a large scale, in

which ownership implies capital, and the farmer reverts from the position of proprietor to that of farmer in the strict sense of the word—one who farms another's land?

—The growing interest in folk-lore and popular literature is manifested by the recent establishment, in France and Italy, of two journals devoted to these subjects. The first, *Mélysine* ("Revue de Mythologie, Littérature populaire, Traditions et Usages"), of which MM. H. Gaidoz et E. Rolland are the editors, appears twice a month in numbers of sixteen quarto pages. The first six numbers, Jan. 5–March 20, are before us, and constitute a valuable contribution to French folk-lore. The scope of the periodical, as its title indicates, is very large, and embraces everything from popular tales and superstitions to nursery rhymes and children's games. Among the most noteworthy articles are a number of tales from Brittany collected by M. Luzel, Creole tales by M. Loys-Brueyre, a version of Tom Thumb from Metz, and several tales from Picardie contributed by M. Carnoy. In addition to these, there are several popular songs accompanied by music, the first of a series of articles on peculiar costumes, and a large number of customs, local traditions, etc. We notice among other things the custom in Normandy of preparing a banquet for the dead on the evening of All Saints' Day, the sacrifice of a chicken before entering a new house, etc. The department of "Formulettes" is very rich, containing rhymes used by children in "counting out" in their games, and the formulas our children still write in their books to prevent their loss. Here is one of the latter:

"Aspiez Pierrot pendu
Qui hunc librum n'a pas rendu
Si hunc librum reddidisset
Pierrot pendu non fuisse."

Then follows the picture of Pierrot hanging on the gallows. It is to be hoped that the new periodical will awaken an interest in France in the preservation of its popular tales, etc. Less has been done there than in any country in Europe except Spain, and it will soon be too late to give the world collections like those of the Grimms and Pitrè.

—The Italian periodical is entitled *Rivista di Letteratura popolare*, and is edited by Francesco Sabatini. It will appear quarterly, in numbers of about eighty pages. The first number contains an excellent introduction by the editor, on the value of popular literature and its scientific study. Then follows, also by the editor, the first really scientific collection of Roman Folk-Songs. This instalment contains the political songs which extend from the XVIIth century down to the present day. All the prominent events of the present century are noted, from the expulsion of the Jesuits and the establishment of the Republic to the Franco-Prussian war and the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops. The last one of these songs is amusing from the mistake it contains, and which we should hardly expect in Rome. It begins: "Orlând' al pònte!" but of course refers to Horatius Coclès. Pitrè contributes an article on the signs and gestures of the Sicilian people, which confirms all that has been said of the marvellous ability of the Neapolitans and Sicilians to communicate their thoughts by signs. Many of these gestures have an historical origin, and some of the inscriptions in the shops may be found also in ours, as "Pay to-day, and trust to-morrow," etc. There is also an interesting article on All Souls' Day in Catalonia, by Maspons y Labros. He mentions, among other customs, one in Tarragona which is practically the same as the feasts of the dead still observed in Normandy. The reader of Tylor's 'Primitive Culture' (ii., p. 26 et seq.) can add these examples to the great mass already accumulated by him from all parts of the world. The custom, we may add, still survives in Sicily. The other articles consist of a collection of popular songs from the Romagna (in the neighborhood of Cento) and a number of inscriptions on the walls in Rome. The number closes with a bibliography and notices. From the latter we learn that Pitrè is editing a collection of Genoese and Piedmontese popular tales, and will shortly publish a volume of Tuscan tales. The first number of the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* was published in March, and contains, among other things, the first of a series of articles by Corvisieri on "Popular Roman Festivals of the Middle Ages."

—A. Bartoli, professor in the Istituto Superiore at Florence, and well known in Italy as the author of an excellent history of early Italian literature now appearing in parts at Milan, has recently published an interesting little work on 'Boccaccio and his Sources' ('I Precursori del Boccaccio e alcune delle sue Fonti.' Florence, 1876, pp. 86). It has long been the fashion to say that the great Italian novelist plundered the French *fabliaux*. Bartoli shows, we think, quite conclusively that this is incorrect, and that it by no means follows because a novel of the 'Decamerone' and a *fabliau* have a common subject that the latter is the source of the former. He suggests that the *fabliaux* and the 'Decamerone' may have a common source

in the vast mass of popular tales which constituted the material from which such collections as the 'Gesta Romanorum' and the *fabliaux* were drawn. The essay is a very suggestive one, and its appearance very timely. The mania for parallelism in tales, etc., has reached its height, and has done good service in collecting material for the critic to work on. What is needed now is a more careful comparison of the separate tales with a view to establishing the sources. When this is done, we have no doubt it will be found that those stories which are the most popular are in most cases independent—that is, not copied from any one version, but taken directly from the original source of all, popular tradition.

—Professor Pio Rajna, of Milan, has recently published his long-looked-for work on the sources of the 'Orlando Furioso' ('Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso,' Florence, 1876). The work was originally intended as a contribution to the Ariosto festival (May, 1875), but the author found that his work had assumed such proportions that it would not be possible to complete it at that date, and it was not published until the end of the past year. The idea of the work is not new: many of the old editions of the 'Furioso' have indications of the sources of various episodes in the poem, and some of the modern editions, notably Panizzi's, and Bolza's 'Manuale Ariostesco,' contain elaborate references to the sources. They are, however, for the most part limited to the most apparent imitations of classical sources and the 'Orlando Innamorato' of Bojardo. Rajna's plan is entirely different, and his task one of great magnitude. It is no less than a minute examination of the entire 'Furioso,' and comparison of it with the whole mass of romances of chivalry, etc., which preceded it. The author has also examined a large number of inedited romances, and his work can only be compared to that done by Bowle for his famous commentary on 'Don Quijote' (6 vols., London, 1781). An introduction of fifty-six pages gives a general survey of the field down to the time of Ariosto; then follow twenty chapters containing the detailed examination of the 'Furioso.' The French romances most frequently cited are: 'Guiron le Courtois,' 'Bret' (the romance of Tristan), and 'Lancelot,' all inedited. The results of Rajna's investigation are briefly these: Ariosto's obligations to Bojardo are many and great; he owes little to the Italian romances of chivalry, and a great deal to the French. His most important sources, however, were classical ones, and he has drawn largely on the 'Metamorphoses,' 'Æneid,' 'Thebaid,' 'Argonautica,' etc. Rajna closes with a few pages devoted to the question whether the merit of Ariosto is diminished by his frequent appropriations from the works of others. This question he answers in the negative, as we think others will do. Ariosto took his material wherever he found it, but his genius made it his own. This handsome volume, of over five hundred pages, will henceforth be indispensable for the study of the great poet, and at the same time is a fine monument to the patient research and high scholarship of the author.

—From the very flattering notices which the English journals have accorded to the new volumes of Victor Hugo's 'Légende des Siècles,' it is apparent that the writer has lately become almost the fashion in England—a fact to be attributed in a measure to the influence of the "aesthetic" school, or, to speak more correctly, probably, of Mr. Swinburne, who, as we know, swears by Victor Hugo, and whose judgments seem to appeal less forcibly to the English sense of humor than they do to a corresponding quality on this side of the Atlantic. Be this as it may, however, Victor Hugo's new volumes are as characteristic as might have been expected—as violent and extravagant in their faults, and in their fine passages as full of imaginative beauty. Apropos of the sense of humor, the absence of this quality is certainly Victor Hugo's great defect—the only limitation (it must be confessed it is a very serious one) to his imaginative power. It should teach him occasionally to kindle Mr. Ruskin's "lamp of sacrifice." This "nouvelle série" of the 'Légende des Siècles' is not a continuation of the first group of poems which appeared under this name: it is rather a return to the same ground, the various categories under which the first poems appeared being supplied with new recruits. These categories are too numerous to be mentioned here; they stretch from the creation of the world to the current year of grace. It is an immense plan, and shows on the author's part not only an extraordinary wealth of imagination, but a remarkable degree of research. It is true that Victor Hugo's researches are often rather pedantically exhibited; no poet was ever so fond of queer proper names, dragged together from dusty corners of history and legend, and strung together rhythmically—often with a great deal of ingenuity. He is too fond of emulating Homer's catalogue of the ships. But he has what the French call an extraordinary *scent* for picturesque subjects. These two volumes contain many examples of it; the story, for instance, of a certain king of

Arragon who gives his son a blow on the cheek, whereupon the proud and sensitive young man, outraged, retires into the desert. The father, aggrieved at his desertion and greatly sorrowing, descends into the sepulchral crypt where his own father is buried, and there, apostrophizing the bronze statue on his tomb, complains of the young man's ingratitude and weeps. After this has gone on some time he feels, in the darkness, the statue stroke his cheek tenderly with its great hand. "L'Aigle du Casque," one of the best things in the two volumes, is the tale of a certain Northumbrian baron of the dark ages, Lord Tiphaine—Victor Hugo's English names are always very queer. He has a duel with a young Scotch noble—a delicate stripling many years his junior, and on the latter taking fright and fleeing from him, he pursues him a whole summer's day, over hill and dale, and at last overtakes him and murders him. The story of the chase and its various episodes is a specimen of Victor Hugo at his best. When the brutal Northumbrian has hacked his victim to death the brazen eagle perched upon his helmet suddenly becomes animate, utters in a rancorous scream its detestation of the dead, bends over and with its beak and talons tears his face to pieces, and then spreading its wings sails majestically away. Victor Hugo excels in leading a long narrative piece of verse up to a startling climax of this kind, related in the half-dozen closing lines. These volumes contain the usual proportion of fulsome adulation of Paris and of the bloodiest chapters in its history—that narrow Gallomania which makes us so often wonder at times, not whether the author is, after all, a great poet, but whether he is not very positively and decidedly a small poet. But, outside of this, this new series of what is probably his capital work contains plenty of proofs of his greatness—passages and touches of extraordinary beauty. No poet has written like Victor Hugo about children, and the second of these volumes contains a masterpiece of this kind. "Petit Paul" is simply the history of a very small child whose mother dies and whose father takes a second wife—a coarse, hard woman, who neglects the little boy. Before his father's second marriage he has been much with his grandfather, who delights in him—"Oh! quel céleste amour entre ces deux bonshommes." The grandfather dies and is buried, to Paul's knowledge, in the village churchyard. The stepmother comes; the child's life is miserably changed, and at last, one winter's night, he starts out, and, not having been missed, is found the next morning dead in the snow at the closed gate of the cemetery. We must quote the lines in which the author describes him while he is meditating this attempt to rejoin his grandfather, the other *bonhomme*; on hearing his step-mother caress his step-brother, lately born:

"Paul se souvenait avec la quantité
De mémoire qu'auraient les agneaux et les roses
Qu'il s'était entendu dire les mêmes choses.
Il prenait dans un coin, à terre, ses repas;
Il était devenu muet, ne parlait pas.
Ne pleurait plus. L'enfance est parfois sombre et forte,
Souvent il regardait lugubrement la porte."

—M. Ernest Legouvé, the French dramatist, the literary partner of Scribe and the author of 'Médée,' suggested to the editor of the *Temps* newspaper the publication from time to time in the feuilleton of that journal of little comedies suitable for private theatricals, more particularly in country houses. His suggestion was adopted. A series of bright little plays, for the most part written especially for the occasion, and all admirably suited for performance by amateurs in private houses, appeared in the *Temps*. Ten of these have now been published in a neat volume of about three hundred pages, under the title proposed by M. Legouvé, 'Théâtre de Campagne' (New York: F. W. Christern). Besides the prefatory letter, in which he points out the need for some such collection as this, M. Legouvé contributes three of the plays. The remainder are the work of M. Henri Meilhac, M. Henri de Bornier (the author of 'La Fille de Roland'), M. Ernest d'Hervilly, and others less known but hardly less skilful or ingenious. For the benefit of those who think of the manners and morals of the contemporary French stage as Dr. Johnson thought of the manners and morals of Lord Chesterfield's letters, it may be said that none of these little plays is in the least immoral and, with the exception, indeed, of two of the ten, 'Paturel,' by M. Meilhac, and 'Les Petits Cadeaux,' by M. Normand (which, although in no sense improper, may suggest phases of life of which the young mind is fortunately likely to be ignorant), there is nothing in the volume to offend the most fastidious. For students of French no longer novices, and seeking to acquire idioms and colloquial phrases of use in actual talk, these plays, written in just the right conversational key, are very well adapted; and for acting in the parlor or reading aloud it would be difficult to surpass some of them, notably the two comedies of M. Ernest d'Hervilly, of which one especially, 'La Soupière,' slightly in the style of 'A Morning Call,' and gracefully satirizing the china-mania of the day, is particularly polished and pointed.

PALMERSTON.*

RESTORE Palmerston to life and vigor, and within six months he would be Prime Minister of England. The truth of this assertion will be doubted by few calm critics of Palmerston's life and of contemporary English opinion. But to account for his influence is not so easy as to recognize how firm within certain limits was his hold on the sympathies of the English people. Many of the advantages or qualities which have raised other men to power were wanting to the statesman who, for the last ten years of his life, was, with very brief interruptions, Prime Minister, and whose power might have endured to this day could his life have been prolonged. Palmerston was not an orator. His language was correct, and one or two of his speeches were powerful; but it was certainly not by gifts of speech that he foiled the attacks of Disraeli and kept Gladstone in a position of honorable subordination. Palmerston was not, like Russell, the hereditary leader of a great connection. He was at times supported by a section of radicals, but Palmerston did not owe his influence to the support of a rising party or to his having advocated a successful cause. It would be difficult, in fact, to identify his name with any distinct cause or principle, such as Parliamentary reform or free-trade. He was rarely behind his time, but he certainly was still more rarely before it. His training and intellect did not fit him for the career of an agitator, and his policy when in power proves that he had little taste for sweeping changes. With one remarkable exception there is no important measure with which his name can be identified. Nor can his influence be attributed to a reputation for exceptionally high political principle. Lord Russell's strenuous advocacy of Whig doctrines, when to be a Whig meant permanent exclusion from office, has never been forgotten by the English nation. No one could mention the principle for which Palmerston sacrificed anything. The high character of Lord Althorp stood him in place of talents. To draw a comparison between Palmerston and Althorp would involve a satire upon each of two statesmen, both of whom deserved well of their country. Admirers will suggest that Palmerston's strong point was his statesmanlike foresight. Patent facts dispose of the suggestion. Support of Turkey and opposition to the Suez Canal are two of the most salient features of his foreign policy. The Turkish Empire is crumbling to pieces, and England has become the chief shareholder in the canal. With more plausibility his strength may be said to have resided in his talent for administration. This explanation of his influence comes near the mark, but hardly hits it. Of financial administration he knew nothing, and foreign affairs do not give much scope for administrative capacity. He was, it is said, a good Home Secretary, but the same thing is alleged of Mr. Gathorne Hardy and of twenty other gentlemen of moderate ability. The truth is that Palmerston owed his success to no one prominent trait of character. It was not oratory, it was not extraordinary public spirit, it was not far-sighted statesmanship or rare administrative capacity which made him not perhaps a great but certainly a considerable minister. The source of his power was that he possessed a happy combination of qualities not in themselves very extraordinary, and that his defects were as helpful to him as his merits. He was, in short, a man of considerable ability, with a thoroughly commonplace moral and intellectual character. His ability aided him much. His commonness of mind prevented his ability from ever leading him into the perils which beset the path of originality.

Of his ability there can be no doubt whatever. Parliament may be dazzled by oratorical talents, and the public may be misled by the reputation which a minister sometimes gets through the work of subordinates; but leaders who are engaged in forming a government soon learn to know who are the men helpful in business. To this class Palmerston was soon known to belong. He was recognized as an official whom it was desirable to have as a colleague, and this recognition he fully deserved. He worked at the work of Government as energetically as a rising barrister works at law, and long before he was Prime Minister came thoroughly to understand his trade. This thorough professional competence was his first great advantage in the race for success. Compared, for example, with Disraeli, who has not spent even now more than five years in office, Palmerston always stood in the position of a trained professional man as compared with a layman. He had the further advantage that having known England and English politics during the period of a war with France, he thus knew and appreciated the full strength of the British Empire. To be imbued with what is called imperial feeling may, no doubt, be in some respects a disadvantage to a modern statesman, but no man was ever the trusted leader of a great people who did not sympathize with their greatness. Palmerston, at any rate,

owed half his success to his undoubted zeal for what seemed to him the greatness of England. He was not, however, liable to the charge of overrating her strength. A careful study of his career shows that in foreign affairs he was a resolute but not an adventurous statesman. When he acted most vigorously he knew himself to be supported by allies; when he saw that the country might risk standing alone, he acted with a caution for which neither admirers nor opponents gave him full credit. He resisted the clamor of the friends of the Southern Confederacy, and the far more respectable agitation in favor of supporting Denmark against Germany. Here, as elsewhere, he displayed what was after all the best feature of his character—freedom from cant. In his private letters, in his public utterances, and in his general policy appears exactly the same trait. There is always visible a readiness on his part to look facts in the face, undeluded either by the baser or by the nobler passions which blind less clear-sighted politicians. His one great legislative achievement was to carry the Divorce Act in spite of the passion and rhetoric of Mr. Gladstone. The clever old man, accustomed to take the world much as he found it, could not be blinded by the cant of ecclesiastics and lawyers who taught that a divorce was allowable when achieved by Act of Parliament, but a disgrace to a Christian country when decreed by a court. If freedom from cant were the sole requisite for moral and intellectual greatness, Palmerston would occupy a far higher place among statesmen than will be claimed for him by his warmest eulogists.

But the freedom from the tendency to make an idol of formulas may be the result of a want of power to appreciate principles, and it is impossible not to see that Palmerston, with all his cleverness, trusted in a sort of hand-to-mouth statesmanship. He was cordial to Louis Napoleon in 1852; not ten years later he suspected him of deadly hostility to England. His indifference to the crime of the 2d of December was due in part to his very freedom from cant: he saw through the sham liberalism of the Orleans family, and despised the insincere lamentations over the fall of the Republic, poured out by men who would gladly enough have overthrown the constitution if they could have put their own friends in power. But if his friendliness to the author of the *Coup d'état* arose in part out of freedom from the illusions of those who assumed that foes of Louis Napoleon must be friends of liberty, it was certainly also connected with that callousness to fine moral sentiment which, if it detracts from a statesman's character, adds greatly to his chance of success. There are, we are ready to believe, many men high in office who could not have brought themselves on the very morrow of the *Coup d'état* to tender something like congratulation to a perjured President reeking with the blood of his fellow citizens. But Palmerston was not a man of nice or sensitive moral feeling. He felt no abhorrence for Louis Napoleon's crimes, and he had the clear-sightedness to see that his crimes had been crowned by success. Palmerston's colleagues, it is true, entertained feelings like his own, but wanted the pluck to avow them. Nor can the school who have canonized Mr. Cobden blame the foresight with which Palmerston hurried to conciliate their teacher's Imperial disciple. The great free-trader was never betrayed into a denunciation of Napoleonism, and from his acts may be suspected to have held that the despot who promoted free-trade might be pardoned for destroying freedom. In justice also to Palmerston it should be noted that his shrewdness and indifference to high principle led him to anticipate the judgment which within a few years the mass of Englishmen would pass on Louis Napoleon. Here, as in every other part of his life, he displayed, though little to his credit, that sympathy with common English sentiment which arose in part from the thorough commonness of Palmerston's own genius.

This vulgarity of sentiment was the great flaw in his character. It was also, combined with his talents, half the secret of his success. In nothing does this vulgarity of his views stand forth more clearly than in his conception of English foreign policy. It would be injustice to deny that he had a real though not over-ardent sympathy with the struggle of Continental nations for freedom. He supported the Turks in their refusal to surrender Hungarian refugees; he aided the Swiss patriots in their struggle with the *Sonderbund*; he gave valuable support to the Italian Constitutionalists; but what lay at his heart was the extension of English power. His idea, however, of imperial greatness was thoroughly vulgar. His whole aim was to make England everywhere "cock of the walk," as the phrase goes. He was quite prepared with this view to defy great powers if necessary, but he was equally prepared to bully weak states. Characteristically enough, his great triumphs were each connected with persons and circumstances which can scarcely be called reputable. Don Pacifico was not exactly the client on whose behalf the whole might of England ought to have been put forth. The so-called affair of the *Lorcha* is certainly not a transaction to which Englishmen can look back with

* 'The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, 1846-1865. By the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.' London: Bentley & Son.

pride. But what we have termed the vulgarity of his patriotism did not injure his reputation among the crowd of electors. The desire to promote English commerce, the determination not to truckle to a Chinese mandarin, the resolution to make an Englishman a sort of *civis Romanus*, who could go freely about the world without a care whether he did or did not tread on the toes of foreigners and barbarians, are all feelings with which the ordinary run of Englishmen must of necessity sympathize, just as the ordinary run of Germans or Americans will inevitably sympathize with the effort to extend at all costs the power of the German Empire or of the Union. Lord Palmerston, in short, entered fully and genuinely into the ordinary sentiments of the nation, and had as a statesman just that kind of advantage which is possessed in commerce by a tradesman who shares and understands the feelings and wishes of his customers. "Palmerston," remarked a gentleman who had known him in business, "always reminded me of a first-rate head waiter." The sarcasm cuts deep, and points to the sources of the premier's strength no less than of his weakness. He had no doubt something of the vulgar, commonplace character which, rightly or wrongly, one is apt to attribute to the gentlemen who work their way to fortune by supreme skill in guiding the affairs of an English tavern; but he possessed also that indomitable good humor, that unfailing readiness to adapt himself to the wishes of others, and that capacity for easily passing from the attitude of obedient servant to that of trusted guide which are certainly the marked qualities of those bland, energetic, and ready-witted functionaries who are called upon at all hours to show a vivid yet not oppressive interest in the wishes of hungry and impatient customers, and can with the utmost air of deference, under the show of advice, really dictate to not very manageable old gentlemen what shall be their choice of viands for dinner. The minister (in this, too, like the successful head waiter) always had, or seemed to have, the profoundest belief in the house which he served. If he believed in nothing else, he showed unswerving faith in the power and resources of the British Lion.

GUILLEMIN'S APPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE.*

IT was Fontenelle, we believe, who said of Leibnitz that he drove all the sciences abreast, and everybody remembers the witty gibe which Sydney Smith flouted at Dr. Whewell when he pleasantly remarked of the latter that science was his *forte* and omniscience his *foible*. Whether it is the laurels of Leibnitz or of Whewell which will not let M. Guillemin rest, we must leave to be decided by his admirers, of whom he has many, or by his critics, of whom he has a due share. But, in any event, it is certain that, however inferior he may be to the great German philosopher in point of profundity, or to the English professor in the breadth and variety of his learning, he is easily the rival of both in the untiring activity of his mind and in the facility of his pen. He seems to have taken all science for his province—not, indeed, with the view of adding new territories to its domain, or even with the view of clearing up disputes which lie upon its boundaries, but rather for the purpose of making intelligent excursions through its wide and fertile fields, as also for the purpose of reporting, in a readable shape, the results of a voyage made without much heavy baggage, but not without the eye of a keen and trained observer.

His present work on the applications of physical forces has not called for much original interpretation, but it has called for wide reading, for accurate knowledge, for judicious selection, for systematic classification, and for terse as well as clear description. And these qualities are found to pervade the book, giving it form and complexion. It is easy to see that the work in its theory and execution is little more than the natural sequel and complement of the author's earlier treatise under the title of 'The Forces of Nature,' which found a reproduction in England at the hands of the same translator, and received additions from the same competent editor. The logical order observed in the arrangement of the topics comprised in the two works is, indeed, precisely the same so far as such conformity was possible, for the contents of each are grouped under the same several heads of Gravity, Sound, Light, Heat, Magnetism, and Electricity. The only exception to this similarity in the form of the two books is found in the fact that the earlier treatise on the forces of nature has a seventh division under the head of Atmospheric Meteors, and this head is wanting in the present work for an obvious reason.

It will be seen at once that the order pursued by M. Guillemin in the arrangement of his topics is the natural one, being a logical order as determined by the comparative complexity or obscurity of the forces and appli-

cations of which he treats, and hence representing, at the same time, the chronological order of discovery and development as determined by the history of scientific progress. And as this method of treatment has controlled the order and series assigned to the grand divisions of the volume, so, in like manner, it has equally controlled the distribution of the contents that are comprised under each of the minor heads and chapters into which the work is subdivided.

We ought perhaps to apprise the reader that the scientific applications embraced within the scope of this book are "strictly confined to those of which the principle is borrowed from physics"—that is, from the forces of nature and the laws which these forces manifest—"leaving on one side the numerous applications which depend exclusively upon mechanics." And in treating on such applications, as thus limited, the writer allows himself only the most incidental reference to their politico-economical aspects or their other subsidiary relations. For instance, the reciprocal relations of scientific discovery and of practical art are discussed with a single brief paragraph at the threshold of the work, where he utters a warning against two opposite tendencies which he properly deems to be equally unfortunate—that of the practical man who, because of his successful but narrow dexterity, is sometimes tempted to treat all scientific theory with disdain, and that of the original and purely scientific investigator who, because of his addiction to rational processes, is sometimes tempted to hold in too much disesteem the knowledge which depends on "the rule of thumb." It seems to have been the set purpose of M. Guillemin to turn away from all such side-lights and cross-lights whenever they are suggested by his theme, that he might the more strictly and exclusively confine himself to the description, aim, and object of the volume.

Having thus explained the general design of the present work, we cannot, of course, undertake to give anything like an adequate summary of its contents, as the merest inventory of those contents would exceed the limits within which we are restricted, and would, besides, contribute nothing to the information of the reader. We may, however, signalize for special praise the chapters in which M. Guillemin discourses on the applications of the phenomena and the laws of heat, though here, as under some of the other heads, we miss a description of certain appliances which, we are sure, have been left out of view, not at all from ignorance on the part of the writer, but from the necessary limitations imposed on the choice of his materials. And yet it does seem to us that an invention like Siemens's furnace was as much entitled to a place among the applications of heat described in this volume as the warming-pans of the ancients or the burning-mirrors of Tschirnhausen and of Septala, which receive their due commemoration at the hands of the author.

We have not had the means of comparing the translation of Mrs. Lockyer with the French original of M. Guillemin, and in the absence of any opportunity for doing so we are unable to report how far the present English version has profited by the additions of its editor. The repute, however, both of the translator and of the editor is a sufficient guarantee for the general excellence of the part they have respectively taken in this publication. Occasionally it would seem that the pen of Mrs. Lockyer makes a slight slip in giving the English equivalents of certain proper names, which are allowed to retain their Gallic physiognomy instead of conforming to English orthography. Thus, for instance, King Hiero of Syracuse appears in Mrs. Lockyer's English text as King Hieron, and Philo, the architect, is slightly disguised in the same manner behind his French mask.

The volume is well equipped with illustrative figures and engravings designed to explain the text, though in at least one instance—we allude to the description given of the ingenious apparatus known as "Nero's fountain"—we observe that the guiding letters used in the text to denote the several parts and relations of the apparatus are without their accurate counterparts in the cut to which they refer.

The popular interest and value of the work we have thus imperfectly described do not need enforcement in a day like ours, when what Cicero said of literature and its omnipresent solace may be said with equal truth of science and of its ubiquitous applications. These applications—we do but slightly modify the words of M. Guillemin—"follow us in the actions of every-day life, in our work and in our pleasures; they are present with us at the domestic hearth and in our travels; they are associated with our joys; they are blended with our sorrows." The steam-engine alone, as Mr. Lockyer certifies, is working in England to-day with a mechanical power which represents the productive force of nearly a hundred millions of workmen. And in the pages of M. Guillemin we may read how the same scientific applications, which thus transform and multiply the productive forces of nature, are equally ready to lend their aid to the most

* Applications of Physical Forces. By Amédée Guillemin. Translated from the French by Mrs. Norman Lockyer, and edited, with Additions and Notes, by J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. With colored plates and illustrations. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

artificial and evanescent of human enjoyments, as in the new opera-house of Paris, where a Bunsen battery of three hundred and sixty elements is used to throw upon the stage an electric light which produces at will an artificial sky, a twilight when required for the enchantments of Gounod, and a genuine rainbow when "Moses in Egypt" is put upon the boards. So true is it that the thousand habits and the thousand wants of the modern civilized man depend for their existence and their gratification on science and its inventions.

Montcalm et le Canada Français. Par Charles de Bonnechose (Paris : Hachette ; New York : F. W. Christern 1877.)—Last year M. Charles de Bonnechose published in the *Correspondant* two articles on the Marquis de Montcalm, and these, with some changes, are now printed in a small volume. The main subject of the work is introduced by observations on French colonization in Canada, in which the author rejects the view taken by certain American writers that the failure of that colony was mainly due to the narrow, arbitrary, and exclusive policy by which it was controlled ; and, like M. Rameau before him, insists that it succumbed merely to the superior numbers of its English rivals. It was undoubtedly overborne by superior numbers after a most gallant struggle ; but the question is, Whence came its numerical inferiority ? This was a natural effect of the Bourbon rule, inseparably linked as it was with religious bigotry. There was nothing in Canada to tempt an emigrant, and everything to repel him. He was even less free than at home, unless he ran off to the woods and joined the Indians ; and, as at home, life was one hard struggle with want, where every effort to better his condition was met by restrictions and monopolies, intended for good but resulting in endless mischief. "The Frenchman," says M. de Bonnechose, "was disinclined to emigrate." Under the circumstances this could not be surprising ; but was it true ? France was full of families who longed to emigrate, and were ready to dare and endure anything to gain the opportunity. It needed but a word from the Government, and a host of Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, would have made for themselves a new home in the West, beyond the bounds of Canadian absolutism. But the savage bigotry that created the dragonnades forbade their victims to escape, and closed against them the New World, which England had made the asylum of the suffering and the persecuted of every race and nation. No wonder, then, that the English colonies grew in numbers while the French colony languished. None but Catholics were allowed to go to Canada, and none but Protestants wanted to go.

The main subject of the book is excellently treated. Montcalm was a great soldier and a good scholar, whose heroic nature drew inspiration from Plutarch, which he read in the original, and who, after his greatest triumph, planted on the lines of Ticonderoga a tablet inscribed with a couplet in Latin hexameters, at once exultant and devout, composed on the spot by himself. Few stories are more sad or more admirable than that of this high and generous spirit, upholding a hopeless cause, in the midst of slander and persecution, abandoned by the king whom he served, and left to battle alone against corruption within and the armies of England without. A courage so nobly sustained lifts him above pity, and the death which he met on the field of battle is that which he would himself have chosen.

The Life of H.R.H. the Prince Consort. By Theodore Martin. Vol. II. (London : Smith & Elder ; New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1876.)—Mr. Theodore Martin's ingenuity must find itself a good deal more taxed as he advances in this official biography. In the first volume, which was noticed in these pages at the time of its appearance, he had occasion to handle a good many matters which were personal to the Prince—the history of his early years, of his education, his marriage, his first steps in the career which this event opened to him. Of these things Mr. Martin made an agreeable narrative, and his pages were sufficiently entertaining ; but when his hero settles down to the quiet life of father to the Queen's children he ceases to have any history that the general reader (at least the American reader) will deem worth relating on the extensive scale adopted by Mr. Martin. The author shows us that the Prince led a very busy life, interested himself in a great many different things, and played his part with a most laudable combination of zeal and discretion. But his activity is (without speaking invidiously) of a second-rate sort, and the record of his occupations reminds us of the diaries kept by certain cultivated young persons of leisure who desire to lead "serious" lives, and who note down the profitable books they have read, the charitable visits they have paid, and the edifying reflections they have made. The fault in all this is not with the Prince, for whom the reader feels an extreme kindness, but rather with his

biographer, or at least with the conditions imposed upon his biographer. Of course no life of the Prince Consort save an official life would be written, and of course an official life would have to be diffuse and majestic. The frame, consequently, is too large for the picture, the portrait too small for the background. To eke out his material Mr. Martin has had to narrate a great many events which can only be said by a great stretch of courtesy to belong to the personal history of the Prince Consort. The biography of the Queen, when it comes some day to be written, will presumably be little more than the history of her reign ; and so Mr. Martin has assumed that to relate the history of her reign is the simplest way to write her husband's biography. Two thirds of the present volume, which goes from 1848 to 1854, is devoted to public affairs, not less on the Continent than in England, with which the Prince's nearest connection is that he writes a dullish sensible letter about them to Sir Robert Peel, to Baron Stockmar, to the King of the Belgians, or to some member of his own family. Almost the only event narrated by Mr. Martin (save the birth of the royal infants) which can be said to form an episode in the life of the Prince is his patronage of the Exhibition of 1851. In this enterprise he appears to have been really active and original, and of the honor that belongs to it he may claim the larger share.

Baron Stockmar figures in the present volume, as in the former one, and his letters of advice to the Queen and Prince are quoted *in extenso* by the biographer, who has for this domestic counsellor of royalty an admiration with which we suspect he will succeed but partly in inoculating the reader. Stockmar's advice is apparently safe and sensible, but it is offered in a dry, dogmatic manner which the reader will sometimes find irritating. The Prince Consort's personal record during these years is made up of a presidency of the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Working Classes ; a governorship of the Royal Agricultural Society (incidental to which was a dinner—"infamous, without method and without viands, no wine, muddy water, no potatoes, and the fish without sauce !") ; of various visits to Osborne and Balmoral (which latter estate the Prince purchased in 1852) ; of a Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, which he made something better than a sinecure, exerting himself for a reform in the arrangement of studies ; of plans for the education of his children and for making, under Baron Stockmar's inspiration, a "moral character" of the Prince of Wales ; of a visit to Ireland (the first made by the Queen) in 1849 ; of a decision, dictated apparently by great good sense, not to accept the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army, when a proposal with regard to it was laid before him in 1850 by the Duke of Wellington ; of the death of Sir Robert Peel, of whom he was an intimate friend ; of a certain amount of friction with Lord Palmerston, of whom he was *not* such a friend, and to whom he was more than once charged with expressing the Queen's displeasure at the Minister's indiscretions. There are a good many extracts from the Queen's Journal, of the same subdued complexion as those that have hitherto appeared ; and there is a passage from a letter in which the Prince relates that her Majesty is very much "cut up" (*sic*) at the death of Queen Adelaide. Lastly, Mr. Martin gives an account of the temporary unpopularity of the Prince in 1854, when the question of "impeaching" him came for a moment before the House of Lords. During this time the Prince was really talked of in certain quarters in somewhat the same tone as that in which Marie Antoinette was decried as "l'Autrichienne." But this scandal—for a scandal it was—was fortunately of brief duration. We have said that Mr. Martin's second volume is inferior in interest to his first, but we must add our impression of his book being an admirable piece of work of its kind—in excellent taste, constantly polite, and yet never fulsome.

The True Blue-Laws of Connecticut and New Haven, and the False Blue-Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters ; to which are added specimens of the laws and judicial proceedings of other colonies, and some Blue-Laws of England in the reign of James I. Edited by J. Hammond Trumbull. (Hartford, Conn. : American Publishing Company. 1876. 12mo, pp. 360.)—Whoever feels anger in his heart against New England finds always ready to his hand two crushing charges against her, besides the smallness of her territory : these are, that witches were burned at Salem, and that the Blue-Laws of Connecticut forbade a man to kiss his wife on Sunday. The first of these allegations may be left to Dr. Palfrey, Mr. Upham, and Mr. Poole ; to the second it may be hoped that Mr. Trumbull has now given the *coup de grâce*. The volume edited by him contains the early codes of Connecticut and New Haven, together with miscellaneous laws, orders, and judgments of both colonies ; the whole occupying 250 pages. The first of these is the Connecticut Constitution of 1638-9, which

has been called "the first properly American constitution," the instrument by which the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield—which were, if we are not mistaken, original independent political bodies—formed a permanent union. The first fifty pages contain an introduction in two general parts: first, a statement of the popular beliefs, legislation, and judicial proceedings, especially of England, out of which this blue legislation grew; second, a history of the several Blue-Law falsifications, especially that of Mr. Peters, a native of Connecticut, who published in 1781 a mendacious and abusive history of Connecticut, from which are derived most of the absurd fabrications which pass as the Blue-Laws of Connecticut. These forgeries of Peters only occupy eight pages, and are on the whole less gross than we had supposed. For Mr. Trumbull's controversial purposes—to show the parallelism of Connecticut legislation with that of other communities—we have, in notes and at the end of the volume, copious extracts from laws and judgments of New York, Virginia, Massachusetts, and England, many of them quite as offensively Puritan—even those of Virginia—as the genuine laws of Connecticut. For instance, the 16th of Peters's laws reads: "No priest shall abide in the Dominion; he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant." A foot-note (p. 303) says: "There was nothing like this in the code, but New York had such a law, and Virginia forbade any popish priest to remain in the province more than five days after notice, and subjected every popish 'recusant' to a heavy fine on conviction." Again, we find in Virginia (p. 321), for blasphemy or unlawful oaths, on the second offence, "to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue"; for the third offence, death. And in 1623-4 (p. 324): "Whosoever shall absent himself from divine service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, shall forfeit a pound of tobacco, and he that absenteth himself a month shall forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco." The fact is, the genuine Puritanical legislation of New England was the outgrowth of the spirit of the age; it was here more consistent and thorough, and of longer continuance than elsewhere, but after all not materially different in character.

The Folk-Lore of China, and its Affinities with that of the Aryan and Semitic Races. By N. B. Dennys. (London: Trübner & Co. 1876.)—The increasing interest in the study of folk-lore is shown by the large number of works which are beginning to crowd the collector's shelves, where, a few years ago, only a stray volume of 'Grimm's Tales' was to be found. The most remote localities have recently furnished their contingent, and we have had Zulu folk-lore, and Eskimo folk-lore, Russian folk-tales and Basque legends, tales of Old Japan and Sicilian folk-lore, and now the folk-lore of China. The author has produced a very interesting and valuable volume, even if he has not, as it seems to us, established his theory of the affinity of Chinese and Aryan folk-lore.

He has divided his materials into five classes: superstitions as to personal fortune, superstitions involving the interference of supernatural powers, legendary folk-lore, and fables and proverbial folk-lore. The first feeling, we think, on glancing over Mr. Dennys' pages will be one of astonishment at the many coincidences between Chinese and European folk-lore. For instance, it is deemed unlucky in China to rock an empty cradle. When a bride returns home a plate of rice (in the north of England shortcake) is thrown over her head, and her foot is not allowed to touch the threshold. Instead of throwing a pair of shoes after the departing bride, the sole of the husband's shoe is laid on her head to indicate subjection to him. A hole is made in the roof to let out a departed soul, when in Europe the windows are opened for the same purpose. The calendar is filled with lucky and unlucky days, the crow and the owl are inauspicious birds, and a crowing hen is deemed undesirable, and is either sold or killed as soon as possible after she has begun to crow. We do not learn whether a whistling woman, whom we usually associate with a crowing hen, is deemed uncanny. If the eyelids move involuntarily, it forbodes good or evil according to the hour and the eye; sneezing indicates that some one is talking ill of the one sneezing; and if a man's second finger shake it is a sign that he will be invited to a feast. Chinese life and literature, the author says, are pervaded by a belief in lucky numbers, dreams, etc., and the evil eye is as much feared in China as in Europe. Spirit-rapping, mesmerism, *sortes virgilianæ* (with the Chinese classics, of course), and chiromancy are much cultivated, while ghosts and witches are as plenty as they were in England and this country in the seventeenth century. Counterparts of the stories of Rip Van Winkle and Melusine are found in China, as well as of the legend of St. George and the dragon. The phoenix and the unicorn are favorite folk-lore animals, and the "man in the moon" is supposed to hold in his hand the power to predestine marriages. The chapter on legends of

locality, household tales, etc., is not so satisfactory as we could wish, mere fragments of the stories being given, and in a very limited number. We find among them, however, parallels to the legend of the Hörseloch cavern in Thuringia, the Fisherman and the Genii in the 'Arabian Nights,' Open Sesame in the same collection, and the story of the Grateful Beasts so common in European tales. There is also an interesting legend of the Bell Tower of Peking, in which the daughter of the founder throws herself into the molten metal in order to secure a successful cast. This seems to be a reminiscence of the rite of foundation-sacrifice (see Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' i. 94). Swan-maidens and the Penelope legend are well known; and there is a tale reminding one of Vicram Maharajah in Miss Frere's 'Old Deccan Days.'

Fables do not seem to be indigenous to China—at least, no collections of purely native fables are known to exist, although detached fables abound. Those given by the author are all, we believe, of Buddhist origin. The proverbs are not particularly good. We note two or three: "Much cry and little wool," is "It thunders loudly and rains very little." "Nothing venture, nothing have," is "If you don't enter a tiger's den you cannot get his cubs." "Carrying coals to Newcastle," is "Offering the Filial Classic for sale at the door of Confucius."

In conclusion, the question naturally suggests itself as to the explanation of what we advisedly called coincidences at the beginning of this notice. We think a large number belong to the class of "original invention," of which so many examples may be found in Tylor's 'Primitive Culture'; of the remainder, many have doubtless been introduced by the Buddhists, as is the case with the fables, and we do not deem it impossible that a small number of superstitions should have been borrowed from European traders, etc. At any rate, we do not think the examples adduced by Mr. Dennys are sufficient to prove any *affinity* between Chinese and Aryan folk-lore, although a small amount of material may be common to both. We trust the author will continue his interesting researches in this new field, and give us, among other things, a volume of Chinese household tales.

Outlines of the Political History of Michigan. By James V. Campbell. (Detroit: Schober & Co. 1876. 8vo, pp. 606.)—Mr. Campbell's 'History of Michigan' is every way a creditable work. It bears the mark of careful, thorough industry, is well written, and is moderate and impartial in its tone. We suppose the author calls it a "political" history, to indicate that he does not undertake to chronicle the petty and trivial details which form so large a proportion of most local histories. But it is not merely political, although that is certainly the leading aspect of the work. Such military events as Pontiac's conspiracy are related with more or less fulness; and Hull's surrender is the subject of a long narration, and a long discussion as to its legal aspects, in which the author's judgment is decidedly hostile to Gen. Hull. We have said that the book is remarkably free from trivial details. It is a genuine history which aims to trace the development of a commonwealth, without cumbering its narration with personal and local items. And although Michigan has been a State but forty years, it is, nevertheless, a very old community, and one is struck at first with a little surprise at the number and variety of topics which come within the range of this volume. It was first under French sovereignty—and this period is treated with great fulness and freshness—then belonged to England, and then to the United States. It has had some very noted episodes of history within its borders—as those of Pontiac and Hull. In its history as a State it has had a career of steady development, and has been honorably distinguished especially for its charitable and educational institutions. The outlying districts, too, which have fallen within its jurisdiction at one time or another—as the State of Wisconsin and the northern peninsula with its rich mining industries—add to the variety of interest embraced in the volume.

We will note, as especially interesting single points, the seigniorial grants of land made by the French Government (pp. 71 and 93); the account of the Quebec Act, which was one of the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence (p. 153); and the sketches illustrating the progress of civilization—as of railroads, education, judicial system, financial matters, etc. On page 385 we find the organization of the *Catholopistemiad* (1817), which afterwards became the University of Michigan. In a note on page 131 are some excellent remarks upon the troubles which have resulted from the mistakes or dishonesty of interpreters—as, for instance, when an English missionary gave out as his text that there was no respect of persons with God, the interpreter rendered it, "that God did not care for the Indians." On the whole, this book deserves to be placed in the first rank of State histories.

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE postponement of the extra session of Congress to October 15 will, we suspect, give satisfaction to everybody but the members who meditate speeches on "Hayes's policy," and the Washington hotel-keepers. The most powerful reason in its favor is the depressing effect on business which a summer session would be sure to cause, and business just now can ill bear depression of any kind. The summer would be passed in projecting or promoting legislation much of which would be mischievous, and in contriving schemes for bringing the Administration into disrepute, and Washington would be crowded with intriguing and penniless Carpet-baggers looking for some kind of light work, and telling stories of "outrages," while the pressure of Congressional politicians at the various departments would seriously interfere with all the reforms now in progress. The argument in favor of the June session drawn from the absence of an appropriation for the army would have much force if the army was now being used in ways which it is probable that Congress when it met would condemn; for there can be no question of the right of Congress, and especially of the House, to saddle its vote of money for military purposes with such conditions and restrictions as it thinks desirable or necessary on the use to be made of the troops by the Executive. But the army is not now being used in any way of which any probable opponent of an appropriation disapproves; and if the power of Congress over the army is to be debated and formally settled, it can be better done in October than in the middle of the hot summer, and those who wish to discuss the President's policy can do it then also with a far better understanding of the subject than now.

It is worth notice that nearly all the departures from the Civil-Service reform programme which have occurred under the new Administration have been in Mr. Key's department. We have called attention in these columns to two or three of them, but these were trifles compared to the last, which was absolutely disgraceful—we mean the appointment of the notorious George H. Butler as a special agent. It was so bad and offensive, and the press was so unanimous in condemnation of it, that it was promptly revoked. But there never was any excuse for its being made. Butler's career has been a notorious one. He was a disreputable person before he was, through his uncle's influence, made Consul-General in Egypt in 1869. In Egypt his conduct was so outrageous that General Starring was directed to make a report on him, which found him guilty of selling vice-consulships for cash, of going about the country with dancing-girls, of public drunkenness and disorder. He had also a shooting affray in the streets of Alexandria, and, in short, his behavior was so scandalous that indignant remonstrances from the American merchants, travellers, and missionaries in Egypt at last procured his recall. What his career has been during the last four years we do not know, but the *Tribune* hints that it has been by no means respectable. His recommendation by Dorsey and Spencer was in keeping with the character of those disreputable Carpet-baggers; and we are glad to observe that Cox and Saylor, the two Democrats who recommended him, are already referred to in party papers as "two suicides." It looks as if Mr. Key's consciousness of the delicacy of his own position were leading him into unfortunate attempts to conciliate the old corrupt Republican chiefs, over whom the public has been hoping it had achieved a victory. Mr. Tyner, after failing to "carry Indiana," has been kept in the Post-Office, and allowed to distribute patronage on the old system to please Morton and Cameron, and

G. H. Butler was fished out of the mud and put in a place to please his worthy old uncle.

The Ohio Legislature has passed an act making silver coin full legal-tender within that State on and after the first of July, and the Senate of Illinois has passed an act by an almost unanimous vote to the same effect. These measures were, no doubt, introduced chiefly with a view to influencing Congressional action next month, and now that the meeting of Congress is postponed till the autumn, we are very likely to hear no more about silver resumption till then. It is difficult to say exactly what the legal effect of a law remonetizing silver in a single State would be; but on many accounts the introduction of the principle of "local option" in these matters is highly desirable. If Ohio could resume in silver while the rest of the country was resuming in gold, the Ohioans would be able to discover by actual experiment the blessings of a cheap currency. It would put Ohio, with regard to the rest of the country, in the same position that the country now holds with relation to the rest of the world. Gold and greenbacks would disappear, prices rise, credit fall, and all creditors be swindled out of a percentage of their property represented by the discount on silver. Small change in enormous amounts would rush into the favored State, and employment be given to thousands of laborers in the manufacture of carts and wagons to transport the new currency from place to place. There is a single drawback to this beautiful picture, and that is that there are only \$50,000,000 of small change in the country—not enough to "go round"; and this leads thoughtful Western journalists to examine the considerations involved in local silver resumption. The *Chicago Tribune* expresses the fear that "while it would be an object for debtors to tender silver as the cheaper money, any draft upon the rest of the country for coin needed elsewhere as small change would immediately increase the value of silver, and it would cease to be the cheaper money and lose any advantage it had previously for the discharge of debts." In other words, while it is "an object" to swindle your creditors, it is more prudent to make sure in advance that the swindle will be a success. To ensure this national legislation is necessary.

The surrender of Crazy Horse and his band swells the number of Indians that have come into Spotted Tail and Red Cloud agencies during the last ten weeks to over 3,500, and makes the total number of Indian surrenders at various agencies during the past year nearly 15,000. All these Indians have been deprived of arms and ponies, and are living at the expense of the Government, in a condition of absolute idleness. They do nothing, according to General Crook, "but loaf about much as a lot of open-air paupers." No prophet is needed to predict the demoralizing results of even a few weeks or months of this kind of life, and no detailed explanation should be necessary to establish the fact that there has not been for many years so favorable an opportunity for so disposing of the vexatious "Indian question" that we shall get rid of it for ever—for putting an end, in other words, to Indian wars and ravages, and beginning the conversion of the costly savage into a peaceful and self-supporting inhabitant. General Crook but echoes the opinion of all competent persons who have examined this subject with any care when he announces that in his opinion the Indian can be readily taught "to make his own living and to live in peace." Let any person disposed to doubt this assertion read carefully the two brief letters of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, in Nos. 577 and 578 of the *Nation*, and we do not think it will be possible for him to doubt any longer. There is now scarcely any considerable force of Indians "on the war-path" anywhere in the Northwest. The Government has them all, or nearly all, absolutely at its mercy, and every motive of economy, or statesmanship, or humanity indicates the proper course for it to pursue. The immediate establishment of

factory or pastoral systems for Indian education and support can now be undertaken, as never before, with almost absolute certainty of perfect success. The President has another great opportunity before him, and Mr. Schurz, by prompt and energetic action, may win a reputation such as the routine duties of his position do not often furnish a chance for acquiring.

The most important events of the week in the financial markets were the advance by the Bank of England of its minimum discount rate to 3 per cent., the advance in the rate for sterling exchange at New York to the point at which gold coin can be profitably exported to London, the call by the United States Treasury for redemption of all the outstanding 5.20s, known as old 65s—the amount being \$10,114,550—the continued recovery in the prices of stocks at the Stock Exchange, and the indictment by the Grand Jury of persons believed to have been guilty of circulating unfounded rumors intended to depreciate the market price of stocks. The advance in the Bank of England rate was justified by the heavy loss of specie of late, and particularly during the week, when it amounted to £1,200,000. Aside from this, the rate had stood for over a year at two per cent.—the lowest it can be—and the political uncertainties incident to the war in Turkey warranted an advance, if only as a precautionary measure. The rise in sterling exchange here to the shipping point had less connection with the war or the London money market than with the fact that called bonds sent home from Europe and the collections of May interest made a strong demand for sterling bills, and that the supply of these was reduced by the falling off in the exports of cotton and food products, the latter because speculation here had run prices up above those in the foreign markets. The call for the outstanding remainder of the old 65s was made at the request of the Syndicate, which has a market for that amount of new 4½ per cents—this notwithstanding that the Eastern war and the advance in gold have checked the purchases by the public of 4½ per cents in Europe and in this country. The rise in stocks has been led by speculative purchases and supported to a limited extent by investment orders. Investors are recovering from the fright into which they were thrown by speculators, but are not yet buying freely. The action of the Grand Jury noted is in their favor, as it shows that the statute put on the books for their protection, and which makes the circulation of false rumors a penal offence, is not a dead-letter. The “paper dollar” has ranged during the week between \$0.9367 and \$0.9313. Silver has ranged between 53¼d. and 54¼d. per oz. in London. At the close a 412½-grain silver dollar would have been worth \$0.9126 gold.

A large meeting of the bar was held last week to protest against the action of the Legislature with regard to the new Code of Civil Procedure, part of which went into effect on the 1st of the month. A more scandalous exposure of the condition of the administration of justice in a great mercantile community has probably never been made. It is safe to say that on the 1st of May, in the year of Grace 1877, in a State which has been for the past thirty years engaged in the work of law reform, no person knew how he could summon any one against whom he had a claim into court; no one knew whether he could or could not make an arrest; it was impossible or futile to begin an action, and dangerous to take any step with a view to securing debts by attachment of property. This confusion the law was suddenly thrown into by an act of the law-making body, which, without the faintest excuse, and in the teeth of strong expressions of public opinion, thus upset a system of practice itself the result of a carefully-considered reform movement, and which had been in force so long that it was well understood by lawyers and easily enforced by the courts. The new system devised by Mr. Throop may be, and is said to be, an improvement on the old, but it is imperfect enough to require nearly three hundred amendments, and under these circumstances to have it forced upon the

courts of a civilized community unprepared to receive it and unacquainted with its details by a *coup de main*, seems like a ghastly caricature of legislative law-reform. The bar is, of course, primarily to blame for not taking measures to protect itself against the outrage, but the Bar Association, though instituted for the purpose of meeting just such difficulties as this, has apparently given up all idea of attempting to do its real duty to the bar and the public, and the whole community would have supinely submitted had not the Legislature by its own blundering stupidity brought the administration of justice into a chaos which rendered it impossible, so long as it lasted, for any business to go on.

A full account of the late Chisholm tragedy in Mississippi is furnished by a correspondent of the *Tribune* from enquiries made on the spot a few days succeeding the affair. The story is a dismal one, but gives a faithful picture of the state of society in some parts of the South. We have not space to enter into the details, but, in brief, it is evident that the tragedy was the climax of a long-standing feud between Chisholm and his followers upon the one side and the friends and numerous members of a family named Gully upon the other—a feud intensified of late years by political differences. We read of a street duel between an adherent of Chisholm and one of the Gullys, in which the former was injured and the latter killed. Then a man is shot by a follower of Chisholm, and a mob makes a bonfire of the latter's goods. Another man is shot; Chisholm running for Congress, is defeated, and procures the indictment of thirty-two political opponents for intimidating his negro supporters. Then, last December a Gully was shot, not fatally, and on the 26th of last month was assassinated. The excited men who attended his funeral procured the arrest of Chisholm and several of his adherents on suspicion, perhaps wholly groundless, of causing his death. Then the mob attacked the jail, and in the *mêlée* which followed Chisholm was mortally wounded, a son shot dead, a daughter badly injured while defending her father, and three men killed. No “troops” could hinder affairs of this kind, and no policy of Government can at once put an end to them. They do not arise from any special feeling of hostility toward the negro, and political animosity is only one element, and frequently not the chief one, creating them. They are a result, as we have more than once pointed out, of a social condition which must be *gradually* changed, which cannot be abolished by either military government or legislative measures. For a generation to come, but with lessening frequency, outbreaks of a similar character may be looked for.

The farcical attempt to get at the bottom of the Tweed confession has resulted thus far in nothing, except an enormous amount of “pressure” upon the Attorney-General to make all the facts public—a pressure which the public owes him a great deal of gratitude for having resisted. The attempt to make him speak has reflected little credit on the press, which has talked about the matter as if Mr. Fairchild occupied a position with relation to the public like that of a “city editor” toward an enterprising “daily,” and as if a failure to give to his employers any salable sensational piece of “Ring news” was a breach of trust. As his duty is to protect the interest of the State and individuals from public malefactors, and as the publication of their confessions in advance of a settlement with those implicated would, in nine cases out of ten, make a settlement out of the question, he has, in all human probability, done quite right in maintaining a guarded silence on the subject, even though his silence has had the necessary effect of conclusively proving that the Senate did not know what it was about when it appointed its committee. Besides the proceedings with regard to the Code, little has been accomplished at Albany except the passage of the Omnibus bill, which remodels the charter of this city for the hundredth time. Some of the changes are said to be good, and the placing of the entire appointing power in the Mayor's hands is undoubtedly an improvement. The interference of the Aldermen with the Mayor in “politics” is one of the

great curses of the present city government, and we shall get no substantial reform until it is brought to an end. The idea that a city like this will consent to be governed indefinitely by a body whose ignorance and folly and love of petty intrigue have become a byword is a mistake.

The interest in the military operations on the Danube and in Asia Minor has been considerably heightened during the week by the condition of English politics, which is rapidly becoming critical. There is no doubt that in the early period of the Turkish troubles the Ministry were disposed to follow the traditional policy of backing up the Turks, and that, under the influence of this leaning, they refused to join in the Berlin Memorandum. They were driven out of this position by the horror and indignation roused by the Bulgarian massacres, and compelled to take part in the Conference to discuss the internal administration of Turkey, and that, too, in a spirit of hostility and suspicion towards the Turks, whose mere promises about reform, unaccompanied by guarantees, Lord Salisbury wrote to Lord Derby, January 13, 1877, as Lord Derby had written to him on the 20th of November, 1876, were of no value. The Conference having failed, through the refusal of England and the other Continental powers to adopt any measures of coercion towards Turkey, Lord Derby then, with the view of preventing Russia from acting alone, and, if possible, of keeping the peace, signed the famous and now somewhat ridiculous Protocol, containing the views of the Powers on the situation, and threatening to do something not described, at a period not fixed, in case the Turks did not reform. The account Lord Derby recently gave of this minatory portion of the Protocol caused laughter, as well it might, and certainly does a good deal to justify Russia's paying no attention to it. He said:

"But what was it we promised in that paragraph of the Protocol which some people have urged, but I think with signal ill-success, involved or implied the idea of coercion? It was this: that if certain things were not done by the Turkish Government—we being the judges of whether they were done or not—then at some time which was not fixed—we being the judges as to when that time had arrived—we should confer with certain other Powers and say what we should then do."

Things were in this somewhat muddled condition when Russia declared war and began to march both in Europe and Asia, and evidently with so much preparation and determination that the friends of the Turk began to doubt whether he was, after all, in condition for such a little "mill" as was preparing for him, and whether Russia was not going to have her way in Asia, and there has, on the whole, been a slight return of the old nervousness about the communications with India, and Lord Derby has mustered up courage to write a despatch disapproving of the war, and saying that Russia ought to have waited to see whether the promises of the Turks, which he (Lord Derby) pronounced worthless in November of last year, would not be kept, and there is some show of military preparation for the protection of British interests, though there is said to be a division of opinion in the Cabinet as to what those interests are. The occurrence of an election in a strongly Liberal borough—Salford, near Manchester—ending in the unexpected return of a Conservative, has been a great stroke of luck for them, as it seems to show that the anti-Turkish sentiment, and also the popular disgust with the shillyshally foreign policy of the Government, are less strong than was supposed. But it is right to say that the defeat of the Liberal candidate is also ascribed, and with good reason, to his attempt to catch the Irish vote, which is strong in the manufacturing districts, by pretending to favor or feel interested in "Home Rule." During all their trials and embarrassments, however, the Ministry have been sustained by the unwillingness of the Liberals to make any direct assault on their position by the introduction of condemnatory resolutions.

Mr. Gladstone, however, appears to be determined that things shall not remain in this undefined state any longer, and gave notice

on Tuesday week of five resolutions, for which he alone would be responsible. These resolutions, according to the telegraphic summary, declare that Turkey has given England just cause of complaint; that until she gives guarantees in support of her promises she is entitled neither to the moral nor material support of England; that the influence of England ought to be used to develop liberty and local self-government in the disturbed districts, and that she ought to co-operate with the other European powers in exacting from Turkey such changes as are necessary to secure justice and humanity, and maintain the peace of the world. The debate on the resolutions opened on Monday, Sir John Lubbock, acting on behalf of that portion of the Liberal party which is opposed to forcing an issue with the Ministry, having moved the previous question on them. Before the regular debate began, however, Mr. Gladstone announced the withdrawal of the last three of his resolutions, and the acceptance of an amendment to the second one, making it declare that "the Porte, by its conduct toward its subject populations, and its refusal to give guarantees for their better government, has forfeited all claim to the moral and material support of Great Britain." Upon the suggestion of Lord Hartington that the resolutions might now receive general support, and upon his request to Sir John Lubbock, the latter withdrew his motion for the previous question, and the Liberals became enthusiastically united. In the debate which then took place Mr. Gladstone declared that it was not his purpose to force an issue with the ministry, but to obtain a modification of their policy. The debate, which continued on Tuesday, will be resumed to-day.

The news from the seat of war both in Europe and Asia is still somewhat foggy, the one thing certain in it being the steadiness and formidableness of the Russian advance. The Rumanians have, as is already known, thrown in their lot fully with Russia, and have put their army on a war-footing. The Russians do not seem to have crossed the river in force, but the advanced guard has reached it, and the rest is coming up in an apparently leisurely manner. A comparison of various tolerably trustworthy accounts shows that the Turks have to oppose them, along a line of 300 miles not much, if any, over 100,000 men, with about 200 guns, and it is as well to say now, at the risk of appearing to prophesy, that no successful or even serious opposition to the passage of the river will be made, and that the points of passage will be selected by the Russians not, as some of our newspaper friends seem to suppose, with reference to the character of the ground on the banks, but with reference to the roads on the Turkish side. In other words, they will cross wherever the best lines of march in Turkey begin. Resistance of any gravity in the open field is not to be looked for. As long as the accounts of what is passing in Asia are mere rumors, some of them wild on their face, it is useless to attempt a detailed record of the operations in that region. The Turkish force there probably amounts to 200,000 men, and perhaps 300 guns, but it is composed of the least effective portion of the Turkish regulars, and is heavily encumbered with bashi-bazuks, who eat as much as the regulars and are absolutely worthless in warfare. They cannot be depended on even for patrol duty. Mukthar Pasha, who has the command in chief, seems to have attempted to cover Kars in the open field, to have been roughly handled, and to have retired toward Erzeroum, leaving the fortress to stand the siege, which will be the first operation of the invading force. It is to be remembered that it is very unlikely that the improvements in the defences of the place made since 1854 have kept pace with the improvements in artillery, and that a repetition of the resistance of that year is hardly to be looked for. At this writing there is a rumor of the fall of the place, which would ensure that of Erzeroum and Trebizond, and spread a panic through the Turkish force that would leave the road to Constantinople along the Black Sea without other impediments than the natural difficulties, which are great. The smaller posts between Kars and the Black Sea seem to have been abandoned at the outset.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS IN MAKING APPOINTMENTS.

A GREAT deal of the current discussion on civil-service reform is based on the assumption that the President has a clear field before him, and that all he has to do is to draw up a good code of rules of appointment and tenure. We hear much, therefore, as to the merits and demerits of competitive examination, as if we were already in a position to choose between that and other modes of filling offices. But it must be borne in mind that, in spite of the party platforms and of the President's thus far well-directed efforts and the hearty public approval which has greeted them, the battle is not one-quarter won until the members of Congress have been met and vanquished in fair fight. They are the great opponents of the reform. Its friends in their ranks are very few in number, and not over-zealous, because it is hardly in human nature for men to take eagerly to the destruction of the ladder by which they have themselves climbed into power. Most members of both Houses owe their seats to the very agencies to which civil-service reform seeks to put an end, and do not see how they could have got it in any other way. Moreover, a large proportion of the members are men bred in the present system, and exceedingly skillful in the use of it, and enjoy the reputation of this skillfulness. It gives them a sense of power, and enables them to smile contemptuously, as "practical men," at the writers, preachers, and lecturers who clamor for a change. Then, too, the ability to get offices for some and turn others out of offices is very dear to Representatives who probably have no other title to distinction or influence, and are only listened to respectfully on any subject because they are dispensers of patronage. In the Senate, too, the abuse is justified by the *esprit de corps*, which goes by the euphemistic name of "courtesy of the Senate," and makes it "mean" for one Senator to try to take away or interfere with another Senator's offices. Not that much, if any, open opposition is likely to come from Congress. Open opposition, considering what the party declarations have been, would be injudicious, and is not necessary. Congressmen have the power of blocking the reform without much talk by mere passive and silent resistance, and to this they will probably resort against President Hayes as they did against President Grant. The point where the President's attack on their position is likely to fail, if fail it does, is to be found in the matter of taking their advice. He has, it appears, got so far as to say that he will not allow them to make nominations. He will not do as the last Administration did—whenever there is a vacancy ask the Senator or Representative from the district to fill it—and thus shirk a duty solemnly imposed on him by the Constitution, and which he has sworn to perform. But he will probably ask the opinion of the Senator or Representative as to the best person to fill it, and follow it or not as he pleases, and the chances are that this will commend itself to a large portion of the public as a fair and judicious settlement of the Congressional claim to interference. It seems on its surface a very harmless arrangement. The President, it will be said, cannot know who are the best men to serve the Government in various parts of the country, and whom is it so natural or easy for him to consult as the Representatives of the State or district in Congress? Nevertheless, it is very probable that if carried out it will ruin any attempt at reform that may be made.

In the first place, the line between asking a member whether he thinks so-and-so a good person for such and such a place, and asking him to name somebody to fill it, is faint at best, and would be in constant danger of being wholly effaced, even if the President were tenacious of his prerogative and the Congressman indifferent to the patronage. In the great majority of cases the President will be wholly unconcerned as to who gets the place, provided he is a fit man; and in the great majority of cases, too, consulting a Congressman will seem to be the easiest mode of getting a fit man. There will be, therefore, a constant inclination on the President's part to let the Congressman suggest the candidate, a constant eagerness on the Congressman's part to do so; and from suggestions made under these circumstances to downright nominations—or, in

other words, to the present state of things—there would be but one step, which would soon be made. It may be laid down, therefore, as one of the fundamental rules of civil-service reform that all participation of members of Congress, however slight, in the original selection of the candidate for office, whether by advice or suggestion, is sure to degenerate rapidly into the all but complete absorption of the appointing power by the members of the legislature which we now witness. When we say this the question arises, How are we to prevent this participation? To whom can the President apply for assistance in selecting appointees, if not to the Senators and Representatives who come from the very place in which the office exists, and in which the appointee is most naturally to be looked for?

The first answer is that, with a proper degree of permanence in office—the degree recognized in business houses as necessary to fidelity and efficiency—there would be comparatively few vacancies to be filled; and as soon as the knowledge that but few could possibly occur, and that only men of a certain stamp could possibly obtain them, had thoroughly spread through the community, the pressure of office-seekers on the President and the departments would almost cease, and he and they would have abundance of time and opportunity for the work of selection. The chief difficulty in the present situation, and the one which more than anything else compels the President to share the appointing power with some hundreds of members of Congress, is, that in the eyes of a vast body of restless, unsuccessful, or unfortunate people—say 500,000—scattered over the country, all Government offices are practically at all times vacant, and are attainable by a proper amount of "work" in the right quarter, though less "work" is needed just after a Presidential election than at other times. This makes "pressure" constant, and at certain periods almost overwhelming, and forces the Executive to call in aid either in resisting it or giving way to it; for, whether he refuses to make a vacancy or agrees to make one, he has to have a Congressman at his elbow to help him. If, however, vacancies only came about in the regular business ways, through resignations, deaths, and dismissals for cause, the number of appointments would be perfectly manageable, and the work of enquiry and selection easy, even if no regular machinery, such as of examining boards, were provided for it.

But whether the number of vacancies to be filled be great or small, there are no men in the community less fit to be consulted about the filling of them than members of Congress, taken as a whole. In a civil service conducted on business principles nobody would ever think of consulting them as they are now; what they would be if such a civil service existed, and they were obliged to owe their seats to something better than caucus-packing, we do not pretend to say. The proper persons to fill Government offices are persons whom the heads of business houses would seek for corresponding places. The qualities needed in a post-office clerk are those needed in a bank clerk; a man fitted to be a good weigher, or appraiser, or inspector in the custom-house is exactly the kind of man of which dry-goods merchants, and grocers, and hardware dealers are constantly in search. Now, some Congressmen are business men, or have a knowledge of business circles in their own districts, but with the bulk of them this is not the case. The men in their several localities of whom they know most and to whom they are most indebted are not the careful, upright, energetic, and trustworthy men among whom private firms seek their employees, but men who have lost their places through incompetency or irregularity, or have failed in business through dishonesty, or incapacity, or want of energy, or who, through dislike of persistent application, have never engaged in any regular calling. This is the class with which members of Congress are most familiar, and from which they are almost certain to seek the persons whom they recommend for Government employment. If when A. T. Stewart & Co. or Brown Bros. & Co. were in want of a clerk or cashier, they were to apply to the members of Congress from this district, or to Senator Conkling, for their advice in finding somebody, it would make people laugh heartily, and would soon injure the credit of these firms. It excites no laughter, how-

ever, when the Government adopts this mode of officering the custom-house and post-office, the operations of which are far more important and complicated than those of any private firm, and in which efficiency and fidelity are even more necessary; but our civil service will not be in a healthy condition until the thing seems as ludicrous in the latter case as in the former.

Were the number of vacancies to be filled reduced in the manner above mentioned the natural mode of filling them would at once present itself, and the public would recognize its propriety, and admire it and wonder it had not been done sooner, just as so many good Republicans who not long ago approved of Grant's policy now approve of Hayes's, and wish it had been tried sooner. That mode is the consultation with officers already in the Government service, and with leading persons of the locality who are specially interested in the way in which any particular branch of the public service is administered. Who, for instance, is so fit to give advice as to who should be collector of this port or postmaster of this city as the leading merchants? Who is the proper person to find weighers and appraisers if not the collector? Who so fit to select his subordinates as the postmaster? It is, in short, the reputable persons in any locality who have most business with the Government who are the best advisers of the President in making nominations for the higher places, and it is the occupants of the higher places who are fittest to fill the lower ones. Members of Congress are disqualified for meddling in the matter, both by the fact that their experience of men is rarely of the right kind, and by the fact that their interest in it is pretty sure to be sinister.

THE PROSPECT IN TURKEY.

AT this writing there is a very widespread belief that we are on the eve of a great European convulsion—what the old editors used to call “a general war in Europe”—to be brought about by the participation of England, or Austria, or Germany, or of all three, in the Turco-Russian conflict. We doubt it—barring accidents—for various reasons, most of which lie on the surface. That England, in spite of the recent revival of the anti-Russian sentiment, will meddle in the struggle in any way, unless Constantinople should be seriously threatened, or the Russian successes in Asia carry their arms into Anatolia, is made extremely improbable by the fact that she cannot hurt Russia with her navy, and that no land force she can send to Turkey would be large enough to excite any appreciable influence on the operations, even supposing public opinion to be in a condition to sanction interference for any less cause than danger to Constantinople. That the idea of taking or holding Constantinople, or indeed of advancing south of the Balkans, does not enter into the Russian plans is inferrible with all but certainty from the fact that she does not hold the Black Sea, and that once past the Danube she would be compelled, even if the fortresses of Shumla, Silistria, and Varna gave her no trouble, to draw her supplies from Wallachia, and to transport them by ox-wagons through a thinly-settled and probably desolated country, and over common “dirt roads.” There is hardly a draught-horse to be found between the Carpathians and the Bosphorus; even oxen are scarce, and their pace is no more rapid in the Old World than in the New. To pass the Balkans with a large force, relying on such means of keeping up communications with their base, is something which the Russian staff can hardly contemplate. If stronger evidence were needed, however, it would be found in the fact that Austria could at any moment force them to recross the Danube in hot haste by throwing 200,000 men on their right flank, and Germany has only to move on the side of Poland to compel an equally precipitate retreat. That Austria and Germany are willing to see Turkey punished for her obstinacy, and are willing to see the programme traced out by their representatives at the Constantinople Conference for the government of Bulgaria, forced upon her acceptance by Russia, even at the risk of slightly hastening the final break-up of the Turkish Empire, it is easy to believe, considering the part

they have played in the late negotiations. The confinement of the war to Bulgaria is, therefore, doubtless what the Austrian ministers mean when they announce, as they did lately, their intention of “localizing” it. It is fair to assume that Russia is in some manner assured of their non-interference, as long as she confines her operations in Europe to Bulgaria; without it she would almost certainly not cross the Danube; with it a campaign in Bulgaria is a perfectly simple matter, particularly as the flower of the Turkish forces are all concentrated there, and can be destroyed, if defeated, within easy reach of the Russian base.

The Turks once beaten in Bulgaria, and the province at the mercy of the invader, it is safe to look for a prompt abandonment by the Powers of their present position of neutrality. Austria and Germany, at least, have no intention of allowing the banks of the Lower Danube to pass into Russian hands, and the success of the Russian operations will probably lead to a polite reminder from the Signatory Powers that the military coercion of the Turks which Russia was good enough to undertake had answered its purpose, and that it would be desirable that a settlement, based on the result of the war, should now be made by another Conference, in which the Turk, of course, would play no part except that of a suppliant. Peace would be made on the basis of accomplished facts; Turkey would not be allowed any longer to consider Bulgaria, which she had lost in a fair fight, as an integral part of her empire, and it would be placed under a European protectorate either as an independent territory of the Porte, like Rumania or Servia, or as a Turkish province policed by the Christian powers. To the objection so often made, that what is done for Bulgaria ought to be done for all the other provinces, Russia would probably reply, in General Ignatieff's language, that “we put out a fire where it is burning. Bulgaria revolted; the other provinces did not. Bulgaria has been rescued from the Turks; the other provinces have not, and therefore, as a practical matter, it must be dealt with separately.” If it be asked what Russia would gain by such a close to the war as this, we answer, much. She has always pursued in her career of expansion, and especially in her operations against Turkey, the policy of hastening slowly. She has for over a century been eating her way into the heart of Turkey, gradually driving back the frontier towards Constantinople, accustoming the Christian population to look on her as their one friend among the Christian powers—the only one whose soldiers they ever see as protectors or avengers—and their most probable final deliverer. The Emperor Nicholas, a man of arbitrary and purely military temper, who had but little sensibility to the currents of opinion, thought in 1853 that the time had come when the final stroke might be delivered. He was rudely undeceived, and the lesson has not been lost, we may be sure, on his successor. The present Russian Government will doubtless be content if it shuts the Turkish Empire proper up behind the Balkans, and in Asia gets another slice of Armenia, and perhaps Kars and Erzeroum, and assumes towards Bulgaria the position of patron which she has held for fifty years towards Rumania, and which now stands her in good stead.

As to the probable duration of hostilities before this result is reached, in case no other state interferes, people's opinions are of course affected by their estimate of the resisting power of the Turks, which there is a widespread disposition to rate very highly. As we have said more than once of late, there is nothing in their recent military history or in their present military organization to justify this. In fact, it seems to rest almost altogether on wildly-exaggerated notions of the Turkish successes in 1853-4, and on the enormous purchases of war material made within a few years by the Turkish Government. But we venture to predict that two or three months' fighting will rudely dissipate all these illusions. It is safe to say that the whole Russian force, both on the Danube and in Asia, is composed of thoroughly disciplined, equipped, and well-officered troops. It is equally safe to say that probably not over one-half of the Turkish force even approaches this condition; that fully one-half consists of raw levies, without any officers worthy of the name, and that the organization of the army is too rude and

inefficient to stand the strain of a campaign which involves any movements in the open field. The popular belief that something terrible would happen if the Sultan raised the standard of the Kalifate, fairly illustrates the means by which Turkey imposes on the foreign imagination. If this had any effect at all, it would simply be the collection from Asia of large bands of ragged marauders, none of whom could reach the seat of war except by plunder, and who, if they got there, could be slaughtered by the Cossacks like sheep. The raising of the standard was something serious when it brought into the field from all quarters of the empire thousands of rich begs, with tens of thousands of well-mounted and well-armed followers, able to ride on a gallop to Vienna or Pesh, and to sweep away the stoutest Christian infantry by one of their tempestuous charges. But those days are past. The begs are gone. There are Turkish pashas in our time who are afraid to mount a horse. The old spahis are represented by ragged bashi-bazuks on ponies, of whom a thousand could be driven like chaff by a hundred Cossacks, and the Sultan himself holds the sabre of Amurath and Solyman with a trembling and feeble hand. We are far from denying the fine military qualities of the Turkish peasant. Well led and well armed, there is no modern battle in which he would not shine by his pluck and endurance. But one may admit this while denying that the Turks are good soldiers; for to say in our time that a people are good soldiers is to say, not simply that there are brave men in the ranks of their armies, but that when war comes they produce in abundance or in sufficiency all that is necessary to carry it on successfully, that they have not only a good rank and file, but honorable, courageous, and instructed regimental officers, and generals of whom professional ardor, or patriotic devotion, or a high sense of duty has complete possession, and gives the battle to their hands. In these Turkey is totally wanting, and one does not need to be a prophet to predict the result of engaging in modern warfare without them.

THE SOUTH AND THE EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN.

THE educational problem presented to the leaders of the former slave States at the beginning of the present decade was sufficiently appalling. There were in 1870 in the Southern States 4,189,972 illiterate persons over ten years of age, of whom 1,516,339 were white and 2,671,396 were colored. The illiterates were at the South thirty per cent. of the total population, while at the North they were less than six per cent. One-third of this illiteracy at the South was of native-born whites, while at the North one-half the illiteracy was of the foreign-born population, reducing the percentage of Northern native-born illiterates to three per cent.

Between 1860 and 1870 there had been a large increase of ignorance among the native-born whites of the South. The rebellious States were impoverished by a disastrous war, and were weighted with the inherited prejudices of slavery and the humiliation of defeat. If any system of general education was to be put into operation the taxation to meet the expense of it must fall almost exclusively upon the white population. No Northern State has ever had, in the establishment of a school system, anything like such difficulties to contend with. Furthermore, previous to the war it may be said that free schools were "not in all the thoughts" of the Southern statesman. Let us look now at the progress which has been made since the war. In most of the Southern States school laws have been brought into existence which recognize the right of all classes to the rudiments of education. In the counties comprising the present State of Virginia there were in 1860 only 67,024 pupils in the schools of all classes in the State. The number enrolled in schools supported by the State from 1870 to 1875 is as follows:

1870, ...	58,974	1873, ...	160,859
1871, ...	131,088	1874, ...	173,875
1872, ...	166,377	1875, ...	184,486

If to the number enrolled in the public schools in 1875 we add those in private schools, we have a total of 207,771. Of this number 58,760 were colored, or six-sevenths as many as the white children who were in school in 1860. Thirty-eight per cent. of the children in Virginia between five and twenty-one years of age are now in public schools. Twenty-seven per cent. of the colored children are there. The attendance in New York, calculated on the same basis, was sixty-six per cent., and in Minnesota

less than sixty per cent. Seventy-nine of the counties of Virginia reported in 1875 a gain in public sentiment concerning public schools, while only four counties reported unfavorably. Ninety-nine counties reported improvement in school-houses. We may fitly conclude this summary of progress in Virginia by adopting the language of their State Superintendent of Schools: "It is not pretended that the public-school system has reached any high degree of efficiency; but more than three times the number of children are now seen going to school in Virginia than were ever seen going before. And if this gain can be made in the first five years, what may not be hoped for by the end of the next five?" This progress, we should remember, has been made under a Democratic Legislature.

Georgia is another State in which the Southern leaders have held control long enough to reveal their animus. We quote from the State School Commissioners' Report of 1875: "Since the inauguration of public schools in this State there has been a constant increase in the number of children reached by the system. In the year 1871 there were enrolled in the schools as follows: White pupils, 42,914; colored pupils, 6,664. . . . In 1873, whites, 63,922; colored, 19,755; being an increase over the attendance of 1871 of 34,099. . . . The enrolment in 1874 was as follows: whites, 93,167; colored, 42,374; total, 135,541; increase over former year, 51,864. For the year 1875 the attendance, exclusive of fourteen counties not reported, has been as follows: whites, 105,990; colored, 50,350; total, 156,349; increase over the attendance of 1874, 20,808. The figures above given, though far from being satisfactory, afford much ground for encouragement." In 1876 there was a still further advance. If percentage is regarded, it appears that in 1875, of children between six and eighteen, one-half the whites and a little less than one-third the colored were enrolled.

Tennessee is another State where the government has been for some time in the hands of the Southern people. She has a school system which is good, providing for State, county, and district supervision, and that "white and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school, but in separate schools, under the same general regulations as to management, usefulness, and efficiency." Of the 200,000 enrolled in her schools, 25,000 are colored—about one-quarter of that class. Northern residents of the State, who have had the amplest means of knowledge, affirm that a much better feeling now exists between the white and colored people than did a few years ago, and that this change is so manifest that it is remarked by every one. The efforts of Northern philanthropists to educate the colored people is looked upon with much more favor than formerly, the county superintendents sending to them for teachers, and visiting their schools and making addresses for the encouragement of their pupils. It would doubtless be gratifying, on some accounts, to believe that the Southern leaders were actuated by "disinterested benevolence" in thus promoting the educational interests of the colored people. But we fear this cannot be true to any great extent. Some of them, doubtless, have an eye to the record by which they shall win the colored vote in some future election; others are provoked to emulation by the manifest advantages which the Northern States enjoy from the possession of educated labor; others, alas! are so selfish that where the State provision is deficient, as in Kentucky, they aid colored schools by voluntary subscriptions, "the wisdom of the farmers suggesting that, schools being at hand, labor is rendered more permanent and reliable." But when we reflect upon the subject it will appear that the future education of the negroes, like every other social and political interest in the present state of the world, is far safer when entrusted to the care of an enlightened self-interest than when dependent upon pure philanthropy. Now that slavery as an institution is out of the way, and that the colored population is free to move, the self-interest of the Southern whites can be enlightened and Northern philanthropy can operate freely. The very reluctance with which some of the Southern States are adopting a system of free schools affords evidence of the power with which the necessity of establishing such schools is forced upon them. There may be here and there ebbs in the advancing tide of opinion, as there are now in North Carolina and Alabama. But with Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee leading off as they are doing, and with the continuance of the desire on the part of the colored people to obtain a knowledge of letters, we cannot doubt the speedy triumph of an enlightened policy throughout the South. Gov. Hampton's promises to the colored people of schools for their children rest, we believe, upon a surer basis of fulfilment than the philanthropy of the man. They rest upon the instincts of the politician and the foresight of the governor.

A friend, now for ten years a teacher in a normal school for colored youth at the South, and who speaks advisedly, writes: "I think that the

Southern people are beginning to wake up to the idea that they have a vast power lying dormant in the colored people, the existence of which they were not aware of. I am sanguine that the next decade will witness marvellous changes in the condition of the mass of the colored people, and in the public opinion respecting them."

FRANCE AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

PARIS, April 20.

WAR is at last declared; and the famous protocol, which was to be the instrument of peace, has only contributed to bring to an end the tedious period of negotiation. There has been during the last few days a complete revolution in the public mind; universal suffrage has entered the Exchange, as it is master of the country's politics. The smallest people have a right to speculate, and have acquired the habit of speculation, and our financial universal suffrage has been living during the last few years in a state of continual optimism. France had a very just instinct when it believed in its own resources; after the war, from motives of patriotism, everybody who had a little money invested it in the public funds, and our heavy ransom was paid with a degree of ease which astonished the world. The loan was put out at 82, and a few days ago it stood at 103; the nation has a great recuperative power, and new capital is constantly accumulating in the hands of a frugal and thrifty community. The universal suffrage of the small capitalists was, therefore, wise in what concerns internal matters; but this universal suffrage is very ignorant of the outside world. To those who know the state of Europe well, and their number is unfortunately very small, it was apparent two years ago that the Eastern question was a very serious one, and that the match of Herzegovina would light as big a fire as the famous match of Schleswig-Holstein. But nobody would believe in war; it seemed as if the Servian insurrection, the battles fought on the Drina, the conference at Constantinople, the Moscow speech, were the acts of a drama without any meaning; as if there were something unreal in the events in the East; as if they had no more import than the stories of Scheherazade. Those who did take a real interest in the affairs of the East were from the beginning divided into two camps. In one camp were the Turks, and their chief exponent has been M. Thiers, in the conversations at his house, as well as in the articles which he inspires in the *Journal des Débats*. M. Thiers said every day: "I am Turk, I am Old Turk, I am as Turk as possible." There is one thing which does not change among all our changes, and that is geography. M. Thiers has always maintained that if Russia were mistress of Constantinople and of the Bosphorus, she would be able at any time to send a large fleet into the Mediterranean Sea, to do in that sea what she pleased, and to send the fleet back to the Black Sea, where she would be as safe as the brigands in their mountain dens. Napoleon used to say that Antwerp was a pistol at the throat of England; the Black Sea would be a more gigantic Antwerp, capable of concealing and sheltering the largest fleets of the world.

In the *Journal des Débats* M. Thiers has almost daily inspired articles which are always directed against the policy of Russia. It has been supposed that this Turkish campaign of M. Thiers was caused by his great enmity to the Duc Decazes, who was once his friend and his protégé, and who joined with the Duc de Broglie and the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier in the famous coalition of the 24th of May, which put an end to M. Thiers's "loyal trial" of the Republic. It is said that M. Thiers is unsparing in his criticisms of the Duc Decazes' foreign policy; but I believe that M. Thiers is as naturally Turk as he was naturally protectionist, as he was once against railways, as he was Austrian at the time of Sadowa, and anti-Italian at the time of Cavour. He is a very strange phenomenon; old-fashioned in all his views, he has nevertheless chosen the republican form of government for his country—for he may be considered as the real father of our republic. It is not necessary to go very far to explain why he should now attach himself to the rotten cause of the Turks. Even his great friendship for Prince Orloff and many other Russians cannot unbind his reactionary tendencies.

In the Government the tendency has been rather Russian than Turkish. First came the famous Memorandum of Berlin, and the Duc Decazes, placed between Turkey, represented by England, and the three Emperors, took his place immediately on the side of the Emperors: he signed the memorandum which England refused to sign. His policy since has always been consistent with this début. Our plenipotentiaries at the Conference always stood on the side of General Ignatieff; they tried to bring about an understanding between him and Lord Salisbury; they succeeded completely in this undertaking; their object was to create a sort of European union in favor of reform and of peace. Even when the Conference had

broken up, it seemed at one time that this pacific union would subsist. General Ignatieff, while he was in Paris, was lionized as its representative. Everything seemed rose-colored; our public men were convinced that the alliance of the three Emperors was lost, as it were, and dissolved in the great European pacific alliance. I heard many speeches on the end of the alliance of the three Emperors: How could such an alliance ever be durable? Did not Austria have in the East interests absolutely hostile to those of Russia? Bismarck would never allow the mouths of the Danube to fall into the hands of a non-German power. Almost all the politicians thought that Russia had outwitted Bismarck—that the Russian chancellor had been the cleverer of the two; he had, so to speak, gained a diplomatic victory, and indirectly torn up the Treaty of Paris by obtaining the signatures of all the Powers for his protocols; now he would not embark, as Bismarck desired, in a long and expensive war; he would content himself with seeing Turkey decomposing herself and devouring her own substance.

These were all very ingenious reasonings; but the peculiarity of the policy of the German chancellor lies not in its ingenuity, but in its simplicity. He has always deceived the world by his frankness; people always suspect him of some treason, but he has not the nature of a traitor. Everybody expected him to deceive Russia, to embark her in some tremendous enterprise in order to weaken her and put her, so to speak, out of civilized Europe for a century. Of course, Bismarck, as a German, may have and has his own peculiar views about Panslavism and the country where the extremes of civilization and barbarism meet in everything. But he makes his policy out of facts; one of those solid, robust facts is the relationship of the Emperor William and the Emperor Alexander and their mutual affection, which nothing will sever. He also makes his policy out of a few plain principles, such as this: You should not betray your friends; and gratitude, like honesty, is the best policy. Germany owes much to Russia; Bismarck knows it and remembers it, and he does not intend to be a traitor to Russia. He is above these small tricks of diplomacy. Russia allowed him fair play in Europe; he will allow her fair play in the East. Without spending a shilling or a man, he will tie Russia almost forever to the fate of Germany; he will satisfy the fondest sentiments of his Emperor; and what will he lose by it—the mouths of the Danube? What are the mouths of the Danube to him? There are other rivers in the world which interest him much more, and which Russia may afterwards help him to control from one end to the other.

Austria had to choose between two policies: either she was obliged to go against the Russian projects, or she could take an attitude of expectation. The old Danubian party, if I might call it so, the party attached to the ideas of Metternich, is still very strong; but its influence was more than counterbalanced by the influence of Bismarck and of his friend and political ally, Andrassy. Bismarck has said more than once: "Andrassy is necessary not only to Austria, but to Europe." It was thought at one time that there would be a coalition of England, Austria, and Turkey against Russia and Germany; statesmen are known to have passed between London, Paris, and Vienna, and to have made great plans against the encroachments of Bismarck and of Gortchakoff. Austria perhaps wavered a moment; she has now made up her mind that the safest policy for her is to remain in the triple alliance of the Emperors. Her finances are not prosperous, but her army is still in very fine condition; a few corps d'armées will occupy Bosnia, while the great duel will take place between Russia and Turkey. Austria will not play now the part she did during the Crimean war; she will have, probably, no battle to fight, but by doing nothing she will in reality help the Russians. Turkey is punished for her obstinacy in claiming the Principalities as an essential part of the Ottoman Empire. If Rumania had been made a neutral territory like Belgium, it would be very difficult for Russia to take her armies through Moldavia and Wallachia.

The position of affairs seems at present to be this: the war to be localized between Russia and the Porte; Austria to occupy Western Turkey in view of a future settlement of the territorial questions; Germany to guarantee the neutrality of Europe. Russia has been given a fair trial; we shall see how she will use her chance. Instead of the pretended European union of the Conference, we see in reality the triple alliance of the Emperors; the other Powers will be allowed to look on at a distance, but their interference is hardly probable as long as it is felt that the Emperors are in accord and have determined so to remain. Prince Bismarck has been in reality the living soul of this great and formidable alliance; he alone probably knows well what may be the limits of the agreement, to what it will lead. Saying hardly a word and writing hardly a despatch, he has in reality controlled events for two years; he has secured the union of all the German forces and their co-operation with Russia. If Russia is victorious, he can moderate her; if she has too great difficulties, he can help

her and secure her gratitude for ever; he is in a position which makes him the arbiter of all the arrangements which will follow the war.

Correspondence.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your issue of April 19 contained a communication under the above title which must have commanded the attention of all students of the educational condition and prospects of our country. In these times, when practical legislators give so little attention to the interests of higher education, any study in this field, dated from the "United States Senate Chamber," is entitled to grateful recognition. In no captious spirit, therefore, but simply in the interest of truth and fairness, I beg through you to ask the writer of the article alluded to for information on the following questions:

1. How many of the eleven enumerated colleges and universities of Virginia require a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and the higher mathematics in order to admission?

2. If in the States compared with Virginia all students studying Latin, Greek, and mathematics in public high-schools, academies, select schools, etc., preparing to enter colleges, were added to the number actually in the colleges and universities, and the same done in Virginia, how would the comparison then stand?

3. In the States compared with Virginia the average period of special preparation for college is four years. If the Virginia colleges do this preliminary work themselves, and then carry the student through the equivalent of the regular four years' college curriculum, all students not entering in advance should be members of the college or university eight years before taking the A.B. degree. Will Mr. Johnson inform the interested public what percentage of the college students of Virginia come up to this standard?

Only when these queries have been correctly answered can the condition of higher education in Virginia, as compared with other States, be clearly seen.

PATRIA.

Notes.

BAKER'S 'Turkey' will be published within a week or two by Henry Holt & Co. The book will be a timely companion to Wallace's 'Russia' and will be published uniform with it; but as it has but one map, and is not quite so long, it will be sold for a trifle less. The author, Lieut.-Col. James Baker (a brother of Sir Samuel W. Baker), has lived in Turkey about three years, and owns estates there. The same publishers will soon add to the Leisure-Hour Series three new novels: 'In Change Unchanged,' by Linda Villari; 'Pauline,' by L. B. Walford, author of 'Mr. Smith,' which was one of the successful novels of two years ago; and 'Eugénie,' by Miss Beatrice May Butt, author of 'Miss Molly.'—We have received from General Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, a collection of reports of explorations, military and geographical maps, and lake survey charts, published by the department.—The April number of the 'Southern Historical Society Papers' republishes in full the criticism published in these columns of its article on the 'Treatment of Prisoners at the South,' with comments. It proposes a "full discussion" of the "whole question," promising to "publish your [our] articles in full," provided "you [we] will reciprocate." We are compelled to decline this polite offer for want of space.—The *Athenæum* states that Mrs. Cobden, who died last month, "has left a collection of valuable documents which deal with several interesting episodes in the public career of her distinguished husband." These documents include a diary of Mr. Cobden's last visit to the United States, which took place about two years before the beginning of the civil war, and its publication at the present time could hardly fail of being received with interest.—D. Appleton & Co. have issued the first number of a *Supplement to the Popular Science Monthly*. The new magazine will be issued monthly, and, as its name implies, is intended to contain articles analogous in character to those heretofore published in the older periodical, but which would have to be omitted from it on account of lack of space.—G. P. Putnam's Sons announce a work by Dr. Hammond on 'Pre-natal Maternal Influence'; and 'Rest for Women,' by Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi.—The *Publisher's Circular* is assured that an "authoritative" life of

Carlyle is in preparation by Mr. Frederick Martin, Mr. Carlyle's secretary, and compiler of the 'Statesman's Year-Book.'—Mr. Henry James, jr.'s 'American' will be published immediately in book-form by J. R. Osgood & Co.—'A Modern Symposium' is the title of an article now appearing in the *Nineteenth Century* (reprinted also in the *Supplement to the Popular Science Monthly*), in which a number of persons discuss the subject of 'The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief,' each writer having the privilege of seeing all that has been written before his own remarks, but (except the first, who is to sum up at the end) nothing that follows them. Thus far Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Lord Selborne, Dr. Martineau, Mr. Frederic Harrison, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Duke of Argyll, and Prof. Clifford have spoken, and others are to succeed them. As soon as the article is finished, Henry Holt & Co. will publish it as a small volume.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. will bring out in this country Mr. Froude's third series of 'Short Studies on Great Subjects'; and also Mr. T. Wemyss Reid's monograph on Charlotte Brontë.—Butler University has issued a notice that the party intended for its "Scientific Expedition and Summer Tramp" will leave Indianapolis June 21, going by rail to Livingston, Ky.; thence on foot through Cumberland Gap to Morristown, Tenn., "exploring the caves and seining the rivers"; by rail to Wolf Creek, N. C.; on foot up the French Broad, over the Great Smoky and Blue Ridge Mountains, through Saluda Gap to Greenville, S. C.; thence westward via Tallulah Falls, Atlanta, Stone Mountain, Allatoona, Kenesaw, and Lookout Mountain to Nashville. "The estimated expenses" are put at \$100, and Eastern students are directed to join the party at Morristown. There are said to be "a few more vacancies."—The International Exhibition Company at Philadelphia has issued a circular to Americans desiring to exhibit at Paris in 1878 for the purpose of obtaining their names, descriptions of intended exhibits, and space required, with a view to bringing a pressure to bear upon Congress to accept the French official invitation. Unless this invitation is accepted, no American will be allowed to exhibit. The circular was issued under the impression that Congress was to meet in June, and even in case of an acceptance then there would be only just enough time left to prepare a creditable exhibit. Whether the postponement of the extra session till the autumn will render a representation of this country out of the question, we do not know; it seems clear that only through some energetic volunteer effort like that of the International Company shall we escape another national fiasco like that at Vienna.—Mrs. Wm. S. Robinson, the wife of "Warrington," has prepared for publication a volume of his writings, to be issued on or about May 10. The selections date back as far as 1848, but the memoir, which will precede them, will furnish earlier incidents. The volume has been arranged with reference to the leading events of the times during the years between 1848 and 1876. The book will contain about six hundred pages and a steel portrait of "Warrington."—M. Louis Ulbach has made a modified translation of 'The American Baron,' a novel by Prof. James De Mille, which originally appeared in *Harper's Magazine*. M. Ulbach's book is published in Paris, by M. Calmann Lévy. In his preface he gives Prof. De Mille due credit as the original author of 'Le Baron Américain.'—Mr. Bret Harte's drama, 'Two Men of Sandy Bar,' has been republished in Germany in the Tauchnitz series. 'Ah Sin,' a play by Messrs. Bret Harte and "Mark Twain," and the second venture of each author as a dramatist, was produced in Baltimore on the 7th of May.

—It might naturally be supposed that a subject so much written upon as the Philadelphia Exhibition could possess, for the present at least, scarcely any remaining interest; but Mr. Francis A. Walker, who writes on the "Mechanism and Administration" of the Exhibition in the May-June number of the *International Review*, has effectually disproved the truth of this supposition, having made an article which is not only eminently readable, but full of suggestion likewise for the managers of future international exhibitions. That our Exhibition was in readiness at the time of opening (presenting in this respect a marked contrast to that at Vienna), he ascribes chiefly to two causes—(1) that "a large proportion of the goods destined for display had to undertake an ocean voyage," and, "just as one is far more likely to miss a railway train than to lose his passage on an ocean steamer, so goods having to come from distant parts are likely to be shipped with promptitude"; and (2) the admirable management and efficiency of the Pennsylvania Railway. This last was indeed sharply contrasted with the very bad management of the customs division of the Treasury Department. "It ought to be no more difficult to pay a tax-bill of Uncle Samuel's than a freight-bill of Col. Scott's; it ought to take somewhat less [more] time and patience to get a bale of goods from Liverpool to Philadelphia than to get it across a purely imaginary line at the latter place. But such was not

always the case." What Mr. Walker has to say here should prove instructive reading to the petitioners for Government management of railroad and other analogous enterprises. Any approach toward ideal excellence in the management of the Exhibition was made impossible by an unfortunate division of authority between the Centennial Commission and the Centennial Board of Finance. To the Executive Committee of the latter, essentially non-political and composed in the main of residents of Philadelphia, Mr. Walker ascribes the chief credit for the measure of success which attended the administration of the Exhibition. Its members were men of business skill and integrity, and devoted themselves untiringly to the work before them. Collision between the two executive bodies, moreover, was prevented, as far as possible, by the ability, good sense, and tact of the two men who, as representatives of the two bodies, were most frequently brought into contact—Mr. Welch and Mr. Goshorn. Mr. Walker pronounces in favor of a more simple and less intricate method of classification of goods than the one adopted; of a number of buildings instead of one large one; and, notwithstanding some defects in the scheme as well as grave errors in the execution, of the "American system" of awards. The article is to be followed by a second one on "The Display and the Awards."

—The chief distinct characteristic of Tennyson's genius, according to Mr. Bayard Taylor's article in the same number of the *International*, is "an exquisitely luxurious sense of the charms of sound and rhythm, based upon an earnest if not equal capacity for sober thought and reflection." This sense of "luxury in words" is discernible in everything he has written, and becomes the unconscious source of his chief defect—viz., a too great attention to detail. "The artistic sense, so constantly and exquisitely refined, acquires an insidious mastery over the free idea, and partly conceals it under the very perfection of illustration which is meant to present it in its full proportions. . . . He rarely mistakes through deficient perception, but very frequently through correct perception asserting itself without regard to its proper place and value." Morally and intellectually Tennyson seems to belong to a class which may be described as "democratic in theory and Tory through the tastes and the senses. His dream of progress is a vague and shining mist, his view of the present narrow and partisan. His conscious teaching has always been wholesome and elevating." He has studied many subjects, and some of them very carefully, "but he has not ventured beyond the common level of speculation nor forespoken the deeper problems which shall engage the generation to come." On the whole, the criticism seems to us to be in the main a just one, and some of its discriminations are carefully made. We may be allowed to observe here that some of the editorial work of the *International Review* is very badly done. The department of Contemporary Events, for instance, is a mere sham, and there would be a gain in dignity, at least, by dropping it altogether. Not much more can be said in favor of the book notices.

—The full text of the Moffett Liquor Law of Virginia, which went into operation last month, fully confirms the impression given by newspaper extracts from it that, in one respect at least, it is certainly a curiosity in legislation. The attempt is to be made to collect a tax on liquor, or more properly to determine the amount to be collected, by machinery. In addition to the payment of the usual amount for a license, each bar-room keeper or retail liquor-dealer is required to hire from the revenue commissioner of his district an "apparatus," said to resemble a gas-meter in appearance, and termed a "bar-room register." It operates in a manner analogous to that of the familiar "bell-punch" or "indicator" of the street railways of our large cities. The law directs each bar-room keeper "immediately upon the sale of each drink of wine, ardent spirits, malt liquors, or any mixture thereof, in the presence of the purchaser or person to whom it is delivered, to turn the crank of the proper register until the bell has struck once, and the indicator on its dial has moved one point or number for each drink sold by him." The registers are to be inspected monthly, and the tax imposed is 2½ cents for each drink or half-pint of wine or spirit, and half a cent for the same quantity of malt liquor. The introduction of the "apparatus" is the only novelty in this law, which, in other respects, is no better or worse than scores of liquor laws elsewhere in operation. With the exception of informers (who are allowed one-third of the fine imposed for disobeying the law), and possibly also the manufacturer of the indicator, no one can be particularly interested in its enforcement; and every regular toper may be expected to connive at the breaking of a law the direct tendency of which is to raise the cost of drinking. The law furnishes, in fact, only another illustration of the prevalent and apparently incurable superstition that liquor laws can be different in principle from all other

laws; and that if one can be framed with sufficient ingenuity, the ordinary characteristics of human beings, their instincts, desires, motives, may be complacently ignored.

—Mr. Lawrence Oliphant's article on "African Explorers" in the current number of the *North American Review* presents very clearly indeed its chief point, viz., that the primary or leading discoveries in the geography of Africa have nearly all been made by three men—Livingstone, Speke, and Cameron. The work of all others, although important and wonderful, has to a considerable degree consisted, and must of necessity continue to consist, in verifications of the suggestions furnished, or in filling in details of plans the outlines of which have been already given by these three; mostly, indeed, by the first two. To Livingstone belongs the credit of the exploration of the Zambesi River, and the discovery of its wonderful falls; the discovery of the great lakes Nyassa and Bangweolo (the latter being, in all probability, the source of the mighty Congo); the discovery of the Lualaba and its chain of lakes, and many discoveries of lesser importance. To Speke must be awarded the title of "Discoverer of the Sources of the Nile," for he undoubtedly first solved conclusively this geographical problem of the ages. He not only discovered the Victoria Nyanza, from which the Nile proceeds, but he carefully investigated the affluents of the lake, studied the topography of its surroundings, and published a map of his discoveries every essential feature of which has been confirmed by subsequent explorers. Many interesting problems yet remain to be solved. The connection between the Congo and the Lualaba, for instance, is as yet only conjectural—is, in fact, firmly denied by some recent explorers; and the lower Congo has been explored but a short distance, relatively, from its mouth. Again, the course of the Welle River, Schweinfurth's discovery, is still unknown; nor is the certainty of the connection of Lake Tanganyika with the Lualaba yet established, despite the examinations of Cameron and Stanley. Very many hard-working and courageous explorers are now at work in Africa, and they can probably find plenty to do for a generation to come; but Mr. Oliphant believes that neither their genuine claims for consideration nor their enthusiastic pretensions (the latter arising often from ignorance of the work done by others) should be allowed to obscure the merit of their greater predecessors.

—There is nothing in the contents of *Harper's* or *Lippincott's* for May which calls for special comment. In the latter, Mr. Harding's paper on "Parisian Club-Life" is perhaps the freshest; and as amusing as any, with its anecdotes and epigrams of the stage, is Mr. Matthews's "Damned Plays." In *Harper's* one may travel agreeably, as usual, in many parts of the world—either "On the Usk," with Mr. Wirt Sikes, or to the "Gateway of the Catskills," with Mr. Ingersoll, or "Across Africa" with Cameron, or again to Florence. Mr. Scudder gives us a taste of "An Old Gentleman's Recollections," consisting of extracts from the autobiography of the late Mr. Samuel Breck, a Bostonian by birth and early training, but, like Franklin, a Philadelphian by adoption. He travelled extensively abroad, saw good society there and at home, made sketches in water-colors which are neatly incorporated with his diary, along with some rare prints, and left an unliturgical budget of recollections which are about to see the light. They deserved, not to say needed, to be copiously edited by a Boston and a Philadelphian antiquary. The value of the notes might then easily have surpassed the value of the text.

—The most pungent article in the May number of the *Popular Science Monthly* is a very short one by the editor. He repeats "the obtrusive question" of the hour, What do you think of Pleasonton and the blue-glass cure? and replies to it with refreshing candor: "We think that the man is a pestilent ignoramus, and his book the ghastliest rubbish that has been printed in a hundred years." This opinion can hardly fail to have a "bearish" effect on the price of blue glass, and should be a warning to prudent manufacturers of the article to shut up shop, as in fact some of them are already beginning to do. But the editor is not satisfied to stop here. Over the shoulders of Pleasonton's "mania" he strikes a deadly blow at what he believes to be another popular delusion, an obnoxious representation of which at the present moment happens to be the Intercollegiate Literary Association. He manages to reach his enemy in the following ingenious manner: "Pleasanton serves one important function; he gauges for us the depth and density of American stupidity. . . . The interesting point just now about 'blue glass' is psychological. It is an exponent of popular intelligence, an index of culture, a register of common-school work, and a test of the influence of colleges. Our collective schools produce in the community a certain state of mind; 'blue glass' indicates it. There is evidently a very close connection here, and the problem deserves to be worked out. If the Intercollegiate Literary Association will offer

an additional prize for the best essay on the connection between the study of Latin and Greek and the 'blue-glass' mania, the *Popular Science Monthly* will furnish the money for the purpose." After this what can be said? Lovers of a strict classical education, and believers in the helpful effects of the stimulus of prizes and honors in literary competition, may well hesitate, unless under the revivifying influences of "blue glass," to encounter so redeutable an opponent.

—Among the various schemes for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes we have seen none more suggestive than that contained in a "circular-letter" issued by the "National Co-operative Peace Union," a society which hopes to be chartered to begin its good work as soon as Congress meets. The letter, which is noticeable for its spirit of earnest benevolence and determination to grapple finally and victoriously with the problems of labor, declares that the latest statistics show an increase in the departures of emigrants over arrivals, caused by the depressed condition of the business of the country for four years; that those departing to their former homes, emigrating to Australia and elsewhere to better their condition, are the most thrifty of the artisan and laboring classes; that the unfortunate, unthrifty, and unemployed classes are left behind to be sustained by the taxpaying interest of the country, with no hope of immediate or remote relief through the "usual fluctuations of trade." The "statistics" also show that "there are fully a million of men now unemployed in the United States, with double that number depending upon them for support and sustenance. In fact, about three millions of people, chiefly in the metropolises [*sic*] of the country, are little better than tramps or paupers; and though the trade of the country may increase, this number will not be permanently decreased, but, on the contrary, will augment as winter approaches and their ranks are reinforced with the homeless people landing on our shores from foreign countries." The circular then goes on to say that "it will be conceded" that all plans of relief will be abortive that do not place the whole subject in the hands of "a permanent corporation controlled by reliable trustees, with a view of improving the condition, furnishing employment, assuring the material comfort, elevating the morals, purifying the lives, and advancing the general interest of the unemployed masses of the United States." Such a corporation the "Union" means to be, and the circular adds as a happy afterthought that it will "at the same time lay the foundation of a more elevated plan of existence for the human family." The means proposed by the National Co-operative Peace Union to carry out these excellent designs are of a character calculated to excite suspicion in the minds of some reformers, but we shall look for encouragement for the plan from the "Old Whigs," who ought to see some promise in it, as it resembles schemes of improvement which they are said to favor. The Union proposes to secure "donations of public lands" upon which "bonds will be issued," the bonds being "predicated upon the value of the lands," to bear $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest, and to be redeemable in fifty years. Each one-hundred-dollar bond is to be secured by a quarter-section of land in one of nineteen States or eight Territories; a colony, "under proper management, will be established in each State and Territory, with a National Bureau at Washington"; "every department of science, education, and labor under a co-operative system will be fostered and advanced." The circular comes from Baltimore, and is signed by a "provisional President" and a "provisional Secretary," whose names are not familiar to us, but who, we venture to say, completely control the organization. They have the benefit of the legal counsel of Mr. W. U. Saunders, whose "present address" is given at 58 St. Mary's Street—a mode of indicating his provisional whereabouts that shows a commendable spirit of accuracy and precision. We infer from the Union's request for permission to use the names of the persons to whom the circular is addressed as "charter parties" in the undertaking, that Mr. Saunders' specialty at the bar is maritime law, and we trust that is an indication that the comprehensive benevolence of the association is designed to include not only the landsman but the mariner as well. His proverbial jollity should not allow us to be blinded to the hardships of his existence; when the bonds are issued we shall insist on sailors' rights in this matter, and venture to suggest to Mr. Saunders that when a sufficient number of "charter parties" have signified their intention of being incorporated, bottomry bonds, "predicated" on littoral oceanic quarter-sections, at four or even three and a half per cent., would probably be very attractive to seafaring men, and might even have an important effect in stimulating a revival of American commerce.

—The great success of Emile Zola's remarkable and repulsive novel, 'L'Assommoir,' which was lately described in these columns, has been, if

not equalled, at least emulated, by 'La Fille Elisa' of M. Edmond de Goncourt. 'L'Assommoir,' we believe, is going on towards its thirtieth edition, while the last copy of 'La Fille Elisa' that we have seen is stamped with the fainter glory of a tenth. On the other hand, M. Zola's novel had by some weeks the start of its companion, and the adventures of M. de Goncourt's heroine (a prostitute who murders a soldier) may after all be as widely disseminated as those of the fair protagonist of 'L'Assommoir,' the washerwoman who dies of drink. M. Edmond de Goncourt has gone into these matters in a more amateurish sort of way than his rival, who is thoroughly professional and business-like; and 'La Fille Elisa' is very inferior in ability to the history of Gervaise and Coupeau. It is equal, however, or perhaps even superior, in audacity. Edmond de Goncourt, we may remind the reader, is the elder and survivor of the two brothers De Goncourt, who, during the lifetime of the younger, Jules, published several novels of the realistic sort and several substantial works upon the history of France in the last century. 'La Fille Elisa' is the first production upon the title-page of which the name of one of the brothers has stood alone; and, curiously enough, it offers some enlightenment (for such readers as have wondered over the matter) as to the mystery of French "collaboration." The book is feebler, thinner, less clever than its predecessors; it seems to prove that there are some talents that need to "collaborate," and that they are fully themselves only on this condition. Like M. Zola, the author of the tale in question has written a preface, in which he calls attention to the edifying properties of his book—his "livre austère et chaste." Speaking seriously, the preface is the best part of the work. M. de Goncourt says, very justly, that it is an unwarrantable pretension on the part of certain critics to forbid the school of novelists to which he belongs—"la jeune école sérieuse"—to write anything but what may be read by young ladies in railway trains. This is really what the prohibitory legislation amounts to. The author asserts that the young serious school, if not interfered with, stands ready to divest the novel of its traditional frivolity, and make it co-operate with history and scientific research in the task of enlightening and instructing mankind. As an example, M. de Goncourt devotes himself to showing up the horrors of the régime of silence in prisons—the system which he appears to consider it the peculiar infamy of the American penal establishments to have invented and propagated. His heroine, convicted of manslaughter, is imprisoned for life, and, being never allowed to speak, becomes after a certain number of years idiotic and dies of a sort of chronic stupor. This part of the book, the last third, dealing with her prison life, shows most ability, and has doubtless a certain value. The author has evidently "studied up" his subject. The preceding chapters, which describe minutely the career of the unfortunate Elisa as a street-walker of the lowest class, and include an account of the circumstances of her childhood—as daughter of a *sage-femme* also of the lowest class—are not practically agreeable, however valid the theory upon which they have been composed. As we read them we wonder what is becoming of the French imagination, and we say that even readers who have flattered themselves that they knew the French mind tolerably well find that it has some surprisingly unpleasant corners. M. de Goncourt's theory is perfectly respectable; novelists are welcome to become as serious as they please; but are the mysteries of such a career as Elisa's the most serious thing in the list? M. de Goncourt's fault is not that he is serious or historical or scientific or instructive, but that he is intolerably unclean. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and, in spite of its elevated intentions, "La Fille Elisa" must be profoundly distasteful to healthy appetites.

—A correspondent writes us from Geneva: "The times are hard, very hard, just now in this part of Europe, yet not so hard but that people generally are expecting them to be worse before they are better. The blame of it is laid by most people partly on the rumors of war, but mainly on the Americans and the Philadelphia Exhibition. This last it was that kept the Swiss hotels empty last season and left the shopkeepers waiting in hope deferred behind their counters; and it is this that has paralyzed manufactures with the fear of American competition. Both here and in the canton of Neuchâtel—the two seats of the watch manufacture—the concerns that have not stopped entirely have reduced their rate of production. There is a wail of unmistakable distress from the unemployed silk-weavers of Zurich and Lyons. So great is the suffering in the latter city, that all Paris has been moved to a night's dancing in Lent at the Grand Opera for the relief of the sufferers. From Marseilles it is officially reported that 700 workmen have been discharged from the sugar-refineries, and that the rest are working on three-quarters' time. The soap-factories, which ordinarily employ 1,200 hands, have now only 850, and these on short time. Three hundred men have been dis-

charged from the foundries. Six months ago there were employed in connection with the business of transportation by sailing vessels 6,000 men; now there are only half the number. One great clothing house has reduced its pay-list from 1,000 names to 400. The railroad enterprises are in trouble, both the old and the new. The Swiss Northeastern, which has been considered a safe investment, is in a dreadful condition. On the docket of the Federal Assembly are the petitions of no less than ten companies for an extension of time in which to complete their roads; and, finally, the immense enterprise of the Gothard road and tunnel, that has been backed by the treasuries of three nations, has used up its subsidies and its credit, and the question now is whether Germany, Italy, and Switzerland shall increase their subsidies, or whether, with a hole pierced half-way through the central knot of the Alpine Ranges, the enterprise shall be abandoned. It is curious to observe, by the way, that with this solemn monument of the 'vanity of human wishes' before their eyes, people do none the less talk, as if it were a serious matter, of a Simplon road and tunnel, which shall be aided by France as the Gothard road by Germany, and the two eastern roads by Germany; and it is asserted that the support of Gambetta is already pledged to such a scheme. Of course it is folly to refer all the trouble to America, and yet this is the uppermost idea in many minds, as a hundred newspapers and pamphlets show. One of the most impressive and instructive of these has just been published here, under the somewhat sensational title of 'Garde à vous!' It is an address to Swiss manufacturers by the proprietor of a great shoe-factory at Schönenwerth, in German Switzerland, and gives, with great simplicity and straightforwardness, the results of his personal comparison of American and European establishments in various departments of manufacture, but especially in his own. The most striking thing in all his story is that he refers the superiority of the American factories largely, not to say chiefly, to the personal superiority of the American workman. Some of the facts adduced in proof of this are interesting. Describing the shoe-factory at North Brookfield, he says: 'Five machines furnish all the soles required for a maximum production of nine thousand pairs a day. In my factory, a machine of the same sort cannot turn out more than four hundred pairs of soles in a day. In this department, as well as in that for the cutting of the uppers, none but American workmen are employed. In workrooms of the same size with mine, six times the amount of goods are produced. . . . The proprietor complained of the high rate of wages. He cannot get workmen for less than \$2 a day, which forbids the idea of an export business; but I took the trouble to foot up, from his own books, the rate at which he was paying *by the piece*, and I found that I was paying in my factory nearly double the rate, and yet my workmen grumble at being put at that part of the business.'

—We have received a circular from the committee having in charge the collection of subscriptions for a monument to George Sand. The circular is addressed "aux esprits élevés, aux cœurs reconnaissants qui admirent et se souviennent," and is an appeal for aid in completing the work undertaken. The success of the subscription, we are informed, is already assured, but it is not thought best to allow a single country to furnish contributions "for perpetuating the memory of this illustrious woman, whose talents were universal in character." Subscriptions have already been received from many eminent men in France, whose names appear upon the circular. M. Thiers approves the purpose of the committee, and Victor Hugo is an honorary member. The monument will be erected at La Châtre, to which place subscriptions may be sent, addressed to M. Ch. Moulin, treasurer of the committee. Marble for the statue will be furnished by the Minister of Public Instruction.

—The second volume of Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung,' making the fifth volume of the Marquardt-Mommsen 'Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer,' contains the Financial and Military departments of the administration. It is considerably enlarged (591 pages to 480 of the original work), and, what is of very great importance, it is made to cover the period of the Lower Empire, after Diocletian. This distinguishes the present volume as well from the original edition as from the previous volumes of this edition, which embrace only the Early Empire. It seems necessary in the present case because of the fulness of materials, especially on the financial system, for the fourth century, without reference to which the third century cannot be taken up at all. The sixth volume is announced as "in the press," which means that it may be looked for in about a year. Former announcements have ended with the sixth volume; it is now stated that a seventh, containing Private Antiquities, will be added. The administration of justice is still, however, excluded, except in so far as it falls within the consideration of the several magistracies and assemblies; it is very much to be desired that it may eventually be brought within the plan of the work.

—A pamphlet recently received from London gives an account of one of the plans which gave the late Lady Augusta Stanley her just reputation as a leader in wise and well-directed charity. "The Westminster Training-School and Home for Nurses" was established by her in 1874 for the purpose of maintaining a staff of skilled and well-taught attendants on the sick, who should be at all times at the call of any deserving family in which serious illness made a need for them, and should also supply to the London hospitals nurses of a skill and experience not otherwise to be secured. This was the favorite scheme of the last years of Lady Augusta Stanley's life, and under her supervision it steadily gained in public favor. It has seemed to her friends in England that there could not be a better memorial of a woman so widely known and beloved than the carrying out of her cherished plan; and the pamphlet just referred to gives the details of a subscription now in progress to make the Training School self-supporting through a "Memorial Fund," contributed by those who sympathize with the purpose of the institution and desire to honor its founder. Not only is an English contribution making to this end, but a list has been opened here. Many names have already been received through private channels. Mr. Cyrus W. Field, at 123 East Twenty-first Street, will receive the subscriptions, and on the first of June forward them to Dean Stanley with the names of the subscribers.

RECENT NOVELS.*

THE plot of Mr. William Black's 'Madcap Violet' is ingenious, the story is well written, and any one who takes it up will find it hard to lay it down before he reaches the tearful end. More than this, the heroine is really a living human being, who wins the reader's sympathy at the beginning and keeps it throughout. Mr. Black has already done well in describing his heroines; his 'Three Feathers,' his 'Strange Adventures of a Phaeton,' and his 'Daughter of Heth,' to say nothing of the 'Princess of Thule,' contain several studies of young women whom readers of novels are more likely to see about them in daily life than to find in books. This Madcap Violet is one of the more successful sort because she is a high-spirited girl with a will of her own; Mr. Black inclines to fall into a somewhat soft-hearted sentimentality, as in the 'Daughter of Heth' and the 'Princess of Thule,' and it is a good thing that he has been kept from that mistake by the sharp tongue of Violet herself. It is on account of this freedom from sentimentality that the book, after all, makes so deep an impression as it does. With a heroine who is different from other people, who seems solemn and severe, the tragedy, when it comes, strikes us as being but her fitting lot; it is the overcoming of a proud, independent character that really wrings the heart, and the more charming and debonaire the heroine is at the beginning of the book, the sadder is the end. Moreover, jollity and love of fun will always seem more natural to young people than dark foreshadowing of future gloom, and it takes a greater writer than Mr. Black yet is to handle really exceptional characters and to keep them from posing. This Violet is a charming creature from the time we first meet her, a romping school girl without an atom of pity for her distracted teachers. Her escapades at this period of her life, her self-possession, her fun, all these things are capitally told; and what follows, George Miller's pursuit of her and the entanglements that complicate matters, is certainly natural enough—too natural, in fact—for the tragic ending stands in very sharp contrast to the general glee and ringing of marriage-bells of the ordinary novel. Raw, violent, homicidal tragedy is always to be denounced. An author has more than despotie power over the life of his characters, it is true; but when the reader sees a *requiescat in pace* at the end of a novel, he is likely to transfer the motto to the beginning, and let the book go unread. It cannot be denied that the mournful conclusion of this story is not legitimately deduced from the sources of all the trouble, but it is so well told, so clearly foreshadowed, and withal so gently touching, that the reader forgives the superfluous pang the book gives him. While Violet, the heroine, is so well drawn, it may be questioned whether the hero, James Drummond, is represented with equal success. Some authors do best with their heroes, others again with the heroines. The type of man so common in women's novels and so odious to the men who read them, who readily see its inaccuracy, is sufficiently well known; the successful lover in 'The Wooing O't' may perhaps serve as an example. Miss Austen and Mrs. Oliphant are eminent for impartiality; Mr. Black, who, like Mr. Howells in this country, is read especially for his good drawing of women, like him too gives the reader a less satisfactory kind of

* 'Madcap Violet: A Novel. By William Black, author of 'The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton,' 'A Princess of Thule,' etc., etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1877.

hero. James Drummond is an attractive man, with many charming qualities, but does the reader get so distinct and life-like an impression of him as he does of Violet? Many pleasant things are told about him, and many interesting traits are collected under his hat, but is it not true that they are somewhat loosely tied together without combining to give us the notion of a very living man? It is like being told of a person by some one who knows his fine qualities, but who cannot bring them before us picturesquely.

'The Gold of Chickaree' is the continuation of 'Wych Hazel,' and it contains the story of the marriage of the botanically-named young woman with the hero who is known as Dane, Duke, Rollo, or Olaf. It would be a bold statement that 'Wych Hazel' made any continuation, but if it did, nothing more like it could have been produced than the present story. Everybody in the book has the impudent way of talking that filled the other volume, and round dances again come in for abuse. Other kinds of sin, too, are denounced, and a man who is about to run away with his neighbor's wife is bought off with the sum of thirty thousand dollars, showing clearly the proper way for the acquaintances of Rollo and Wych Hazel, who were the generous rewarders of vice, to set about making their fortunes. A confirmed habit of chewing tobacco or of using profane language would have been worth, to a hard-working father of a family, at least six hundred dollars a year.

'The Maid of Stralsund' can hardly be called interesting except by those who care to get their history in the guise of avowed fiction, yet it is a very fair representative of the somewhat heavy, well-meaning historical novel. As for the heroine, her career was much less stormy than that of the Maid of Orleans or of Saragossa; in good time, after the author has made his way over a number of battle-fields and described some obstinate sieges, she is allowed to marry into a prominent English family. The story of the Thirty Years' War is told with clearness.

'Sidonie' is the title given the English translation of Alphonse Daudet's 'Fromont jeune et Risler aîné.' The author takes up once more the problem which French writers of fiction have already discussed with some frequency, and belongs to that division of them in which it is not the unattractive husband but the guilty wife who is denounced with virulence. Indeed, Sidonie, the absolutely heartless woman, who brings misery upon her husband and infamy upon herself, is shown to have no good qualities; she dresses vulgarly, she has bad manners, and a vile, jealous disposition—the author has not a good word to say for her. In spite of these faults, by dint of her unscrupulousness, she succeeds in attracting the love of her brother-in-law, and of the husband of a most charming woman, her only friend. This cannot be said to be impossible, but the tiresome exaggeration of the heroine's unattractiveness, while it serves a better purpose than the opposite fault of overrating her charm and lauding her sin, gives the book the air of unnecessary groping after disagreeable incidents. To give the story consistency her married lover has to be a limp, boneless creature without a notion of his own; and her brother-in-law, who is intended to be an excellent young fellow, is quite as bad as she is. This one-sided representation is a serious artistic fault, and sensationalism, even though avowing itself on the side of morality, is sensationalism still. Melodramas are notorious for their high moral tone, and there is a melodramatic over-drawing and straining after effect in this clever story, for clever it certainly is in many ways. Some of the minor characters are very well drawn, and the pathetic story of Dolobelle's family is impressively told, although here as everywhere there are traces of exaggeration. Dolobelle himself, the discarded actor, always maintaining a genteel appearance and having his late supper while his hard-working wife and daughter are barely able to support him, to say nothing of themselves, makes certainly a vivid and painful picture. The book shows power, but not power put to the best use.

Of a very different kind is Pushkin's 'Marie: A Story of Russian Love,' which does not concern itself with any lesson, or with showing how good or how bad people are, but is simply an unadorned record, told in the most charming way, of the adventures of a young Russian officer who sees service against some rebels, and whose betrothal to the heroine forms the romantic part of the story. There is plenty of incident, and the narrative is so direct and simple that the reader becomes at once conscious of a master's hand. The hero's boyhood is described in two or three pages, and through-

out the book there is no superfluity of expression; everything is set before us with two or three touches. The growth of the heroine's character from shy girlishness to mature strength and courage through strange adventures is beautifully told. The mock czar, half cunning and half enthusiasm, the hero's grim servant—indeed, all the characters—are admirably drawn.

M. Jules Verne, having exhausted the resources of a good part of the earth's surface, of the air above it and of the waters under the earth, in his numerous pseudo-scientific romances, has in his last gone to a region which is almost as unfamiliar to most of his readers as the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean—namely, to Eastern Russia and Siberia. The hero, Michael Strogoff, is commissioned by the Czar to carry important despatches to a remote outpost of the Empire, and his adventures on the way form the substance of the book. The comic element is supplied by two newspaper correspondents, one English and the other French. There is plenty of adventure of one kind and another, and it may be said that any one who takes up the volume, however much he may condemn Jules Verne's maltreatment of science, will be apt to read it through to the end. It is generally false science, and certainly false sentiment, that go to make up his books, but they are readable. It is fair to suppose that a boy into whose hands this story is put will pick up incidentally a certain amount of information about Russia and Siberia, but he will not get much besides. The great advantage to be got from reading such books as 'Robinson Crusoe' is not the geographical instruction and facts of natural history they impart, but the story they contain of a lonely man conquering nature and triumphing over desperate circumstances. Michael Strogoff certainly found his road a hard one, but there is nothing of De Foe's simplicity in M. Verne's highly-artificial and complicated incidents.

'Twice Defeated' is a story of Irish life in the Old Country and in this one, and describes the various underhand means by which some of the Irish try to set themselves above the laws and to escape the consequences of their own shiftlessness. The connection between the two parts of the book treating of the different countries is mainly historical, though there is an astonishing similarity in the lawless methods used by those concerned in their conspiracies against civilization. The Ribbonmen of Ireland and the Molly Maguires of Pennsylvania are shown up at length by a writer who has evidently taken a good deal of trouble to get at the facts, and who knows a good deal about the ways of the Irish. The first part of the book describes the method employed to avoid the payment of rent. One agent, who could always be cajoled by a glass of whiskey into forgetting the distasteful subject, was removed and a new one appointed, who in time adopted stringent measures. The difficulties that beset him, the secret society that tried to take his life, the ever-present danger of assassination, enlivened here and there by amusing bits of Irish talk, keep the reader who is willing to interest himself in something besides persistent flirtation continually attentive; it is clearly shown and corroborated by abundant testimony that the Green Isle was always disturbed when any sort of restraint was put on its inhabitants by the detested Sassenach. As may be imagined, the showing is no better with the Molly Maguires; the story of that infamous society, with its wanton murders and their ingenious exposure and just punishment, is told at some length and very clearly. The book is not bad as a novel, and as a sort of contribution to history it is really worthy of praise. The author has taken pains (something not too common), and although he has not been as successful in writing an Irish novel as Miss Edgeworth, or as Miss Annie Keary, with her 'Castle Daly,' he has done creditable work.

Mrs. Alexander, who is an old favorite, comes again to the front with another novel, 'The Heritage of Langdale,' which is quite readable, although it bears the mark of having been written possibly some time ago, before her other novels had brought her the popularity she now enjoys. At least this would seem to be indicated by the fact that the plot is most intricate and complicated, and it is at the first sight unlikely that a writer who needs nothing but a young man and a young woman (the young man generally of lofty birth and consequently languid but irresistible manners, the girl a humble worshipper of the ground beneath his aristocratically elegant feet) to interest her readers most keenly,—it is unlikely, we say, that such a writer should take the trouble of racking her brains for the darkly-mysterious chain of incidents that throw a cloud of uncertainty over the greater part of 'The Heritage of Langdale.' The scene is set back into the London of the early part of the last century, but it is a

'The Gold of Chickaree.' By Susan and Anna Warner, authors of 'Wide World,' 'Dollars and Cents,' 'Wych Hazel,' etc. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1876.

'The Maid of Stralsund: A Story of the Thirty Years' War.' By J. B. de Liefde, author of 'The Beggars'; or, 'The Founders of the Dutch Republic.' New York: Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co. 1876.

'Sidonie.' (Fromont jeune et Risler aîné.) From the French of Alphonse Daudet. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1877.

'Marie: A Story of Russian Love.' From the Russian of Alexander Pushkin. By Marie H. de Ziefinska. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1877.

'Michael Strogoff, the Courier of the Czar.' By Jules Verne, author of 'The Mysterious Island,' 'A Journey to the Centre of the Earth,' etc., etc. Translated by W. H. G. Kingston. Revised by Julius Chambers. With ninety full-page illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

'Twice Defeated; or, The Story of a Dark Society in Two Countries.' By Rollin Edwards. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

'The Heritage of Langdale.' By Mrs. Alexander, author of 'The Wooling O't,' 'Her Dearest Foe,' etc. Leisure-Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877.

very operatic London with a fine flavor of buccaneers, kidnappers, etc., who in novels know no time or country; but history has other laws, and it is curious to read (p. 277) of the heroine playing a sonata of Beethoven's in the year 1714. This was the "music of the future" with a vengeance.

Auerbach's 'Neue Dorfgeschichten' would naturally attract attention on account of its author's fame, and the tales have an additional claim from the fact that each of them is a continuation of one of the short stories which first brought him into real prominence. It has been his aim to show in them what changes have been produced during the last thirty years in his imaginary characters, as well as to picture the new united Germany and to set it in contrast with the old divided country. The stories chosen for continuation are 'Die Frau Professorin,' 'Die Sträflinge,' and 'Der Tolpatsch.' The first-named was one of the best of his earlier stories; it will be remembered as the tale of the romantic painter who married the young country girl and took her to the great city. Once there her rustic ways, in harsh contrast with the urban graces of the citizens, were the cause of much pain to him, as became evident from his altered manner and bad habits, so that at last they separated and repented at leisure. This new story opens with the painter's hearing of his discarded wife's death. He goes back to the village where he had first met her and to which she had returned to die, in order to atone for his past negligence, tardily it must be confessed, by living in the same spot. Very soon, however, his ideas of penitence become very vague, and he becomes engaged again, to another peasant girl, and, to make matters still more complicated, to a girl whom his wife had as good as adopted for her own child. He does not, in fact, marry her, but is instead killed by an idiot. Some moral lesson is generally taught by Auerbach's novels, but the meaning of this story it is hard to make out. Is one to deduce from it that artists should marry peasant girls, or that they should not? Thirty years of pondering ought to make this clear if anything can. The author seems to smile on the loves of Reinhard, although he brings him to a tragic end in a scuffle. To most readers this artist's middle-aged inflammability will not seem like the most fascinating romance. The sequel of the 'Sträflinge' shows us the old couple whose adventures were described in that early tale, living by the side of the railroad, and bringing up a large family of children, most of whom make very advantageous marriages; one daughter marries a missionary who is also a baron; Friederike, a rich farmer; Albert gets the grand-daughter of a *Staatsrath* for a wife, and it is all as fine as a fairy-tale. The third story, which is by all odds the best, tells how the son of the old Tolpatsch goes back from this country to choose his wife in his father's old home, where he has the usual good luck of Auerbach's heroes. To the reader, the most curious thing about these little stories, which are hardly fuller of life than romances painted on china cups and saucers, is not so much the difference they show between the old time and the new as the light they throw on the author and his growth or lack of growth in the last thirty years. His latter sketches show no marked increase in powers or judgment. What was full of promise for a young man of thirty is something that is disappointing when uttered by a man of sixty; Auerbach apparently sees about him in this world nothing but a pretty set of dolls who are all mated and given a round sum of money, and with this smug optimism the reader is dismissed. These stories are appearing in English. In most respects the translation is good, and faithfully gives the forced simplicity of the original, but it is a question how accurate it is to use "Sir Captain" or "Mr. Captain" as a form of address to an officer; the form certainly is not common.

Alexander Hamilton: A Historical Study. By the Hon. George Shea. Part I. The Individual. (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1877.)—This volume when complete will consist of four parts, the first of which is now given to the world in pamphlet form. The purpose of this separate publication is to call immediate attention to the career of Hamilton, and thereby facilitate the erection of a monument commemorative of his life and services in the city of New York. No motive could be better, and it is to be regretted that the execution of the work is not equal to its object. The mere project of publishing a biographical study in separate parts, each complete in itself, is defective; no human character is sufficiently simple to be well portrayed in clearly-defined sections.

The title of the portion of Judge Shea's book now before us seems, moreover, a strange misnomer. By "The Individual" one is led to expect

a picture of the man himself, a vivid portrayal of the personality of the author's hero. Judge Shea gives about forty pages to a discussion of Hamilton's opinions on government, six to his abilities as a writer and lawyer, a page and a half to his personal appearance, and the rest of the pamphlet to a sketch of Hamilton's early life, and of American history from 1757 to 1782. This was not the method pursued by Boswell when he drew his portrait of Johnson. Judge Shea strikingly illustrates his own mistake by the page and a half devoted to Hamilton's personal appearance. In this brief passage, drawn for the most part from a new source, and supplemented with a well-known anecdote, a better idea of Hamilton "the individual" is conveyed to the reader's mind than by all the rest of the book.

But putting aside the misleading title and taking the pamphlet for what it really is—a discussion of Hamilton's opinions on government—the work is not without interest. Hamilton's political views are stated clearly, correctly, and with a full appreciation of his genius. The falsity of Jefferson's charges of "monarchism" and "British sympathies" is once more completely demonstrated. At the same time, Judge Shea falls into the common error of attributing to Hamilton sentiments which, however familiar at the present day, were generally rejected by the best minds of a century ago. Hamilton was wholly opposed to pure democracy. He had none of that confidence in the wisdom of the people at large which is now of easy acceptance. He was very far from considering the *vox populi* as the *vox Dei*, and he certainly did not think that the greatest number was necessarily the best judge of the greatest good. He saw plainly, what Judge Shea fails apparently to perceive, that at the time of the formation of the Union the least government possible was, from the nature of things, an absolute necessity. He did not regard the Constitution as by any means a perfect solution of the problem; and Judge Shea seems to forget that it was Hamilton who termed that famous instrument "a frail and worthless fabric." Nor was he a devotee of pure republican government, as we understand it. He believed that form to be the only one practicable, but he wished it to be strong, energetic, and managed by a governing class. The aristocratic element entered largely into Hamilton's theories; and it is not correct to attribute to him pure democratic conceptions which he himself regarded with abhorrence. Hamilton's imperishable influence is great enough without confounding it with opinions wholly foreign to his true principles. He it was who breathed life into the dry sentences of the Constitution, and organized and founded our political system; but the theory on which that system rests to-day is that of his bitterest enemy, Thomas Jefferson. Those two great men, the very antipodes of one another, have alone stamped their principles indelibly upon our government. At the present moment Jefferson rules in the manner and after the methods prescribed by Hamilton. Hamilton's theory perished before the advance of democratic principles; but Jefferson utterly failed to destroy the wise system devised by his opponent.

The great defect in Judge Shea's book is that it partakes too much of the nature of oratory and not enough of history. The whole work is characterized by a looseness of statement which, if permissible in the former, is certainly out of place in the latter. What, for example, is meant by "the deep, clear, tranquil principles of the English constitution as instituted by Alfred the Great"? It is by no means easy to decide what the principles of the English constitution were at that remote period, or indeed whether any of them had then a recognized existence. This vagueness, however, is particularly noticeable in the comparisons. In one place Hamilton is compared to Columbus. Anything more fanciful than a resemblance between the sensitive, superstitious, enthusiastic discoverer of the fifteenth century and the shrewd, practical, hard-headed statesman of the eighteenth, can scarcely be conceived. Again, Judge Shea tells us that "the death of Cæsar consummated the Roman Empire. . . . The death of Hamilton, in the fulness of time, confirmed the United States of America in their empire." Without tearing this remarkable analogy to pieces, it may be said that however much Hamilton's life did towards founding our empire, his death had absolutely no effect in that direction. The Federalists were deprived of their leader, the country shuddered at the circumstances of his death, a severe check was put upon duelling, and this was all. The trouble is that Judge Shea is hampered by sentiments befitting an orator. He wishes to treat Hamilton "as the founder of the American States in empire," instead of telling the story of his life as a statesman, a lawyer, a writer, an orator—in short, as the great man that he really was.

The most interesting part of the book thus far published is the collection of the views of distinguished foreigners in relation to Hamilton. These opinions are, of course, in terms of the highest admiration, and, curiously enough, are for the most part those of eminent Frenchmen, to whom, as a race, Hamilton was politically and intellectually the very

'Neue Dorfgeschichten. Nach dreissig Jahren. Von Berthold Auerbach.' 3 vols. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1876.

'The Convicts and their Children. By Berthold Auerbach, author of 'On the Heights,' 'The Villa on the Rhine,' etc. Translated by Charles T. Brooks.' Leisure-Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877.

opposite. Foreign judges generally award to Hamilton the second place among our great men; but Talleyrand, who was never troubled by considerations of moral grandeur, ranked him even above Washington. Every one should be familiar with Talleyrand's celebrated remark: "Je considère Napoléon, Fox et Hamilton comme les trois plus grands hommes de notre époque, et si je devais me prononcer entre les trois, je donnerais sans hésiter la première place à Hamilton. Il avait deviné l'Europe."

Rip Van Winkle. Par Washington Irving. Traduction exacte, par le Major L. du Bos, Professor à la High School de Charleston, S.C. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger. 1877).—This is a laudable attempt to furnish a text-book for beginners in French; and anybody who knows to what shifts teachers and compilers of French Readers have been obliged to resort, will approve Prof. Du Bos's reasons for preferring an exact, conscientious, and intelligent translation of a classic like 'Rip Van Winkle' to excerpts from Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Racine, or to ordinary moral tales like 'Le Grandpère' or even to 'Un Philosophe sous les Toits.' There is a peculiar advantage in the comparison of idioms and metaphors, not through the matter-of-fact medium of a dictionary, but through a sympathetic reproduction like this—a reproduction which is at the same time a study for the translator himself. Prof. Du Bos has made an excellent selection, whether as regards the style or the brevity of the original, or the familiarity of the story; and in spite of the difficulties here and there encountered, he has been able, as he himself says, to "imbibe the very spirit of the author, identify myself completely with his subject, relish keenly all his ideas, and, so relishing them, transfuse them at once into my own language, with a warmth that should sustain all their originality and a faithfulness that would preserve every charm." We quote from the translator's English preface, which, somewhat expanded,

answers to a preceding French preface. We heartily commend this little volume to all school-teachers.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1877.

The Week.

THE attempt to give the Chamber of Commerce dinner on Monday, at which Mr. Hayes and four of his Cabinet were present, a political character, seems to have been in part a failure and in part a success. Some well-known Democrats went, and some, equally well known, stayed away for reasons best known to themselves, but generally understood to be that they could not bear to sit at table with a statesman having "the stamp of fraud upon his brow"—a sensitiveness that arouses painful doubts as to the nature of the feelings which must have been caused in the minds of the guests on former occasions of a similar character by the presence of many local statesmen of both parties. Most of the speeches were of the usual sort, Mr. Hayes's being perhaps a little too much in the vein of General Grant's shorter efforts; Mr. Evarts spoke to the point on the tariff question, and advocated the encouragement of the shipping interest. Mr. Schurz made an excellent speech on civil-service reform, in which he said a good many plain things, as for example, "No man is fit for government employment whom you would not trust in your own business." He also declared that "Officers ought to be selected for fitness for the places they are to fill, and not, as heretofore, on account of their ability to pack a caucus, to run a primary, or to play a good game of draw poker."

The postponement of the special session of Congress leaves the President with his hands free for four or five months, and as the Southern question is now at rest, and nothing can be done by disaffected Senators and Representatives to hamper his action, the country will look with anxiety to see his promise with regard to civil-service reform carried out. In saying this we do not mean to slight at all what has been achieved already in this direction, but it must be borne in mind that Mr. Hayes has promised not merely to turn out incompetent persons when their incompetency has been proved and put fit men in their places, but to reform the whole system, so that permanency of tenure shall take the place of insecurity and rotation, capacity the place of incapacity, and "patient merit" the place of low intrigue and of base partisan service. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is by warning the employees of the Government that any caucus-packing or primary-running will be followed by instant dismissal, and enforcing this rule rigidly. The first step is to issue the order, and the second will be to remove two or three of the most conspicuous offenders. The collector of the port in this city, and Simmons in Boston, are the two worst cases, and should be removed for neglect of duty and abuse of their positions. If the rules laid down by Mr. Schurz for the selection of public servants were actually in force, neither of these gentlemen would remain in office for a day, inasmuch as they got their offices through a conspicuous capacity for making such rules a farce. It is said that Simmons, who got his place through Butler, and whose appointment was opposed by all the best Republicans of Massachusetts, has endeared himself to the Boston merchants by his excellent management of the custom-house, and they want him retained. But it is an easy thing for one of our collectors, who through our absurd customs laws has the fortunes and reputations of the merchants of large cities almost at his mercy, to endear himself to them. The question is not what do the merchants think of Messrs. Arthur and Simmons now, but what did they think of them and what was known about them at the time of their appointment? Their removal would go further towards proving the sincerity of the Administration's promises than anything that has yet been done, and without some such

overt act, we doubt if any orders, however strong in terms, will be of much avail.

That Mr. Hayes would have an active popular support in such measures as these can hardly be doubted, and what he needs now is a support of this kind, if by any honest means it can be secured. The support which has been thus far given his Southern policy cannot be mistaken for that warm confidence in his intentions and aims which is needed to effectively strengthen his hands. The Democrats "support" it because it is their own policy and they believe that the late campaign compelled its adoption. But for a campaign of civil-service reform this is not the sort of political following that is to be desired or expected. What is needed is rather such a following as a year ago was suddenly created for Mr. Bristow by the unprecedented spectacle of a Cabinet officer performing his duty regardless of consequences. Such people as those who supported Mr. Bristow as a candidate for the Presidency look upon Mr. Hayes's attempted reforms with a critical and suspicious eye, because the unfortunate conduct of the campaign threw a cloud over all professions of reform. It is possible for Mr. Hayes to cultivate the somewhat cool sympathy of the class to which we refer into a warmer feeling; but this can only be done by a bold attack on the enemy's position.

The Massachusetts Legislature, after a long period of labor with the liquor question, finally brought forth the *ridiculus mus* of "local option." But Mr. Rice, the Governor, has vetoed the bill, on the ground, chiefly, that the last liquor law, passed, we believe, a year or two ago, has not yet been in operation long enough to allow the formation of a correct judgment with reference to its practical operation. On general grounds, and referring to any other subject or any other State, this would be regarded as a most excellent reason for a veto message; but as the State is Massachusetts and the law in question a liquor law, we fear that Mr. Rice does not understand the sentiments of his constituents. Judging by the past, we are fully convinced that most of the advocates of this new law have no desire to test the practical efficiency of *any* liquor law. Some of their number desire only to put upon the statute-book a pet illustration of an *à priori* theory of the functions of government. Others, well-meaning people, wish to fall in with the "goody" sentiment with regard to liquor and liquor laws which they know to be the sentiment of very many excellent but somewhat unintelligent persons. A few persons, angered by the sight or remembrance of friend or relative become a drunkard, seek for the law which appears to be most sweeping and radical in its provisions, and will be satisfied with nothing less; and many persons vote upon the liquor question from political motives only. None of the above think or care about practical results only, and some even believe that their consideration with regard to this "moral" subject would be almost impious; and we are compelled, therefore, to witness a great and civilized State changing its laws on a most important matter as readily as the Turks change their constitutions. We have no doubt that a majority of the people of Massachusetts desire some such law as that now in operation, and if this veto of Mr. Rice will help to keep it in operation until attention is directed to its practical efficiency only, giving the sentimentalists time to get weaned a little from their hobbies, he will have no cause to regret his action, notwithstanding the abuse he is now sure to receive.

South Carolina politics continue to be of interest. Willard, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court, has been elected by the Legislature, after a sharp contest, to fill the position of Chief-Justice, left vacant by the death of Moses. Wright, the colored judge, stands a good chance of being deposed for incompetency and indecent behavior. Whittemore, formerly of cadetship notoriety,

has had some of his accounts overhauled by an investigating committee, and has been unable to tell what became of a considerable portion of a sum of money entrusted to him for the purchase of portraits of Lincoln and Sumner. The Legislature is at present engaged in "wrestling" with the subject of the public debt and the payment of interest thereon; and the subject, it must be confessed, is a difficult one for it to manage. A portion of the State debt, it is claimed and with considerable appearance of truth, was fraudulently incurred and may therefore be justly repudiated. But before any discrimination can be made between the legal and illegal portions of the debt, the interest on the entire debt will fall due. The immediate question therefore is, Shall this interest be paid, or shall righteous and unrighteous creditors alike be compelled to wait until the courts can decide upon their claims? The poverty of the people and the great difficulty of raising by taxation the amount due are potent factors in the discussion, but some of the leading men are apparently determined, whatever the sacrifice, to pay the interest promptly as a necessary step toward repairing the credit and reputation of the State.

The Emma-Mine suit against Park, Baxter, and Stewart to recover the purchase-money of the mine has resulted in a verdict for the defendants. Considering that the English stockholders changed their counsel in the course of the proceedings, and that the plaintiffs had to prove a conspiracy, most of the evidence of which was either circumstantial or rested on the testimony of a single witness whose credibility was impeached, the result is not surprising. The case, involving, as it did, allegations of fraud of a complicated character, was unfit for a jury-trial, and could best have been tried in an equity proceeding by a single judge. The verdict is said to have had a most comforting effect on Park, who regards it as a "vindication," and many of his friends in the press seem to adopt the same view. General Schenck and Professor Silliman were not parties to the case, and can hardly be said to be vindicated by the result, unless, indeed, we consider the verdict to have a general vindictory effect upon the reputations of all persons in any way connected with the Emma Mine—a list which would include Baron Grant, and, indirectly, our old friend the Marquis de Saldanha, whose energetic promotion of Lisbon internal improvements may be said to have been the prime cause of the whole trouble. The only thing put in issue in this case was whether Park, Stewart, and Baxter entered into a conspiracy to swindle the English stockholders; they may have all been guilty of fraud and misrepresentation, but if the proof of an actual conspiracy broke down the verdict would be correct. The plaintiffs are now trying to get a new trial.

The sub-committee of the Stock Exchange, appointed to secure reports from railroad and other corporations whose securities are quoted on the list, have made a report of the result of their labors, which is only encouraging from the probability that it will rouse stockholders to a proper sense of their rights and duties. It says the coal railroad companies excused themselves from reporting more than once a year, on the ground that being miners as well as carriers they could not tell where they stood oftener than once a year. The President of the New Jersey Central gave them clearly to understand that he would give no more information than the law obliged him to give, and said the public was satisfied with his reports, a belief which subsequent events rudely disturbed. The Michigan Central reported manfully while the returns were favorable, but no longer. The Milwaukee and St. Paul did the same thing. The Northwestern and Rock Island were absolutely uncivil in their replies. The Committee say they were discouraged a good deal by all this, but still more when they found that some reports, even when "signed and sanctioned by men of wealth and reputation," were often utterly untrustworthy. They therefore felt in no humor to make any report at all, but say that events have since occurred, meaning the tumble of stocks, which have gone far to accomplish the desired end. The fact is that concealment about the condition of corporations can have only one object—namely, the aiding

of speculators, who are too often the directors themselves, either in getting rid of their shares before their real value is known, or borrowing money on them at a valuation much above their intrinsic worth. Both these things are forms of fraud, and of atrocious fraud when committed by trustees; and it is high time that it was stopped by stringent legislation, and the breed of autocratic, secretive, speculating, cozening presidents and directors brought down to their proper place as holders of important trusts both for the public and individuals, and made to reveal the results of their administration as regularly and as fully and comprehensively as if they were accounting for the outlay of a sum of money given them for specified objects.

The event of the week in the financial affairs of this country is the new departure in the policy of the Treasury Department—that is to say, the Treasury has sold \$5,000,000 of 4½ per cent. bonds for gold with the intention of using the gold for resumption in 1879. Heretofore, since the Resumption Act became a law, the whole influence of the Government has been devoted to reducing the interest on the bonded debt, and the last success in this way was to complete the sale of enough 4½ per cent. bonds to justify the redemption of \$150,000,000 of 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds. We are now within less than twenty months of the day when, by every consideration of honor, we are bound to begin the redemption of that class of the Government debt which constitutes the main currency of the country—the legal-tender notes; and Mr. Sherman has wisely begun to get gold with which to fulfil that most important pledge. The Treasury has only two methods of getting gold. One, and the most natural, is to take it in for customs; the receipts in this way are, however, not enough in excess of necessary disbursements to leave a surplus sufficient for the purpose of resumption. The other is by the sale of bonds for gold, a transaction which amounts to borrowing gold on long time. Since the Resumption Act became a law the financial markets of the world and the exchanges between this and foreign countries have favored the acquisition of gold by the Treasury through the medium of bond sales. So favorable was the London money market to such a negotiation that, with no effort, gold has actually been sent to New York as a mere commercial transaction. The Treasury, however, made no use of this opportunity, and the proceeds of all the 5 and 4½ per cent. bonds sold since the Resumption Act were applied—constructively, at least—to the redemption of the long debts of the Treasury—the 5-20 bonds. This new departure, although made late in the day and in a small way, is nevertheless encouraging, and meets with general approval.

Ordinarily, so important an announcement would have depressed the price of gold. But, unfortunately, that is sustained, almost wholly because the refunding operations noted have created a large demand for gold to export in payment of the 5.20 bonds called in for redemption, by far the larger part of these having been held in Europe, and only a small part of the new bonds sold having been bought there. Between now and the 5th day of August \$70,000,000 of 5.20 bonds will fall due by reason of the calls issued by the Treasury. Nearly \$50,000,000 of these bonds to be paid off will come from Europe, and as a small amount of 4½ per cent. bonds have been sold there, it follows that something must be exported in payment. It is now cheaper to send gold than anything else; and last week over \$3,000,000 gold coin were shipped. The prospect of the continuance of these shipments is explanation enough of the firmness of gold, even after the Treasury has begun to prepare for resumption. During the week the gold value of the paper dollar ranged between \$0.9313 and \$0.9356. The silver dollar at the close would have been worth \$0.9203 gold. In all the foreign money markets the tendency of money has been upwards.

The fifth annual report of the Silk Manufacturers' Association contains an interesting illustration of the logical methods of some protectionists. Two years ago we took occasion to refer to the silk

manufacture as an "infant industry" that had been carried in arms about long enough, and that might safely be allowed to make an attempt to go alone. The "industry" was then exceedingly prosperous. Raw silk, admitted free of duty, was ruling lower than at any time for the previous twenty years; the wages of operatives had been lessened, and people had bought more largely of American silks than ever before. In view of these facts, and of the added fact that revenue frauds in silk goods had been for a long time notorious, we expressed our surprise that the Association had not improved the opportunity to let people know that their pet child was a very vigorous infant indeed, and that a heavy reduction in the tariff on silk goods might be made with safety to themselves, with profit to the Government, and with great saving to the pockets of the general public. This year, with raw silk still admitted free of duty but greatly increased in cost by a partial failure of the silk crop, silk manufacturers are making no money; but, strange to say, their logic brings them to a conclusion identical with that reached two years ago. No reduction of the tariff, they tell us, would diminish revenue frauds (by which on articles of silk alone Government annually loses \$4,000,000), and on no account should a single cent be deducted from the existing sixty per cent. tariff on all silk goods; in other words, the silk industry was made prosperous by protection, therefore great is protection! The silk industry is now poor and needy, therefore it still needs protection. But some plain people are likely to ask, Why did not protection keep it from getting poor and needy?

This last question, in various forms, is puzzling many other persons besides silk manufacturers, and we beg leave to commend it to all practical politicians as one of the most wholesome subjects which can engage their hours of reflection. In the course of their reflections, moreover, we trust they will not be displeased if we request them to give some consideration to the following sentences from Mr. Evarts's speech at the Chamber of Commerce dinner: "The flag to be kept upon the seas must have ships at whose mast-heads it may fly, and the ships to keep the seas with profit must have cargoes to carry. And if we have a great deal to give and a great deal to sell to foreign nations, we may be sure that we must be willing to take a great deal in return and buy a great deal from them." These are very simple sentences and their application may be very easily made.

The Russians have apparently reached the Danube in force, the left wing having gone straight down to Galatz and Ibraila on the old line, thus furnishing the pivot on which the centre and right will swing round towards Rustchuk and possibly higher. The latest news indicates preparations for a crossing, and there is no reason to suppose that the crossing will be attended with extraordinary difficulties. In fact, we believe there is no case in military history in which a river, however wide or deep, has proved an insurmountable barrier to an able general, and the Danube has never saved Turkey from an invasion. Napoleon crossed it at Wagram in the presence of an army of 120,000 men with 400 guns. The invader, of course, has the immense advantage of choosing his point of crossing and massing artillery at it, and pontooning has been carried to such perfection in our day that it will be hardly possible for the Turks to concentrate force enough anywhere in time to prevent a solid lodgment of the enemy on the south side. The Turkish monitors, it is true, are a new feature in the operations, but they would probably be made harmless by torpedoes, even if their armament or managemnt were such as to make them a match for the heavy Russian artillery, and this does not seem to be the case. One of the largest has been sunk with all on board at Ibraila by a shot in her boiler, an incident which is not likely to embolden the others. There are, of course, the usual official bulletins from Constantinople, with news of terrible fights along the river and great slaughter of the Muscovites, as in the breaking of the bridge at Reni, but it will be wise to assume that nothing important has occurred, or is likely to occur, or, indeed, can occur until the Russians attempt a crossing in force.

The result of this will not long be doubtful or disguisable. The Russians, at least, are not likely to waste much strength on operations preliminary to this.

From Asia the accounts are hardly any clearer. It appears to be certain, however, that what some papers call a "corps de main," and others a "coups de main," has been attempted at Kars, and failed, and that the Russians appear to be merely masking the place and advancing on Erzeroum, one column starting from Bajaset, which they have occupied, the other from Ardahan, which they have also occupied, and another following the Kars road and converging on Bardez, where Mukthar Pasha was reported to be, but from which he is since said to have retired or been driven, nearer to Erzeroum. A force of Russians appears to have attacked Batoum, and, according to Turkish accounts, met with severe loss, the number of killed and wounded reaching as high as 4,000; but St. Petersburg telegrams assert that "the Russian position was maintained." A flying column of Russians appears to have moved in the direction of Wau and Bitlis, away down in Kurdistan, but is reported to have returned from inability to live off the country. It was probably composed entirely of cavalry, but "the Consuls" appear to have written home that it was a movement in force against Diarbekir, the opulent metropolis of Kurdistan, with the view of pillaging the Kurds. No newspaper correspondents have apparently as yet received permission to accompany the Russian army, and the Sultan is so sulky over the anti-Turkish articles in the New York *Herald* that he has denied access to his military plans to the representatives of that paper, which has formally washed its hands of him and his concerns. In the newspaper accounts thus far the guns on both sides are all "Krupp"; the batteries are mostly "masked," and nearly all the movements are "flanking" movements. Constantinople is sometimes "flanked" as far off as Batoum, and "camps" are steadily "flanked" also at the distance of a fortnight's march and through chains of intervening mountains. The Rumanian Parliament passed, on Friday and Saturday, a vote declaring the Principality independent of Turkey, on the ground that the latter has been guilty of aggressive conduct, and had commenced hostilities, which is a curious charge, considering that early in April the Prince, by secret agreement, placed the resources of the country at the disposal of Russia.

The debate on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions has continued in the House of Commons during the week, but lost some of its interest through the abandonment of those which sought to impose a particular line of policy on the Government. Although the remaining resolutions failed finally by a vote of 354 to 223, the debate has had apparently an excellent effect by forcing the ministers into more explicit declarations of their views and plans than they had previously made. Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, made a speech in which he emphatically condemned Turkish misrule, and unequivocally declared that the Government would do nothing to protect the Porte; that it would, however, protect English interests; and he defined this as meaning protection of the Suez Canal, of Egypt, and the freedom of the Dardanelles, and hence the Government would prevent Constantinople from becoming the prize of conquest. The general policy of the Ministry, as he defined it, was not to sanction tyranny or oppression in any part of the world; to preserve treaty engagements, and set a good example to other nations, and to maintain strict neutrality between the contending parties in the present war. This seems to have dissipated the apprehensions which were entertained in many quarters that England was going to interfere actively to help the Turks, but it does not satisfy the Gladstone Liberals, who think England should not allow the Turkish Christians to look only to Russia for aid or sympathy, but should interfere actively on their behalf. It is still positively asserted that Mr. Cross's declaration that the Cabinet was united with regard to the course to be pursued would not have been true had he made it three days sooner; that there had been a positive split, and that harmony had been restored barely in time for the debate.

THE PRESIDENT AND PARTY RESPONSIBILITY.

MR. CHARLES O'CONOR, by invitation of the New York Historical Society, delivered an address at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of the State, in this city last week. The larger portion of his address requires no comment, as it presented only facts concerning the historical development of our institutions, or dealt with those general principles of government which are of almost universal acceptance among political students. A considerable portion, devoted to the encroachments of legislative upon executive functions and the mischiefs of special legislation, was in every way admirable. Towards the close of his address, however, he presented some suggestions of constitutional reform which will hardly bear examination. He would, for instance, in all State governments abolish the present system of district representation, and allow representatives to be chosen by "social communities"—villages and cities; dispense with one legislative chamber; and abolish the election of chief magistrate, leaving that office to be filled monthly by lot from among members of the legislature. His argument in favor of this last suggestion—that its adoption would impress people with the duty of electing no representatives who were not competent to be governors—does not seem to us to require any reply; nor do we think it necessary to consider seriously his declaration that if his various suggestions were adopted party strife would cease and "god-like ambition would find ample employment in the pursuits of private life." In the application of his proposed reforms to the National Government he was not very explicit, and his intentions can be inferred only from the passage: "Reforms approximately similar should be instituted in the General Government by altering the Federal Constitution," but he would of course advise a rapidly changing Executive, of little influence, chosen from among the members of a single chamber of legislation.

It is not our purpose to consider specifically these suggestions of Mr. O'Connor. We call attention to his address as only one among numerous signs, more or less distinct, of a growing dissatisfaction with regard to the existing relations of the Presidency to Congress, to political parties, and to the people of the country at large. There is to be noted, in the first place, the fact that the election of a President once every four years has become a very serious drag upon our national prosperity. The Presidency as a prize for personal ambition is so brilliant, and the power of the President so great, that the feelings of politicians are regularly enlisted in the struggle with extraordinary intensity; and, the noise of the contest fixing the attention of all persons in the country, the social disturbances thereby created, without any reference to pecuniary considerations, are most deplorable. The bitterness of feeling excited by the charges and recriminations of the late Presidential contest have not yet disappeared, and will not disappear until they are, to some extent at least, blotted out by the excitements of the next one. Of prejudice, ill-will, and contention among families and in households each national election sows the seed of a plentiful crop. But economical considerations cannot be overlooked in this matter. We are emphatically a commercial people, and the derangement to business consequent upon our Presidential contests has come to be looked for with increasing certainty and dread. In the national struggle for existence—a struggle which goes on in a manner somewhat analogous to that of each individual or species—we are placed at a serious disadvantage, compared with other nations, by the necessity of choosing our President, or, more properly, by the amount of time which is thus taken from the legitimate pursuits of civilization and expended for that which should be merely an incident of these pursuits. Illustrations of this fact will readily suggest themselves to all who have suffered from the amount of business depression directly traceable to the influence of Presidential contests.

A still more important consideration, however, in some of its aspects at least, is that which refers to the present dependence of the President upon Congress and the absence of any practical method by which the members of the party which elected

him can be held to any responsibility for carrying out the declarations of the party platform. The last national platform of the Republican party, for instance, as well as the letter of acceptance of Mr. Hayes, were understood to pronounce in favor of specie resumption, the attainment of peace at the South, and a reform of the civil service. In undertaking to carry out the last two of these, however, it must be admitted that a large number of Mr. Hayes's party-followers have not been disposed to give him any assistance. In fact, they appear to have been completely surprised by every attempt made to keep good faith with those who believed in the honesty of their own party's professions; and it cannot be doubted that, had both Houses of Congress been in session at the time of Mr. Hayes's initiation of his policy, he would have been fiercely attacked by members of his own party for his adhesion to a course of conduct nominally accepted by the very men making the attack, and, a matter of chief importance here, he would have been powerless to defend himself or to explain the consistency of his course in opposition to those assailing him. One principal cause of the general satisfaction felt at the postponement of the special session of Congress arises undoubtedly from present uncertainty with regard to the action of Congress when its members come together. Although Congress is supposed to represent the wishes of the people even more nearly than the President, there is implied, nevertheless, in nearly all references to it the fact that its members cannot be trusted to follow out any acknowledged party policy, and that the President has no means of requiring them to conform to the same principles which he now represents.

The first of these defects in the Presidency as now constituted will be removed, as regards its more deleterious features, whenever our civil service is so completely reformed that no removals from office follow of necessity the accession of a new President, and, as this can be the case only when the offices are entirely lost sight of as "spoils," when office-holders take no prominent part in political contests. A great part of the intense bitterness of our Presidential struggles is directly traceable to the lust for office. When office-holders are positively assured, as they have not been since the time of Jackson, and are not yet assured, that removal from office is impossible except for incapacity or misconduct, a great part of the now familiar violence and strife will disappear from our national elections. Public attention will be directed, to an extent now impossible, to measures of general interest, to economic questions—in short, to legitimate politics instead of to the mere exciting scramble for place which now usurps the place of all genuine political discussion. The power of the President will be without doubt greatly and beneficially diminished, but his usefulness will be proportionately increased. The power taken from him by civil-service reform is an ignoble and corrupting power which the man most fit for the office should be most desirous to lose. An important change in the character of members of Congress would be immediately apparent. Many of those who now most disgrace our political contests by their methods of working for re-election would have no longer any desire for their positions, or no method for securing them even if they still retained the desire. The importance of each national contest will undoubtedly diminish, in general estimation at least, as the heat and passion of personal strife are replaced by the calm consideration of methods and principles. No one need fear too much calmness. There will always be an abundance of excitement and a considerable derangement of business attending Presidential elections. To remove the most pernicious cause of the first, however, cannot fail to have a modifying influence upon the second. This may be guarded against also to a considerable extent by increasing the term of the Presidency. We are inclined to believe, however, that even if this be not formally done, the establishment of civil-service reform will result in a general understanding that the President who proves himself to be faithful and able shall not be discharged at the end of his first term. Practically, the term of the Presidency will be eight years.

The second great defect in the Presidency will be removed

whenever party platforms clearly enunciate party pledges and promises with a distinct understanding on the part of their writers and supporters that they are to be held accountable for their fulfilment. No man should ever enter the Presidency, as Hayes was obliged to enter it, in almost complete uncertainty with regard to the support he was to receive from the members of his own party or the effect of his policy upon his party's organization. The relation of Hayes to his party since the former's inauguration would, in fact, be extremely ludicrous were it not a sad illustration of the present condition of party politics. Had Morton or Conkling been chosen to the Presidency upon the very same platform, as might have been the case, no one imagines that we should have witnessed any attempt to carry the party doctrines into execution. In fact, the party platform and the President's policy were not supposed to be connected in any way that required the party's recognition.

To put reality into the platforms, however, and to make the President the responsible instrument for carrying out the policies they may advocate, some change in our present administrative machinery may be found necessary. The President, we believe, through his immediate and responsible advisers, the members of his Cabinet, should have a voice in Congress. His ministers should be more accessible than now to public opinion, and be held more directly responsible to the leaders of their party for their administration. On the other hand, the President should have an opportunity to hold in check the Congressional members of his party, and thus enable the public to understand more clearly than it can at present their personal responsibility for the measures they as well as the President were chosen to advance. With some such change as this we believe the country would be better suited than with any abrogation of the Presidency, or any belittling of the President's office.

THE PART OF ENGLAND IN THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THERE is something in the position of the English Russophobists in the present crisis which reminds one in a somewhat humorous way of the "bad-men" theory which used to be put forward by the Republican leaders as an explanation of the troubles at the South under the Carpet-bag governments. They used to say that the real cause of the disorders and turbulence and corruption in that region was the unwillingness of "bad men" to lead honest and peaceable lives, and not by any means the inefficiency of the constituted authorities. Let, they said, the assassins refrain from murder, the thieves from theft, and the whippers from whipping, and all will be well; but let the bad persist in their badness, and all will continue to go wrong. So, also, according to the English friends of Turkey, Russia is at the bottom of all that is puzzling or threatening in the Eastern question. If the Christians of Herzegovina or Bulgaria revolt, it is because Russia puts them up to it. If Russia threatens Turkey with aggression on account of Christian wrongs, it is because she really wishes to gratify her own love of aggrandizement at the expense of the Turks. If she tries to rouse Europe into concerted coercion of the Turks in the direction of internal reform, it is said that she herself needs reforming; that she suppresses religious dissent by persecution, and that she has been guilty of great cruelty to the Kirghiz in Central Asia, and therefore the Turks must not be meddled with.

The truth is, however, that Russian policy and diplomacy, conceding the truth of all that is said regarding their aggressiveness and insincerity, are part and parcel of the Eastern question. The weakness of Turkey and the peculiar evils of Turkish rule form only half of the problem which has under this designation been presenting itself to European statesmen for more than a century. The difficulty does not consist simply of the fact that a semi-civilized Asiatic horde has possession of Constantinople and the adjacent provinces, and fails to provide them with a respectable government, but that another semi-civilized power, possessed of vastly superior strength, has been for one hundred and fifty years

threatening the first with expulsion for the purpose of taking its place. There is nothing new about Russian diplomacy in our time, and nothing new about the designs with which the enemies of Russia accuse her of entering on the present struggle. She is certainly no worse under Alexander than she was under Peter the Great and Catharine, and there never has been since she started on her progress southward the slightest reason for supposing that she had laid aside her policy of expansion in that direction or had ceased to look on the Turks as her legitimate prey. It has been very well known, too, that she was, unlike Turkey, a growing power; that her population and her revenues and armies were all increasing in a prodigious ratio without any marked corresponding improvement in her political morality, and that sooner or later she would seek to give Turkey the *coup de grace*.

Under these circumstances it would have been natural to expect that those who, like England, were most interested in keeping her out of Turkey, and preventing her getting the control of the Dardanelles, would have devoted all their energies to creating a state of things in Turkey which, if it did not prevent Russian aggression, would destroy some of the incentives to it, or excuses for it, and, if attempted, lessen its chance of success. Simple military resistance to Russia on the part of England or any probable ally was, as the Crimean war showed, a costly and doubtful expedient. Either the Turks themselves must be made capable of withstanding Russia, a plan which no military authority has for fifty years supposed to be possible, or else something must be substituted for Turkey which would either resist Russia or take away all pretext for her meddling. This substitute could, of course, only be constructed out of the Christian population of Turkey. It is they and not the Turks who are growing in wealth and numbers, and who are absorbing Western civilization, and it is they who must eventually, no matter into whose hands Constantinople may fall, furnish the governing and fighting classes. The Anti-Russian solution of the Eastern Question, therefore, has clearly lain in preparing the Christians for the foundation of a state which, when the time came, would rise naturally and readily on the ruins of the Turkish Empire. The first and most important step in this process was undoubtedly to accustom the Christians to look elsewhere than to Russia for sympathy with their grievances as Turkish subjects. That these grievances existed, that the Turks were the very worst rulers of the civilized world and of modern times, nobody has ever denied. It has been denied that they are as cruel or as great persecutors as some say they are; but that their government was a bad one, and that every known form of oppression was common under it, has not been seriously questioned by any observer of the nation within the present century. The steady refusal of all Christian governments to allow their subjects to be tried by Turkish courts, or to be left amenable in any way to the Turkish police, is of itself a sufficient illustration of the condition of the born subjects of the Porte and of the sophistry of some of the attempts made to show that the Christians have little to complain of. British and French influence has undoubtedly been exerted during the whole of the last half century to prevent gross oppression or outrage, but always unostentatiously, one might almost say slyly. The policy of both Governments has imposed on their diplomatic agents the duty of putting the best face possible on Turkish rule and preventing scandals that would attract general attention. The result has been that the Christians have been forced to look to Russia for sympathy. She was always ready to hear and believe, and to interfere if a good excuse were offered. Her influence among them has, therefore, been growing steadily. She is the only Power which has sought to improve their condition by anything better than fine words. It may be plain in London that her professions are hypocritical, and that interference is dictated by selfish motives, but it is not by any means plain to the Bulgarian and Bosnian rayah. To him the great Czar is an honest man, whose heart bleeds for him, and who will some day work out his deliverance, and he is not in the least troubled by the story of Russian aggressiveness and ambition. Even if he were more of a philosopher than he is, and knew more of political history than

he does, it would probably be impossible for him to account for the strange notion that there is something guiltier and more depraved in the spread of Russian rule over semi-barbarous countries in Eastern Europe and Western Asia than in the spread of British rule in India or French rule in Africa.

It is only through the Christian population of Turkey that the Eastern question can ever be settled on a sure and lasting foundation, and the extension of the Russian frontier to the Dardanelles be effectually and permanently prevented; but, strange to say, we have yet to see a single sign of recognition of this fact on the part of the Western Powers. The occasional advice they offer the Turk is never accompanied by conditions that are likely to make its acceptance imperative, or by any hint or suggestion that his rule is not destined to be eternal or has anything to fear except from Russian aggression. He is often invited to put his affairs in good enough order to deprive Russia of all decent excuse for meddling with him; but he is never told, what is the truth, that the changes going on in other countries are converting him into an intolerable nuisance which the civilized governments will have sooner or later to remove, even if there were no such power as Russia in existence.

PHYSICAL FORCE IN POLITICS.

THE late discussion on the possibility or expediency of maintaining governments at the South which had no physical force at their disposal has not failed to attract the attention of the friends of Woman's Suffrage. They see readily what, indeed, most outsiders have seen all along, that the failure of the numerical majority in certain Southern States to hold the power to which the law entitled them simply because they were unable or unwilling to fight, has a very important bearing on the fitness of women to participate in the practical work of government, and a well-known writer, "T. W. H.," in a late number of the *Woman's Journal*, endeavors to show, partly by comment on our recent article on "Majority Government," that what has happened at the South is full of encouragement for the woman suffragists. His argument is in substance this: You (the opponents) have always maintained as the great objection to the admission of women to the franchise, that if women voted cases might arise in which the physical force of the community would be in the hands of one party and the legal authority in those of the other, and we should then witness the great scandal of a majority government unable to execute the laws. We have just seen at the South, however, that the possession of physical force is not always sufficient to put the majority even of the male voters in possession of the government. In South Carolina and Louisiana the government has been seized and successfully held by a minority, in virtue of their greater intelligence and self-confidence. To use his own language:

"The present result in South Carolina is not a triumph of bodily strength over weakness, but, on the contrary, of brains over bodily strength. And however this reasoning affects the condition of South Carolina—which is not here my immediate question—it certainly affects, in a very important degree, the argument for woman suffrage. If the ultimate source of political power is muscle, as is often maintained, then woman suffrage is illogical; but if the ultimate source of political power is, as the *Nation* implies, 'the intelligence, sagacity, and the social and political experience of the population,' then the claims of women are not impaired. For we rest our case on the ground that women equal men on these points, except in regard to political experience, which is a thing only to be acquired by practice.

"So the showing of the *Nation* is, on the whole, favorable to women. It looks in the direction of Mr. Bagehot's theory that brains now outweigh muscle, in government. Just in proportion as man becomes civilized, and comes to recognize laws as habitually binding, does the power of mere brute force weaken. In a savage state the ruler of a people must be physically as well as mentally the strongest; in a civilized state the commander-in-chief may be physically the weakest person in the army. The English military power is no less powerful for obeying the orders of a queen. The experience of South Carolina does not vindicate, but refutes, the theory that muscle is the ruling power. It shows that an educated minority is more than a match for an ignorant majority, even though this be physically stronger. Whether this forbodes good or evil to South Carolina is not now the question; but so far as woman suffrage is concerned, the moral is rather in its favor than against it."

What is singular in all this is, that the writer is evidently under the impression that the term "physical force" in politics means muscle, or, to put the matter plainly, that the fact that the South Carolina negroes, who unquestionably surpass the whites in lifting power, could not hold their own against them, shows that government has become a mere question of brains, and that as women have plenty of brains, though they can lift very little,

they could perfectly well carry on, or help to carry on, a government which had only moral force on its side.

Now, as a matter of fact, there has been no recent change in the meaning attached to "physical force" in political nomenclature. It does not mean muscle or weight now, as we see in South Carolina; and it has never meant muscle or weight since the dawn of civilization. The races and nations which have made civilization and ruled the world have done so by virtue of their possessing the very superiority, in a greater or less degree, which the Carolina whites have shown in their late struggle with the blacks. The Greeks, the Romans, the Turks, the English, the French, and the Germans have all succeeded in government—that is, in seizing and keeping power—not through superiority of physical force which consists in muscle, but through the superiority which consists in the ability to organize and bring into the field and reinforce large bodies of men, with the resolution to kill and be killed in order to have their own way in disputes. No matter how much intelligence a people may have, unless they are able and willing to apply their intelligence to the art of war, and have the personal courage necessary to carry out in action the plans of their leaders, they cannot succeed in politics. Brains are necessary for political success without doubt, but it must be brains applied, among other things, to the organization of physical force in fleets and armies. An "educated minority," as such, is no more a match for a "physically stronger ignorant majority" than a delicate minister for a pugilist in "condition," unless it can furnish well equipped and well led troops. The Greeks were better educated than the Romans, but this did not help them. The Romans of the Empire were vastly more intelligent and thoughtful than the Barbarians, but they could not save the Empire. The Italians of the Middle Ages were the superiors of the French and Germans in every branch of culture, and yet this did not prevent Italy being made the shuttlecock of northern politicians and freebooters. The French overran Germany in the beginning of the present century, and the Germans have overrun France within the last ten years, not in either case owing to superiority in lifting or boxing, or in literary "culture," but to superiority in the art of fighting—that is, of bringing together large bodies of armed men who will not flinch, and will advance when ordered on the battlefield.

It is skill in this art which is meant by the term "physical force" in politics, and it is this physical force which lies behind all successful government. The superiority of the North in numbers, and wealth, and machinery, and literature, and common schools would have profited it nothing, and the American Republic would have disappeared from the map if it had not been possible, fifteen years ago, to apply a vast amount of intelligence to the purposes of destruction, and to find large numbers of men willing to fight under orders. In quiet times, under a government in which the numerical majority and the intelligence and property of the community are on the same side, and take substantially the same views of public polity, and the display of coercive force, except for ordinary police purposes, is not called for, we not unnaturally slide readily into the pleasant belief that government is purely a moral agency, and that people obey the law through admiration of intellectual power and the dread of being "cornered" in argument, or of being exposed as selfish or lawless. Such occurrences as the late civil war and the recent deadlock at the South are very useful in uncovering the secret springs of society, and reminding people of the tremendous uncertainties and responsibilities by which national as well as individual life is surrounded, reminding the voter, in short, that he may not always be able to discharge his duty to the country by depositing his ballot in the box; that he may have to make the result sure by putting everything he values in the world at stake. The poor negroes in South Carolina have not been deposed simply because they are ignorant; the Russian peasants who fought at Borodino were grossly ignorant. How many of the English hinds who stood rooted in the soil at Waterloo could read and write? The Carolinian majority failed because it did not contain men willing to fight or leaders capable of organization for military purposes, or, in other words, did not possess what has since the dawn of civilization been the first and greatest title to political power. The Carolinian minority did not drive their opponents out of the offices by simply offering the spectacle of superior intelligence or self-confidence, but by the creation of a moral certainty that, if driven to extremities, they would outdo the Republicans in the marshalling, marching, provisioning, and manœuvring of riflemen.

If this be true, it will be readily seen that the lesson of the South Carolina troubles, far from containing encouragement for the friends of female suffrage, is full of doubt and difficulty. Those who believe that women voters would constitute a new and valuable force in politics must recognize the possibility that they would at some time or other constitute the

bulk of a majority claiming the government, and they must also recognize the probability that the male portion of this majority would be composed of the milder and less energetic class of men, people with much brains and but little physical courage, ready to go to the stake for a conviction, but not ready to shoulder a musket or assault a redoubt. If under these circumstances the minority, composed exclusively of men, inferior, if you will, to the majority in the purity of their motives, the breadth of their culture, and in capacity for drawing constitutions and laws and administering charities, should refuse to obey the majority, and should say that its government was a ridiculous "fancy" government, administered by crackbrained people, and likely to endanger property and the public credit, and that it must be abolished, what would the women and their "gentlemen friends" do? They would doubtless remonstrate with the recusants and show them the wickedness of their course, but then the recusants would be no more moved by this than Wade Hampton and his people by Mr. Chamberlain's eloquent and affecting inaugural address. They would tell the ladies that their intelligence was doubtless of a high order, and their aims noble, but that as they were apparently unable to supply policemen to arrest the persons who disobeyed their laws, their administration was a farce and its disappearance called for in the interest of public safety. Accordingly it would be removed to the great garret of history, to lie side by side with innumerable other disused plans for human improvement. The cause of much of the misconception about the part played by physical force in modern society now current in reformatory circles is doubtless to be found in the disappearance of sporadic and lawless displays of it, such as, down to a very recent period, seriously disturbed even the most civilized communities. The change that has taken place, however, consists not in the total disuse of force as a social agency, but in the absorption of all force by the government, making it so plainly irresistible that the occasions are rare when anything approaching to organized resistance or defiance of it is attempted. When it lays its commands on a man he knows that obedience will, if necessary, be enforced by an agency of such tremendous power that he does not think of revolt. But it is not the high intelligence of those who carry it on that he bows to; it is to their ability to crush him like an egg-shell. Of course, it is not surprising that his submissiveness should at meetings of philanthropists be ascribed to the establishment of a consensus between his mind and the mind of the lawgiver, or, in other words, the subjection of society to purely moral influences; but it is perhaps well that complications like those of South Carolina should now and then occur to infuse sobriety into speculation and explain the machinery of civilization.

ENGLISH FEELING ABOUT THE WAR.

LONDON, May 2, 1877.

I HAD intended to write to you to-day about the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery. It is filled with the masterpieces of the newest school of English art, the works of Burne-Jones, Walter Crane, Spencer Stanhope, Whistler, and the rest of this school, which aims at a new renaissance after the early manner. The exhibition has given a fillip to the artistic appetite jaded with a half-century's surfeit of the neutral tints and dull commonplace of English art. It has made a bold and, I hope, a not unsuccessful attempt to raise the stolid British workmanship of the present day to something higher—something which sheds a ray of poetry over and gives scope to the imagination in the prosaic dulness and vulgar realism of the recognized modern school. I could say much in favor of this effort and much against it, but I forego the opportunity, thinking that the moment is not favorable for a disquisition on art. Men's minds here, and to some extent with you also, are absorbed by the stirring events which are going on in the East, and I feel sure that you will care to learn what the people here are saying and thinking about the Eastern complications rather than to hear what a coterie of individuals are imagining about art.

For the last ten days we have been on the verge of a panic—a panic of the most foolish kind. Rumors have been spread abroad of every kind: splits in the Cabinet, divisions in the Opposition, the certainty of war, dangers to our Indian Empire, dangers to the national interests, and I know not what. These rumors have been circulated and these dangers have been exaggerated by the Tory press. One organ has set itself to write up the war-spirit of the country and revive the temper which preceded the Crimean war. But, in spite of its exertions, the Turkish cause loses ground, and Turkish bonds keep falling. Another is straining to divide the Cabinet, and is urging the ejection of the ablest and honestest man in it be-

cause he is supposed to be too favorable to Russia. A third is printing in startling prominence fictitious tales about the leaders of the Opposition. And so we go on in London. The clubs are full of croakers and gossips, who are never tired of glorifying the heroic qualities of the Turks, and condemning the "brigandage" and aggression of the Russians. In "society" you hardly hear a good word for Russia; men and women vie with each other in their denunciations of that country, and, heedless of what they are saying or thinking, talk glibly over their ices and their wine of sending the fleet to the Dardanelles and blockading the Baltic, as if either proceeding could produce much effect upon the advance on Erzeroum or Varna, or permanently stay the inevitable break-up of the Turkish Empire. In the country the war feeling is still quiescent. It cannot, however, be denied that the old enmities of twenty years ago have not entirely died out. They are still smouldering in many a country village and provincial town, and might be fanned into a blaze which it would be difficult to extinguish. I trust, however, that the intelligence of the more sober-minded among us may still preponderate, and that the shameless influence of the Tory press and the reckless language of "society" may fail to accomplish what they now are aiming at.

Russia, whether impelled by the enthusiasm of her people to release the Christian subjects of the Porte from the cruel subjection of four hundred years, or by the crafty designs of her governing classes, it does not now much matter which, is pushing on with supreme activity in Asia Minor. It is apparent that it is in Asia Minor that she hopes to increase her boundaries. There she has no power to fear but England, and England's interest is only a remote one. In Europe, on the other hand, she is brought into complications with Austria, and with Italy, and with England, and, in a remote degree, with Germany and France. At present, Austria is neutral but vigilant; Italy and France are also neutral; and Germany friendly, provided that Russia takes possession of no European territory. Her attitude, therefore, on the Danube is different from what it is in Asia. It may be that the state of the roads and the flooded condition of the Danube are the physical causes of her comparative inaction, but I should rather imagine it may be attributed to moral causes. She can wear out the Turkish forces and the Turkish finances, already strained by the campaign of last year, by waiting on the Rumanian bank and threatening her enemies from time to time, knowing well that internal sedition and the onslaughts of the neighboring states of Greece and Montenegro will fight for her, as well as, and much more cheaply than, legions of Cossacks. She may ruin Turkey without risking a man in the passage of the Danube, and without incurring the hostility of any European state. This may be her gain. But, on the other hand, she may wish to end the business quickly. Her own finances and her own internal state are not so healthy that she can afford to play a waiting game. It must be for her interest, and for the interest of civilization, to do the executioner's work as rapidly as possible. In this case she will cross the Danube, and may have overrun the trans-Danubian provinces before this reaches you. If so, she will make short work of Turkey, and we shall hear of Turkey suing for peace before the autumn. Most men, I think, incline to this view of the question, and the more sensible men I meet acquiesce in it as the best solution of the difficulties. To-day the markets showed a buoyant tendency, and rumors were afloat that an armistice had already been concluded—rumors, of course, as incredible as any of the week.

But there is always behind this view of the case the hideous bugbear of a warlike or panic-struck feeling arising in this country which might impel the Government to take hostile measures in defence of what Lord Beaconsfield has taught his party to call "the national interests." The Tory press, as I have said, are hounding on their party in the House of Commons and in the country to take this line, and the perverse and misguided conduct of Mr. Gladstone is now assisting it. He has given notice of some strange resolutions about the Christian subjects of the Porte, which, however valuable they might have been two months ago, are obsolete now that war has been declared and the Queen has published a declaration of neutrality. He has done this in opposition to the urgent advice of the leaders of his party with whom he used to co-operate, and they have to-day determined to vote against him. He will, therefore, have but a ragged following of some seventy or eighty radicals of the new school, while the leaders of the Opposition, including the whole of the late Cabinet except himself, will go into the same division lobby with the Tories. It will thus appear that Mr. Gladstone's party, the party of the autumn meetings and the conference at St. James's Hall, is small and unimportant, and that the voice of the country is favorable to the policy, the ineffectual policy, of the Government. Strengthened as the hands of Lord Beaconsfield will be by this demonstration, it is

difficult to forecast the result. He has been credited with a desire to signalize his tenure of office as Prime Minister of England by engaging this country in a great war, and has been restrained only by the good sense of Lord Carnarvon and the pro-Christian leanings of Lord Salisbury. There is some danger that he may now feel himself powerful enough, in the divided state of the Liberal party on this question, to do without the services of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon in the Cabinet. If this danger should become a reality, and these two members resign, the Tory press and the Turkophiles might have their way. I can imagine nothing more disastrous to this country. Materially we alone would be the sufferers. "Russia," as the late Prince Consort wisely wrote before the commencement of the Crimean War—"Russia is a vast and ponderous mass, upon which blows on the few spots where they can be planted will make no deep impression." Whereas we are exposed to attack on every side, and both by sea and land. Our fleet was powerless to damage Russia three-and-twenty years ago; would it be more powerful now? By land, without allies, we cannot stir a finger except perhaps to raise the hordes of Central Asia; and if materially we should suffer, would we gain morally? Nominally fighting for the "national interests," as represented by the prospective danger of allowing Russia to form a quadrilateral in the northeast corner of Asia Minor, we should really be fighting to prop up once more the putrefied dead body of the Turkish Empire; once more to re-establish the worst form of tyranny in the civilized world; once more to hand over the rich provinces of the east of Europe and their harmless Christian subjects, when on the eve of their emancipation, to the grinding exactions and periodical atrocities of the Turkish officers and troops. Even if our interests in the East should suffer somewhat from the successes of Russia in Asia Minor, or should appear to do so, it is better that we should spend our wealth in strengthening ourselves in Egypt, on the Red Sea, on the Persian Gulf, and on the north-west frontiers of India, than in fighting Russia now when she is merely claiming her well earned wages for her useful work—the work of cleansing the Augean stables of Turkish demoralization and misrule.

Notes.

'HARRY,' a poem by the author of 'Mrs. Jerningham's Journal,' will be published in this country by Macmillan & Co., and also by Scribner, Armstrong & Co.—In 'New Lands within the Arctic Circle,' soon to be issued by D. Appleton & Co., Lieutenant Payer will give an account of the discoveries made by the Austrian Arctic Expedition of 1872-3.—Mr. James M. Bugbee has written a small-sized volume on 'The Eastern Question,' which J. R. Osgood & Co. have published. The same house will also publish 'A Brief History of the Turks,' translated by Miss Wesselhoft from the German of Dr. Johannes Blochwitz; and also, as a companion volume, a 'Brief History of Russia.' Both volumes will contain maps.—Roberts Brothers are about to bring out 'Syrian Sunshine,' by Mr. Thomas G. Appleton, and Mr. A. Bronson Alcott's 'Table-Talk.' The next story of their 'No-Name Series' will be entitled 'Afterglow.'—'What think ye of Christ?' by Gail Hamilton, is announced by W. F. Gill & Co.; but her 'First Love is Best' will be published by Estes & Lauriat.—The first volume of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's 'History of American Literature' is promised for 1878, and will appear, therefore, it is reported, not long before a 'History of German Literature' by Bayard Taylor.—W. H. Young, of Troy, N.Y., will print 'Historical Sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness,' by Mr. N. B. Sylvester, of the Troy bar.—Prof. Winchell has written another 'Reconciliation of Science and Religion,' and "Principal" Dawson is the author of 'The Origin of the World,' both works being now in the press of Harper & Bros. The latest additions to the "Half-Hour Series" of these publishers are, 'The Life, Times, and Character of Oliver Cromwell,' by E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen; a primer of Greek Literature, by Mr. Eugene Lawrence; and the lectures on 'University Life in Ancient Athens,' delivered at the University of Oxford by W. W. Capes.—A new and revised edition of Thornburg's 'Life of Turner' will be brought out by Henry Holt & Co. It will be a 12mo of about 650 pages, and will contain as additional matter sixteen newly discovered letters of Turner, and a complete catalogue of his engraved works and of the pictures exhibited by him in the Royal Academy and British Institution between the years 1787 and 1850.—Mr. Dawson's volume, mentioned above, is not likely to resemble 'The Anonymous Hypothesis of Creation,' by James J. Furniss, to be published by Charles P. Somerby; nor will Prof. Winchell's book be likely to remind its readers of Mr. J. B. Thomas's 'The Old Bible and the New Science,' which will be printed by Daniel C. Porter,

whose name is a new one among New York publishers.—The Clarendon Press series of Shakspeare's plays now numbers seven volumes. Beginning in 1869 with the "Merchant of Venice," it ends—for the present—in 1876 with "As You Like It." The intermediate plays are "Richard II.," "Macbeth," "Hamlet," the "Tempest," and "King Lear," issued in the order named. The notes are always quite full, but are more so in the "Tempest" and "Macbeth," the first of which has to sixty-seven pages of text eighty-eight pages of notes, and the second seventy-four pages of text and one hundred and six pages of notes, together with a longer introduction than usual—thirty-nine pages. The length of the notes and the amount of antiquarian matter, in which only specialists feel much interest, lessen the value of the series for use in schools and for general readers, except those having plenty of leisure. The several plays are neatly printed, in handy volumes, at prices ranging from fifty to seventy-five cents, and the lines are numbered. Frequent references are given to collateral sources of information—in later volumes to Abbott's Grammar and Schmidt's Lexicon. The writing *Shakspeare* is kept up throughout the series. Since the publication of "Hamlet" the work of editing has been done solely by Mr. Wright. We observe that Mr. Wright, forgetting that he and Mr. Clarke had said the same thing about the "Merchant of Venice," says that "As You Like It" is the most popular and delightful of Shakspeare's comedies.—M. Jules Verne has just begun a new serial story, "Hector Servadae: Voyages et aventures à travers le monde solaire," in the *Magasin Illustré d'éducation*, the excellent children's magazine published in Paris by Hetzel and edited by Jean Macé, Jules Verne, and the publisher himself under the pen-name of "P. J. Stahl."—A volume by Home, the well-known spiritualist and "medium," entitled 'Lights and Shadows of Spiritualism,' will be issued in a few days by G. W. Carleton & Co. 'Trump Kards,' by "Josh Billings," will be printed by the same firm, which announces that the first edition will consist of 50,000 copies.—In its notice of Mr. Tylor's review of the 'Principles of Sociology,' in the last number of *Mind*, the *Academy* stated that Mr. Tylor admitted that Mr. Herbert Spencer had enlarged and completed his (Mr. Tylor's) own doctrine of animism. Mr. Spencer has accordingly sent to the *Academy* a letter, the important passage of which is the following: "To check the misapprehension here implied, allow me to say that the July number of *Mind* will contain detailed proofs that the doctrine elaborated in the 'Principles of Sociology' was published by me in outline more than a year before the publication of Mr. Tylor's 'Primitive Culture,' and a year before the paper he names as indicating the leading ideas of his book."—The 'Théâtre de Campagne,' noticed in *Nation* No. 618, has reached a sixth edition in Paris, and a second series, to contain plays by MM. Labiche, Gondinet, and others, is announced for early publication. 'La Soupière,' by M. Ernest d'Hervilly, included in the first series, has just been produced at the Palais Royal Theatre under the name of 'Le Bibelot.'—The second session of the Summer School of Biology at Salem, Mass., will be opened at the Museum of the Peabody Academy of Science in that city on the 6th of July, and will continue six weeks. A lecture will be given each Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, Wednesdays being devoted to dredging trips, in which latter the students will be materially assisted by the fact that Prof. S. F. Baird has decided to establish the headquarters of the United States Fish Commission at Salem, and has already offered dredging facilities to the members of the school. Dr. A. S. Packard, jr., of Salem, may be addressed by those desiring to attend the school.

—A correspondent writes us from Chicago:

"The current number of the *North American Review* contains an apparent error, which has misled many of the daily papers. The very entertaining 'Political Reflexions,' by 'A Japanese Traveler,' closes with the word 'Sionara,' which the editors seem to have taken, naturally enough, for the signature of the writer. As a matter of fact, *sionara* is the Japanese 'good-by'—or, more exactly, a formal word of leave-taking, corresponding somewhat closely to the Viennese *empfehle mich*. One hears it a hundred times a day in Japan from obsequious tradesmen, coolies, and tea-house proprietors; and to one who has been familiar with it in this way, it cuts a strange figure in its position of dignity in the *North American*. It was doubtless appended to the article merely by way of conclusion in due form; so far as I know it is never used as a proper name."

We are inclined to think that this is not the only respect in which the article has misled the daily press. There is nothing in Sionara's reflections which might not have occurred to a somewhat unintelligent Oriental observer, but there are certain internal peculiarities which seem to throw a doubt upon its Japanese authorship. Exactly how an educated Japanese would in writing English betray his nationality may be difficult to say. That there would be, however, a marked trace of Japanese idiom, just as there always is of French or German idiom in English written by Frenchmen or Germans, or of English idiom in French or German written by Englishmen,

we may be pretty sure. But in Sionara's article the only peculiarity of style that we have noticed is the constantly recurring omission of the definite or indefinite article—e.g., "to understand properly how to make new Constitution"; "all power is in chambers." Had a Japanese really written the article this peculiarity might, for all we know, have been expected, but it would hardly have been the only ear-mark of his style. There would have been others of a less regular and simple sort. If, on the other hand, the article were really written by an Anglo-Saxon publicist, wishing to pass himself off as an Oriental and not very familiar with the Japanese idiom, it might be confidently predicted that he would adopt some such device as this to give his English an Oriental effect.

—There are no means at present of ascertaining Sionara's identity, but other internal evidence leads us to infer that Sionara is no other than our old friend Mr. O. P. Morton, who, like many other wise and great men, has adopted this means of attracting his countrymen's attention to teaching and arguments which might, were their real authorship known, receive little or none. Mr. Morton has in the same number of the *North American* an article on the "American Constitution," which, when closely considered, does much to confirm the impression that Sionara and the great "war governor" are one and the same. There is a striking similarity of what is commonly called the "thought" throughout. Compare, for instance, the following passages: Mr. Morton says, speaking of the framers of the Constitution, that they were "masters of the English language," but he guardedly adds that "in other respects" their wisdom "has not been so conspicuous. The events of a hundred years have shown that their fears of democracy were not well grounded, and that the true dangers to our institutions lay in other directions than those which were ever present in their minds. What is true in architecture is true under our system of government—the broader the base the safer and more enduring the structure. The great body of the American people are incapable of corruption. They are too numerous to be bought, and too virtuous to be reached by any sinister influence to which they may be exposed." And again: "The masses of the people are liable to be imposed upon, it is true, but their purpose is always right, though their policy may sometimes be wrong; they intend to do right, and to advocate those measures which will result in the popular good; and if they fail to do so, it is because they are imposed upon, or have not the proper information." If we now turn to Sionara, we find the same painful doubts as to the merits of what he calls "hundred year old constitution," and the same beautiful and cheerful trust in the instincts of the popular heart:

"Always in a free country people should decide everything—not Senate, not President, only people. This is difference between free government and old kind of government. With free government, all the power is with people; with old government under hundred year old Constitution, people have no power; only President and Senate have power. So, often there is great danger. This danger will increase, because, although the American people, like Chinese, are most patient people, at last they will rebel when they find that hundred year old Constitution makes only difficulty, and that sometimes one Judge of Supreme Court must be chosen to decide who is to be President.

This reference to the operation of the electoral commission is the more important because of Mr. Morton's share in framing the electoral bill, and deciding the interesting legal questions which arose afterwards, and makes Sionara's proposal of a remedy for the existing evils in connection with Presidential succession more weighty. Political difficulties are often exaggerated by those who have grown up among them on account of the very simplicity of the necessary cure; and it is often from some foreign source, or from the speculation of some philosophic observer sufficiently removed from the din of party strife to assume the impartiality of a foreigner, that the solution comes. Sionara's is as follows, and all who have followed Mr. Morton's public expressions will confess that the close similarity between the views of these two thoughtful observers suggests identity of authorship:

"To make this Republic into a more free Government, there is no necessity to change the name. To take away power from President, there is no necessity to change his name. So I do not propose, because I want to see this Government more free, to change any names; the only thing to be done is abolish the Constitution, then all is simple."

People in this part of the country, and we suppose occasionally even Mr. Morton's constituents, have been puzzled to find a means of reconciling with one another the many apparently antagonistic positions taken by him on public questions, but if what he really proposes to do is to "abolish the Constitution," the mystery is entirely cleared up, and, as Sionara says, "all is simple." We shall look for the details of this plan in the next number of the *Harvard Lampoon*.

—That a reform in English spelling has been seriously undertaken is a fact of which we are reminded by the appearance of a 'Bulletin of the

Spelling Reform Association' as well as by a pamphlet containing the 'Proceedings of the International Convention for the Amendment of the English Orthography.' The desirability of a reform is almost unquestioned, but its practicability is, by most persons, supposed to be extremely doubtful, and these doubts are not likely to be altogether dissipated by a reading of the published documents of the Association. It may be true, as Prof. March believes, that "we throw away \$15,000,000 a year paying teachers for adding the brains of our children with bad spelling, and at least \$100,000,000 more paying printers and publishers for sprinkling our books and papers with silent letters," but we doubt if the argument in this form will have much more effect than the analogous argument of the temperance lecturers with regard to the cost of drinking has in convincing people of the benefits of "teetotalism." Few persons, again, will be likely to favor the reform because of the present difficulties of missionaries. An argument which will appeal with considerable force, however, to all parents who interest themselves in the studies of their children, is the one resting upon the assertion that the labor of learning to spell, to read, and to write would be wonderfully lessened—that a child might, in fact, accomplish in three months, or even less, that which now requires the persistent efforts of more than three years. The Association does not as yet advise the adoption of any scheme of reform, although it prints its proceedings in accordance with a particular method and gives specimens of several others. Prof. March approves of the introduction of a number of new letters, these being in form, however, modifications of old letters and their signification recognizable at sight. His method, as illustrated in type by his printed lecture, is least offensive to the eye; other methods, as, for instance, those containing the passages "masheen for the difuezhun ov nolej" and "wilurj the mater upon the atenshon ov the peepl," having so striking a resemblance to the methods of "Artemus Ward," "Josh Billings," and "Nasby," that any one might be pardoned for looking upon the whole affair as a learned farce. If Profs. March, Haldeman, Whitney, Trumbull, and a few other persons should unite in the adoption of some one method, a demonstration of the practicability of the reform might then be attempted. In the meantime the publication of fantastic schemes cannot do much good.

—The Society which calls itself Sorosis appeared in the field last November as a promoter of the education of women, petitioning the University of the City of New York and Columbia for "test examinations" like those held by Harvard, and also for the admission of women generally to the undergraduate course. These requests Columbia at once refused; the University, however, according to a circular just issued by the Society, considered them, and announced its willingness to comply as soon as means could be found to begin the work. The Society, therefore, begs those who desire to help on the cause to communicate with Mrs. Croly, 162 East Thirty-eighth Street, or Mrs. Caroline A. Soule, Fordham. We believe we express the feeling of those having the education of women most at heart in saying that the consent of the University of New York to educate women "as soon as the means can be found" is no very brilliant triumph in the cause of women's education. As the men's classes now fill the lecture or recitation rooms, separate afternoon hours would have to be arranged for the women students, and thus double work exacted of the professors. This could only be obtained by increasing the salary of each professor by two-thirds of its present amount; and this would require an additional endowment for the University of something like \$200,000, or, to do the thing quite easily and well, \$250,000. The curriculum of the University is certainly higher than any other course of so-called "superior" instruction open to women in this city; there is nothing at present for them above the grammar-school except the Normal College, where the work is very elementary, and there have been, we understand, over one hundred applications for admission from women since the announcement was made that the faculty were willing to receive them. If the necessary funds were forthcoming before next autumn, there would probably be a much larger body of women students in attendance than there now is of men students. The difficulty with the plan is that its support by a body like Sorosis is sure to prejudice against it the quiet and conservative classes who must supply the money, and that those most interested in the movement for the education of women look to the larger universities, Harvard, and Yale, and Columbia, as the quarters from which the most efficient aid is likely to come.

—Curious traces of the Moody and Sankey revivalship from time to time crop out, some of which are well worth noticing. A few days ago there was in Quincy, Mass., a trial of excellence in reading among the scholars of the public schools, and an illustrated copy of Shakspeare was

appropriately enough given to the boy who was judged to have acquitted himself best. Thereupon the following veritable epistolary curiosity appeared in the next issue of the *Quincy Patriot*, a weekly paper published in the town. There is every indication that it was an ebullition of genuine bigotry and honest ignorance, and not the slightest reason to suppose that it was "writ sarcastic." It was printed in the *Patriot* of May 6:

"INCONSISTENCY.—It seems to me very much like hypocrisy for a person to ask God's blessing on anything they are going to do, and then do a thing which one day they may have reason to bitterly repent of. I felt almost shocked on Tuesday evening to hear a person pray, and then aid in presenting a book like Shakspeare's plays to a boy soon to start out into this wide world. What a book to put into a boy's library! Preaching temperance to children and yet holding up plays, so that they may become lovers of theatre-going. How often play-going and drinking go together! What is there in that book to exalt our Maker, or to teach us one word about him to whom we shall all have to give an account at the last day of every idle word, much less of wasted time spent in reading such a worthless book. Let those who profess to be Christians let their light shine, that they may be epistles known and read of all men. M. A. THALL."

—The four hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the art of printing into England by William Caxton will be celebrated, in connection with the jubilee or fiftieth anniversary of the Printers' Pension, Almshouse and Orphan Asylum Corporation, in the month of June. A chief feature of the celebration will be an exhibition of antiquities and curiosities connected with the art of printing. The exhibition will be held in the Exhibition Buildings at South Kensington, and will include books from the press of Caxton, of Colard Mansion of Bruges, of whom Caxton learned his art, and from the presses of several contemporaries and successors of Caxton in the fifteenth century.

—English-speaking nations seem to be the only ones capable of enduring a free press. Russian newspapers are just now under military censorship, and in republican France *La Lanterne* and another paper have been severely punished for publishing articles distasteful to the Government. In Germany, according to the *Athenæum*, "press prosecutions continue with unabated vigor. The editor of the Dresden *Volkszeitung* has been fined for offending the police; two editors of the Berlin *Post* have been fined, and the former editor of the Marbach *Volkstaat* sentenced to one year's imprisonment. For stating in the first number of his publication that the paymasters of the War Department were badly paid, the editor of a Berlin journal has been condemned to fifteen days' imprisonment, and numerous punishments of more or less severity are daily awarded for similar offences. Dr. Kletke, responsible editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*, and one of the oldest of living German journalists, has been fined for an article inserted in his paper during his absence from Berlin. The responsible editor of the *Kurier Poznanski*, Herr Gayzler, has been condemned to four months' imprisonment for having 'offended Prince Bismarck' by reprinting" an objectionable article.

—In a certain way and to a certain extent there is no newspaper in France more characteristic of its nationality than the *Figaro*. It represents certain superficial aspects of Parisian life and manners as faithfully as the New York *Herald* represents certain superficial aspects of American life and manners. Indeed, a comparison by no means uninteresting or uninteresting could be drawn between the *Figaro* and the *Herald*. The two journals are especially akin in a sort of reckless levity in the treatment of grave subjects and in an entirely disproportionate emphasis in dealing with trifles; but it is a lightness of touch in handling frivolous subjects in which the Paris paper is easily superior. Few American readers of the *Figaro*, interested in the French stage—and it is hard to conceive of any one's reading the *Figaro* uninterested in the French stage—can have failed to notice the daily column of theatrical gossip called 'Les Soirées Parisiennes,' and signed "Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre." The writer of these squibs, parodies, puns, epigrams, often clever and apropos, is M. Arnold Mortier, himself a dramatic author. He has again gathered together his gossip of the past year into a volume—the third of an annual series. 'Les Soirées Parisiennes de 1876' (New York: F. W. Christern) is a book of over four hundred pages, introduced by a preface from the pen of M. Alphonse Daudet (the author of 'Sidonie'), and embellished with half a dozen drawings illustrating in some way the plays and the players mentioned. There are sketches of costumes, a few lines of musical autograph by M. Victor Massé, a rough drawing by M. Henri Meilhac, and a slight sketch by M. Vibert, the artist of a scene in one of his own plays—for he is playwright as well as painter. There are woodcuts of the scenery in the last acts of 'Paul et Virginie' and of 'Rome Vaincue,' the tragedy of M. Parodi of which an adaptation is announced for early production in this city. Most curious of all is a striking pen-and-ink sketch by Mile. Sarah Bernhardt of herself as *L'Étrangère* in M. Dumas's play. There is also a fac-simile reproduction of the placard posted in Naples in 1806, and containing the sentence of

death of Michele Pezza, alias Fra Diavolo—for the hero of Scribe and Auber's opera was a real Neapolitan brigand, captured by General Hugo, the father of Victor Hugo. This conjunction of the hero of one dramatist with the father of another gives the royalist *Figaro* a fine chance for a sly dig at the old Republican poet. M. Mortier's book is not without value for the future historian of the French stage.

CHAUNCEY WRIGHT'S PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSIONS.*

THIS volume contains, we suppose, the only remains of its remarkable author which will ever be given to the public. Mr. Wright was so much fonder of thinking than of writing, of working out a vein of thought than of convincing others, and he was so indifferent to reward of fame or money, that he left little except the scattered essays which Mr. Norton has collected. He was not widely known; and we suspect that the generality of readers read with surprise the exalted estimate of his powers that his death called forth, attributing it largely to the fondness of sorrowing friends. And yet the reader who makes his own the vast amount of thought concentrated in the four hundred and odd pages of these discussions is not likely to dispute the truth of Mr. Norton's estimate "that they form the most important contribution made in America to the discussion and investigation of the questions which now chiefly engage the attention of the students of philosophy." He will recall with appreciation Mr. Fiske's saying in the *Harvard Advocate*, that it was only Mr. Wright's neglect to preserve his thoughts in writing that prevented him "from taking rank among the foremost philosophers of the nineteenth century. An intellect more powerful for its union of acuteness with sobriety has not yet been seen in our country. In these respects he reminds one of Mr. Mill, whom he so warmly admired. But while hardly inferior to Mill in penetrating and fertile ingenuity, we think he unquestionably surpassed the latter in native soberness or balance of mind. A thinker more rigidly loyal to Baconian principles we do not know where to seek."

Mr. Norton's introductory account of Mr. Wright is certainly very good, with its nice analysis and delicate intellectual appreciation; and his long friendship with Mr. Wright gave him both the knowledge and the authority to speak of him fully. To Mr. Wright's friends it will seem cold; but it is not so much addressed to them as to the general public, to whom it will perhaps be none the less impressive on that account. The acute penetration of Mr. Norton's insight, and the calmly balanced justice of his judgment, those who knew Mr. Wright best will best appreciate; but they may wish to add to it Mr. Fiske's warmer words: "To have known such a man was an experience one cannot forget or outlive. To have had him pass away, leaving so scanty a record of what he had it in him to utter, is nothing else than a great public calamity."

To give our readers an adequate account of the matter contained in this volume is quite beyond the limits of our columns. Most of the great questions of modern philosophy are touched upon, and Mr. Wright's touch was with the hand of a master. His contributions to botany, zoölogy, and astronomy are as important as his more purely philosophical discussions; his essay on the law of the arrangement of leaves (published in an unfortunately mutilated form in this volume) was especially valuable, and attracted attention both here and abroad, Mr. Darwin in particular being greatly pleased with it. Mr. Wright was a very fertile thinker within certain well-defined limits, his object being the marshalling of known facts and the marking out of paths for the discovery of new ones rather than the establishing of the dogmas of any school. He was an empiricist and a positivist of the English school, but the latter name has been so often misapplied that he preferred to call his method "scientific," as merely extending to philosophy the principles which characterize modern science. He firmly believed in the never-failing operation of natural laws in this world of ours, regarding the law of causation as the condition of scientific study. There were to him everywhere inviolate "laws that underlie our sentiments and our desires as well as all that these can rationally regard in the outer world." But it was strictly phenomenal causation that he sought—the sequence of antecedent and consequent; not abstractions of primal or infinite being. Questions as to noumena or absolute substance he held quite insoluble. His position was more unusual than the reader might suppose, especially in this country. He had little in common with our old-school transcendentalism, for intuitions were to him puzzles whose origin was to be guessed rather than oracles whose authority was to be obeyed; and with that modern school which, under the disguise of brilliant physical illustration and pretended scientific method, smuggles back as unavoidable belief the dicta

* Philosophical Discussions. By Chauncey Wright. With a Biographical sketch of the Author by Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877. Pp. 434.

which it excludes as inspiration, he had little more sympathy. He appreciated the ardent "moral idealism" which underlies the system of Mr. Spencer, but the manner in which it transforms the definite laws of special phenomena into vague cosmic evolutions of the laws of thought, was very distasteful to him. To deduce from instinctive belief the exact physical law of the conservation of force, and formulate it in terms so broad as to apply to social relations and atomic motions, seemed to him not only bad philosophy but bad language—a dangerously unscientific confusion of fundamental conceptions none too easy to understand at the best; and speculations of rhythmic flow of integration and disintegration seemed to him merely to conceal the ignorance they could not remove. And he as unsparingly criticised Mr. Wallace's notion that force is a product of the mind, "a sort of molecular leakage of energy from an absolute source into the nervous system of . . . man." On the other hand, he had no taste for purely destructive philosophy. The subtle paradoxes of Mr. Lewes attracted him no more than the narrow dogmatism of ordinary materialism. He confined science to fact; but he held that "theories, if true, were facts—a particular class of facts, indeed, generally complex ones, but still facts," and facts sometimes to be assumed in advance of verification; for provisional hypotheses were the only means of handling the masses of detail and of intelligently seeking the unknown, by showing the probable relations of the known. Accordingly, he gave great attention to the fundamental theories of astronomy, zoölogy, and botany.

Yet, while he valued the function of hypotheses so highly, he did not lose sight of their tentative character, or seek in the laboratory of science for tendencies of the cosmos or purposes of Providence, found only in the fancy of the poet or the faith of the churchman. Although he did so much to establish the Darwinian theory, he nowhere found proof of persistent progress. To him, as to Aristotle, whom he so esteemed, there was no discoverable development of the cosmos; nature was "an endless succession of changes, simple and constant in their elements, though infinite in their combinations, which constitute order without beginning and without termination." An eternal counter-movement of action and equal reaction he saw, and further than that he did not see. Thus, in his physical theory of the universe, he adopted without limitation the fundamental assumption that the solar system is a natural product, but rejected the nebular progress of which that system has been regarded as the result. From his point of view, our system is not the solidifying remains of a nebula that once reached far out into space, whose successive stages of contraction the successive planets mark, slowly cooling and doomed from its nature to final extinction. He saw in it rather a never-ending round of changes, a complete circle of existence. The universe was an unbroken continuity of matter in its various forms, solid, liquid, and gaseous, reaching to the farthest interstellar spaces that heat can reach, "a highly-rarefied continuous gaseous mass, constantly evaporated and expanded from its solid centre, but constantly condensed and consolidated near its outer limits, constantly heated at its centre by the fall of solid bodies from its outer limits, and constantly cooled and condensed at these limits by the conversion of heat into motion." From this point of view the planets are not the fossil remains of long-perished nebulous rings: they are the still growing accretions of meteors whose orbit is determined by their mass, heat, and the resistance of interplanetary matter. The sun is not a body whose shrinking volume keeps up its heat (a hardly admissible hypothesis in view of the dependence of volume upon temperature). It is rather to be considered as a planet whose central position causes it to be enormously increased and heated by the fall of meteoric rain, and which is constantly radiating the heat thus generated and evaporating the matter thus received into space, its volume expanding with each accession of heat and diminishing with its loss, and acting in fact as a fly-wheel to convert the violent and irregular shocks into equable force. And the corresponding reverse to these phenomena will take place on the outer verge of the universe, expanded to the farthest limit that heat can reach before absorption, and fluctuating as each accession of heat expands, or fall of condensing matter contracts, it. There is thus an endless action and reaction, a movement of expanding vapor outward and of cosmic rain inward, and similarly of heat or force; while occasional fluctuations on a grand scale may take place as a mass of extraordinary size ends its journey in the sun, or, per contra, takes up an orbit nearly permanent around it. Our earth is not the dying brand from a former conflagration whose molten core still attests its former incandescence. At some nodal point of pressure and cold at the outer bounds of space it was born, to rush spirally inward toward the sun, until its accelerating direct motion balanced the attraction that created it, and its orbit was reached, where, increasing irregularly in heat under meteoric shocks, solar radiation, tidal and ethereal friction, and other causes, at last

the present operations of nature became possible. It is hardly necessary to point out how different all this is from the slowly cooling universe of the nebular hypothesis. The conservation of force is its keystone, as the loss of it was in the older theory. Dealing with the same elements its tone is entirely dissimilar. And it may be worth remarking that the spectroscopic proof of the existence of true nebulae discovered since Mr. Wright's essay was written, and frequently referred to as re-establishing the old nebular hypothesis, is equally consistent with Mr. Wright's theory.

He carried into organic science the same principles that he used in inorganic investigation. Never doubting the invariability of the law of causation, and doing much to establish one of its most important forms—the theory of evolution of species by natural selection (or, as he preferred to call it, to avoid all misleading connotation, the theory of "descent with modification")—he yet saw no regular movement upwards, no presumption that an intermediate form was derived from a lower rather than a higher in the scale of being. He found only the action and reaction of organism and environment; no law of special creation or providentially-directed variations, or of selection operating along preordained paths—hypotheses which he held unnecessary and therefore inadmissible now that Mr. Darwin has shown the operation of the struggle for existence. Although the specific branches of the tree of life have been constantly dying out, they have been as constantly springing afresh, and their number seems to have always been equal to the life-supporting capacities of the globe. The succession of our fossils may be deceptive. If we could go back to the ages before the convulsion of heat in which our earliest record ends, we might find a race the equal of our own; and even in the known geologic periods continents now buried in the ocean may have early supported races of a high degree of development which left no traces in the mud records of lands unfit for their habitation. These were, of course, mere speculations, and we only refer to them as showing the habit of thought in which he worked. Not that it was strictly novel or original to him—it has been shared more or less by all the great critical thinkers; but it is, nevertheless, rare even in this critical age; and when we consider the delicacy and profoundness of his analytical power, the calm strength of his judgment, the fertility of his conception, and the wide range of his well-ordered knowledge, the combination becomes remarkable enough.

The four longest essays in the volume are on the Darwinian theory, and of these the last one, on the 'Evolution of Self-Consciousness,' treating as it does of one of the most important questions alike of science and philosophy, is at once the most complete and the most powerful. Even those who differ most widely from its author will find it full of passages to admire, like the short note on dreams. One of the most notable essays is that on the arrangement of leaves, to which we have already referred, which carries one step farther Goethe's analogy of every part of the flower to the leaf by bringing the leaves themselves, as a whole, into the plan, with stalk as rib and leaves as serrated lobe. Then there are philosophical reviews of Spencer, Mansell, Lewes, Mill, and others, the first of which is quite full; and there are several shorter articles, one or two of which, like the "Speculative Dynamics" and "Cause and Effect," the student will find, notwithstanding their fragmentariness, positively unsurpassed. Studied, however, they must be. More than one passage will appear at first reading obscure, and only when carefully re-examined will yield up its exact meaning. But the obscurity is only in the expression. There is no confusion in the thought. Mr. Wright carried conciseness too far; too often he left the point of a paragraph in an inconspicuous adjective. His style, we should say, was too frequently condensed without being crystallized. The modesty with which he anticipated from the reader an insight equal to his own was excessive. And he was so much fonder of establishing truth than of attacking error that he could not be an effective disputant; for "the strategy of science," he said, "is not the same as that of rhetorical disputation, and aims at cornering facts, not antagonists." Indeed, he always preferred discussion to debate, and even in conversation liked better to dwell upon the truths that he found in the minor corollaries of opinions he thought mistaken than to contradict point blank the main theorem whose fallacies he sometimes too contemptuously slighted. And in his writings he was so interested in examining all the bearings of a topic that he was apt to dwell too little on the telling points that concentrate the wandering attention and focus the hazy thoughts. In conversation this was little apparent, and he was always ready with illustration or experiment, "while the pleasant play of his suggestive humor often added a happy and unexpected stroke wherewith to clinch the point of an argument"; but in the volume by which he will be known we have too often to remember that it lacks the revision of its author.

We have little to add, except that Mr. Wright never spared a bad argu-

ment because it supported a good cause, and sharpened no weapons for polemical warfare. No logic might demonstrate to him the plans of the designer of the heavens and the earth; but "there is nothing in philosophy," he said, "which can legitimately rebuke his enthusiasm [that of the Christian], nothing unless it be the dogmatism which would presumptuously interpret as science what is only manifest as faith, or would require of faith that it shall justify itself by proofs."

ANCIENT HISTORY AND MODERN SYMPATHIES.*

THE French Revolution explained, or seemed to explain, to modern students the political contests of the ancient world. The genius of Niebuhr proved, or seemed to prove, that the records of the past might, when carefully inspected with the aid of the so-called comparative method, reveal unexpected secrets. Under this twofold influence the study of Greece and Rome has gained a new life. This gain, however, great as it is, has been all but balanced by a great loss. The study of ancient history has passed out of the domain of dispassionate research into the realm of party sympathy and prejudice. Every historian who traces the growth of the Roman state, or the development of the Greek republics, writes not as an historian but as a partisan. Arnold, though in intention the fairest of men, betrays on every page the fact that while writing of Rome he is thinking of England. The plebeian leaders derive a reflected credit from his admiration for the English Whigs; he underrates Hannibal because he sees in Hannibal a likeness to Napoleon, and is biassed against the Sophists because of honest dislike to modern schools of thought which he supposes them to resemble. Grote, again, like Arnold one of the most honest of men, carries into Athenian history the sentiments of a Benthamite radical. Cleon becomes in his eyes, in the face of the only evidence we possess, not only an enlightened patriot, but something like a competent general. He cannot forgive Nicias for his imagined resemblance to the respectable Conservatives who delayed in England the progress of radical reform, and is ready to overlook all the defects of the Sophists because his own contemporaries underrated the merits of the Benthamites. It might have been hoped that legal studies and professorial habits of assiduous research would imbue such an historian as Mommsen with something like scientific impartiality. Every one who has studied what, on the whole, is the greatest historical work produced within the last twenty or thirty years knows that this expectation has been disappointed. The genius of Mommsen has cast new light on the past, but his passionate partisanship makes it doubtful whether the light he sheds does not mislead at least as much as it guides the impartial enquirer. A student of his pages feels at every turn that if the Roman aristocracy had shown no greater virtues than those which Mommsen concedes to them, they could not have conquered, and still less have governed, the world, and scarcely understands the drift of his teacher till the fact is perceived that the German historian, with all his knowledge, imagination, and historical genius, suffers almost fatally as an historian of the past from his feelings with regard to the present. Rightly or wrongly, he detests the principles or prejudices of modern aristocrats, and therefore cannot do justice to the government of the Senate. He has been wearied with the debates of the Prussian Parliament; hence he hates the orators of the Republic, and can hardly see a trace of greatness in a man such as Cicero, who ruled the ancient world, if only for a moment, by the force of oratory. He expects democratic imperialism to ensure the progress of Europe, and therefore can see nothing but virtue in the ambition and despotism of Caesar.

When men of genius let modern sympathies bias their judgment of ancient times it is hardly to be expected that compilers of respectable manuals should avoid the same error. It might indeed have been hoped that a writer so painstaking as Mr. A. H. Beesly would have found the difficulty of compressing into two hundred small pages the facts of a gigantic revolution so great as to dispense him from the necessity of wasting any of the little space at his disposal in the expression of his political or moral sympathies or prejudices. This, however, is not the case. His little work, which has, we admit, like others of the same series, some great merits as a compendium, is throughout colored by his political or social sympathies. He is not, we are glad to concede, a whit more prejudiced than greater writers; but the very honesty and directness with which he states his views make his book a particularly striking example of the inherent defects of the modern habit of transporting into the past the sentiments of the present.

What it is of main importance to notice is that the crowd of writers who make ancient history the battle-ground for fighting out modern controversies make (for the most part unconsciously) two assumptions, each of which is, to say the least, but very partially true. The first assumption is that it is possible by the force of insight, of imagination, or, to speak plainly, of fancy, to get out of our very limited records of the ancient world more information than they appear to contain. With regard to institutions and to historical characters our information is in many cases lamentably defective. The true position of the Roman clients, the real character of men like the Gracchi, the merits (if any) which counterbalanced the undoubted vices of Catiline, will in all probability for ever remain unknown and unknowable. The information we have is, unfortunately, insufficient; the record is, to use a legal phrase, closed, and no further evidence can be obtained. As regards institutions, the acquisition of further knowledge (though of a very hypothetical character) is possible. The annals of one nation may illustrate those of another: the Russian village community may throw light on the *gentes* of Rome. But, as regards estimates of character, it may with almost absolute truth be said that we know all the facts that we ever shall know, and must, whether they be few or many, be therewith content. Let it be granted, for example, that improbable as the supposition is, Catiline possessed his fair share of human virtues. If this were so, he has certainly been unfortunate in the impression he made on the only men who have left their opinion of him on record. But the mishap is now irremediable. To reconstruct a favorable picture of Catiline is to attempt to create something out of nothing. With Catiline, happily, Mr. Beesly is not called upon to deal. The defence of the Gracchi is a far more promising task, but to defend them he finds it necessary to decry all persons to whom the Gracchi were in any way opposed, and thus falls into precisely the error of supposing that you can press out of the statements of ancient writers something which ancient writers do not tell us. Take, for instance, the following passage from his estimate of a man who has come down to us, on the whole, with a high character—Scipio *Æmilianus*:

"From his position, his talents, and his associations . . . he seemed marked out as the one man who could and would desire to step forward and save his country, but such self-sacrifice is not exhibited by men of Scipio's type. Too able to be blind to the signs of the times, they are swayed by instincts too strong for their convictions. An aristocrat of aristocrats, Scipio was a reformer only so far as he thought reform might prolong the reign of his order. From any more radical measures he shrank with dislike, if not with fear. The weak spot often to be found in those cultured aristocrats who coquet with liberalism was fatal to his chance of being a hero. He was a trimmer to the core, who, without intentional dishonesty, stood facing both ways till the hour came when he was forced to range himself on one side or the other, and then he took the side which he must have known to be the wrong one. Palliation of the errors of a man placed in so terribly difficult a position is only just; but laudation of his statesmanship seems absurd."

To write after this manner of say Brougham or Washington, either for abuse or eulogy, would argue considerable simplicity. Yet of Brougham or Washington we know at least a hundred-fold more than of Scipio. To write with this easy confidence of a statesman of whose character and policy no one can know more than is handed down in what would probably amount to but a few pages of an ordinary book of history is (to speak plainly) to confound history with romance. The process of reasoning, or rather of sentiment, which Mr. Beesly has followed is apparently something as follows: "Aristocrats are never true patriots. Scipio was an aristocrat, and therefore, in spite of a character for patriotism, he was not a patriot, and I may safely pronounce him a 'trimmer to the core.'" Now, what adds to the instructiveness of this judgment on Scipio as an example of what an historical judgment should not be, is that it rests in part on what is admittedly a simple hypothesis of Mr. Beesly's with regard to Scipio's attitude towards the Italians. On the face of the case Scipio would appear to have sympathized with them, and his probably violent death tends to confirm this view. But Mr. Beesly has discovered, by use, we presume, of historical insight, that Scipio sympathized not with the poor, but with the capitalists. His sense of fairness leads him to add that this "cannot be stated as a certainty." When the leading transactions in a politician's career are not known "as a certainty," it is probably rash to determine with dogmatic assurance that he was a "trimmer to the core." When the loss of all records except a fragment from Alison's history shall make it impossible to determine whether Peel opposed or carried the repeal of the Corn Laws, writers of say the fortieth century will, it may be hoped, abstain from pronouncing verdicts on a character which has puzzled contemporaries.

The second assumption made by historians whose sympathies outrun their judgment is, that it is possible to identify to a very considerable extent the parties and political principles of classical with those of modern times.

* 'The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla. By A. H. Beesly.' London: Longmans.

That the assumption has an element of truth is undoubted, but to an impartial judge it will, we suspect, appear to contain a far larger proportion of falsehood. The Gracchi, for example, were the typical democrats of their day. But is it really possible to identify their aims and character with the aims and character of any modern democratic leaders? No doubt it is possible to apply the same phrases to the democrats of the ancient and to the democrats of the modern world, but the very words you apply are really used in different senses. A democracy at Rome does not mean what a democracy means in America or France. The ideas of humanity, of the claims of the whole human race to just government, of philanthropy as contrasted with patriotism, as we understand them, would have been incomprehensible no less to the democrats than to the aristocrats of Rome. The patriotism which filled in the ancient world something like the place occupied by religion in the modern world, the identification of autocratic rule with lawless tyranny, the sense that fundamental changes in political institutions were certain to destroy the morality of the citizens as well as the freedom of the state, are sentiments of which we in our turn can form but the feeblest conception. Yet these feelings must have swayed every statesman who took part in the great Roman revolution. Add, with regard to this revolution, that if modern views are sound, the European world utterly failed till within the last fifty years to appreciate the basis of the demand for agrarian laws. This fact may at least impress us with a doubt whether even now ingenious compilers ought to speak with confidence as to the exact merits of the policy which the Gracchi advocated. Nothing, at any rate, is gained by confusing a difficult historical problem by introducing into it the passions of modern party spirit. Here, if anywhere, the maxim "judge not at all" has an intellectual no less than a moral application. Of the great contest which the Gracchi commenced, it may, with some confidence, be asserted that no man living at its commencement foresaw the end. The empire of the Cæsars was not the result at which Tiberius or Caius Gracchus aimed. Modern philosophers may see, if they think fit, in the universal equality resulting from a world-wide despotism a sufficient compensation for the destruction of the privileges and liberty of Rome. No sane historian can believe that the Roman democrats did or could by any miracle share this view. When Scipio, on the death of Tiberius Gracchus, wished "So perish all who do the like again," fairness suggests some better feeling as prompting the curse than what Mr. Beesly calls baseness. A statesman who should see the Union plunged into a revolution the issue of which no man could foresee, and which, as a fact, terminated the existence of American freedom, might be pardoned by posterity for heaping something like an imprecation on the head of a patriot who evoked forces which he could not control. Such a statesman would, at any rate, deserve equitable treatment at the hands of posterity, unless (what is probable enough) posterity should judge the men of to-day by the sentiments and party feelings not of our age but of their own. Meanwhile, writers who specially claim to make history a science should remember that the first elements of scientific enquiry are appreciation of evidence and rigid impartiality of feeling.

Voyage aux Pays Annexés. Par Victor Tissot. (Paris: Dentu; New York: F. W. Christern.)—M. Victor Tissot, since the Franco-German war, has been the authorized interpreter of Germany to his fellow-countrymen. Since his laborious investigations have been given to the world let no one say that the French are superficial. It being generally observed at the close of the war that, while the Germans were deeply versed in their neighbors' secrets, the French had been content to know little or nothing of the state of things beyond the Rhine, many Frenchmen declared that they must change all that, and that, heroically overmastering a natural antipathy to the subject, they must study Germany even as Germany had studied them. They must be serious, searching, thorough. M. Victor Tissot appears to have been, in an eminent degree, of this opinion; he sallied forth in the van of the new explorers. He is a young man who seems to have been prepared for his task by a brief residence in a German university before the war. He therefore has some acquaintance with the German language and literature—a sort of accomplishment which French investigators of foreign parts have not always considered indispensable. He pretends, according to the French phrase, to have paid with his person—to have seen, heard, felt, and tasted all the abominations which he describes. His experiences were embodied, to begin with, in the '*Voyage aux Pays des Milliards*'—a volume which has reached its thirty-sixth edition. Then came '*Les Prussiens en Allemagne*,' and now we have the volume whose title we have transcribed. The '*Prussiens en Allemagne*' is in its twenty-sixth edition, and, doubtless, an equal prosperity is in store for the present work. M. Victor Tissot, well as he has worked his ground, has by no means exhausted it. He an-

nounces as in preparation '*Vienne et la Vie Viennoise*' and,—what will probably be the gem of his collection—'*L'Allemagne Amoureuse*.' It is when this last volume appears that the hypocritical Teutons will really "catch it."

M. Victor Tissot is very clever; he is an accomplished book-maker, and his productions are, in form, very readable. But they strike us as melancholy performances, and, without in the least pretending to bend a servile knee to Prince Bismarck, we regret that M. Tissot has not made a better use of his cleverness. A considerable portion of the French public takes him, doubtless, at his proper value; but the large sale of his books seems to prove that that ignorance of German affairs to which the French charge the calamities of their campaign is incapable of being seriously modified. Whereas formerly it was flavored with indifference, it is now seasoned with positive hatred; but this is the only change it has undergone. People appear to accept stories about the Germans very much as they would receive statements about the South Sea Islanders; there is nothing in the recipient's mind to exercise the least control over the aberrations of the narrator. M. Tissot's plan has been perfectly simple—to be ferociously and consistently scurrilous and abusive. We do wrong perhaps to say "consistently"; for as the author accuses the Prussians of every conceivable vice and iniquity, there is sometimes less method in his madness than there should be—he violates the logic of vituperation itself. Few people, even Prussians, can have literally all the vices; few people can have all diseases at once. The Prussians, of course, are the object of M. Tissot's peculiar contempt; the fate which overtook the cities of the plain would be, to his mind, too good for them by half. His plan is to represent the more immediate subjects of M. de Brandebourg (as he is fond of calling the Emperor William) as plunged in horrible depravity, while the other Germans, without abatement of their own peculiar immoralities, groan over those of their oppressors. It is remarkable how the occasion always favors M. Tissot's own view of matters. In Bavaria, in Hanover, in Baden, the first person he speaks to, if it is only to ask what o'clock it is, immediately bursts into a diatribe against the ruling race. Just so in the haunts of the ruling race itself, every person or thing that M. Tissot's eyes rest upon, every word that he hears spoken, happens to be a capital example of Prussian brutality, indecency, and general baseness. But a specimen of M. Tissot's style is worth many descriptions. Here are some of his impressions of the Rhine. At Niederbreisig,

"It has lost the grand, wild character which was formerly its beauty; the knightly river has become the river of grocers; . . . you smell cabbage-soup, burnt coffee, and cheese. The masters of Reineck and Argensch stand shaving upon their towers, and spread out their flannel shirts in the sun. The mistresses ride on asthmatic hacks and give assignation to the officers of Cologne and Coblenz, who are as stiff in their corsets as great girls; and for madrigals to touch their heart, they must be wrapped up in bank-notes."

It is not remarkable that M. Tissot should have found the capital of such a population "a combination of a prison, a Terror, and a tomb." The last chapters of the volume before us treat of the author's observations in Alsace and Lorraine, where the "Kreis-Director," or sub-prefect, incurs his especial contumely. "He is invariably a doctor; they are all doctors, indeed, as in Paris all the Auvergnats are water-carriers. . . . He has rolled through the universities, played all the tricks, stolen dogs, beaten servant-girls, and fought duels. Before the war he wore out his only pair of patched breeches in an obscure post in Westphalia or Pomerania, where, to pass his time, he begat children." His wife is a match for him. A shoemaker told M. Tissot that a *Kreis-Directorin* used to come to him without any stockings to be measured for shoes. As we have said, fortune favors M. Tissot. He sits down to dinner on a Rhine steamboat, and a lady opposite asks the waiter for a small spoon. Immediately a gentleman beside him offers her his own. "I have finished," he says, "my coffee." But it is a pity, doubtless, to make too much of M. Tissot, for good or for evil. As a compiler of historical and literary odds and ends he resorts to rather cheap expedients, and as a narrator of things seen and heard he has not the art of impressing us with his veracity. The popularity of his volumes makes them worth noticing, however, with the reflection that it seems a pity that the perusal of this ingenious but essentially vulgar vituperation should appear to French readers the best way of arriving at that knowledge of the reality of things beyond the Rhine in which they have confessed themselves deficient. M. Tissot defeats his own end; he represents the late antagonists of France as a swarm of fabulous monsters—grotesque chimeras, not seriously to be reckoned with.

Essentials of English Grammar. For the use of schools. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and

Instructor of Modern Languages in Yale College. (Boston : Ginn & Heath. 1877. Pp. 260.)—It is not often that a man of the highest scholarship possesses also the gift of tact. This rare combination is conspicuous in Professor Whitney. Stores of learning are often an encumbrance rather than an aid in books intended for school-children, and are more likely to illustrate pedantry, irrelevancy, and disproportion than to simplify and facilitate instruction. But so free is this book from this common failing that, if we were asked by one who doubted whether linguistic learning could exist without pedantry to prove by an actual example the possibility of such co-existence, we should refer to the first chapter of this grammar ; for in it the relations of the English language with other members of the Aryan family are explained with a coherency which would have made Pestalozzi jump up and down with delight. The second and third chapters, which explain the parts of speech and inflection, are in the genuine inductive method, examples being given before rules ; thus, the first allusion to "verbs" is in the following paragraph : "A word that can be used as *glitters, run, burns, reads, stand, wrote* are used in the little sentences given above, is called a VERB (the word *verb* is Latin for 'word' simply)." These three chapters exhibit the true Pestalozzian sympathy. In the later chapters the power of the author's imagination gradually flags, and by the time Syntax is reached definitions are given in the ordinary abrupt manner, technical names being sometimes introduced before the pupils have become familiar with the things needing these names. It should be distinctly understood, however, that this criticism applies a thousand-fold more strongly against every other English grammar that has ever been written, and that we make it here only as a slight qualification of praise otherwise unstinted. Compared with this cardinal virtue of tact or adaptation, all other qualities are so subordinate that they hardly deserve simultaneous mention.

Professor Whitney's book abounds in fresh thoughts, analyses, and suggestions (often so condensed that a rapid glance would overlook them), which will amply repay any person interested in the subject of grammar, for examination. Especial prominence is deservedly given to the topic of derivation, which greatly assists classification ; thus, the first allusion to "comparison" [of adjectives] is as a sub-class of derivatives. "Adjectives are derived from other adjectives by suffixes denoting especially a difference of degree (including the suffixes of comparison). For example : with *er, smaller, . . . with est, tallest, . . . with ish, bluish, roundish, youngish ; with ly, weakly, etc. ; with some, gladsome, etc.*" Participles are first alluded to as "adjectives derived from verbs," and are afterwards admirably described, under the head of moods, after the full discussion of the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative in the following terms :

"These [three moods] are all the forms of inflection which the verb has in English. But there are certain derivative words, made from almost every verb in the language, which are so important and so much used, and used in such ways that they are always given along with the inflectional forms, as part of the conjugation of the verb, although they are not verbs at all, because they do not really assert anything ; they are only nouns and adjectives. They are called infinitives and participles. The infinitive is a verbal noun, expressing in noun-form the action or condition which the verb asserts. . . . Thus, to say *he gives* is to declare some one the doer of a certain action ; this action itself is expressed by *giving* or *to give*, which may then, like any other noun, be made the subject or object of a verb ; thus, *giving is better than receiving ; to give is better than to receive ; he likes giving ; he likes to give*. And the person who gives is described as a *giving* person, and what he gives is a *given* thing. The same person may be described as a *giver*, and what he gives as a *gift* ; and these words *giver* and *gift* are likewise derivatives from *give*, just as *giving* and *given* are ; and

words like *giver* are made from a very large part of the verbs of our language."

This is to prove that participles are not verbs. Consistently with the sharp distinction drawn between infinitives and participles—viz. : that the former are nouns and the latter adjectives—the author names the word "driving" in the phrase "fond of *driving*" the "infinitive in *ing*," or the "participial infinitive." With this nomenclature it is not necessary to say that participles are ever used as nouns. Two ways are recognized of parsing compound verbal forms : one way dealing with each word singly, as taught by Mr. S. W. Whitney (with whose excellent grammar, noticed by us in No. 559, the present book must not be confounded), and a second way employing the term "verb-phrase." Correspondingly there are two schemes of conjugating verbs—one very brief and confined to the uncompounded forms, and the other very full, embracing an "obligative" and "conditional" as well as the potential mood.

This book can be used by pupils of any age. There are no hints about the proper lengths of lessons, and there are but few exercises. The volume is hence more compact than other text-books of its name. An extract from the preface will indicate Professor Whitney's views of the sphere of the study of grammar :

"That the leading object of the study of English grammar is to teach the correct use of English is, in my view, an error, and one which is gradually becoming removed, giving way to the sounder opinion that grammar is the reflective study of language, for a variety of purposes, of which correctness in writing is only one, and a subordinate one, by no means unimportant, but best obtained when sought indirectly. It should be a pervading element in the whole school and home training of the young, to make them use their own tongue with accuracy and force ; and, along with any special drilling directed to this end, some of the rudimentary distinctions and rules of grammar are conveniently taught ; but that is not the study of grammar, and it will not bear the intrusion of much formal grammar without being spoiled for its own ends. It is constant use and practice, under never-failing watch and correction, that makes good writers and speakers ; the application of direct authority is the most efficient corrective. Grammar has its part to contribute, but rather in the higher than in the lower stages of the work. One must be a somewhat reflective user of language to amend even here and there a point by grammatical reasons ; and no one ever changed from a bad speaker to a good one by applying the rules of grammar to what he said."

Lessons in Electricity at the Royal Institution. 1875-6. By John Tyndall, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)—In 1827 Faraday began the custom of delivering before a juvenile auditory an annual course of six lectures. This was Faraday's Christmas gift to his young friends. "From the date mentioned to the present time the Christmas lectures have been a marked feature of the Royal Institution." In a note on page 27 Prof. Tyndall says : "It [the experiment] gave Faraday, who was present at the time, the most lively pleasure. The simplest experiment, if only suited to its object, delighted him." So the reader of this little book who is fond of experiments suited to their objects will be delighted. When we add that these experiments are described with good cuts, and explained by the lucid pen of Tyndall, we have said enough to commend the book to all lovers of the art of experiment.

OBITUARY.

GARRISON—Died, in West Orange, N. J., on Friday, May 11, Lucy, daughter of James M. and Sarah A. McKim, and wife of Wendell P. Garrison, in the 35th year of her age.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1877.

The Week.

THE new policy of the Treasury to sell $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds for gold has been much discussed during the week, and it is not now clear whether Mr. Sherman intends to hold the gold which the bonds bring for the purpose of redeeming legal-tender notes at par after January 1, 1879, or whether he intends before that time to use the gold in buying legal-tender notes at a discount. The plain intent of the law was that the former should be done. To the latter course it has been objected that buying up the suspended paper of the Government as a merchant would buy up his paper at a discount is not creditable to a great government; that there is no authority to cancel the notes so bought, and accordingly that Congress may direct their reissue, which would make the last condition of the currency and the public finances worse than the present; that as it has been impossible to bring Congress to the desirable point of authorizing holders of the notes to fund them voluntarily, it is not likely that it can be got to direct their cancellation; and that it is poor banking to apply the now limited resources of the Government to reducing liabilities when so much more effectual work could be done towards bringing the notes to par in gold by applying the gold proceeds of bond sales to the reserve. In the mean time, while the Eastern press, which is almost without exception honestly in favor of resumption of gold payments in 1879, is discussing methods, the advocates of a silver currency are making rapid headway at the West, and are gaining proselytes in the South. In Illinois the Legislature has made small silver coins full legal tender for all debts contracted by or in that State, the bill only wanting the signature of the Governor to become a law. Doubts of the constitutionality of the law have been expressed; but should it stand, it would be a monument of dishonesty, which would warn all who either lend money to persons in that State or who have business relations there to be on their guard, and to stipulate by special contract that they shall not be defrauded. As the bill is drawn, corporations in that State can pay their debts, principal and interest, in a currency much below paper, and which is sure to be below the value even of a $412\frac{1}{2}$ -grain silver dollar.

In an interview with Mr. Young, ex-Governor of Ohio, last Saturday, the President is reported by the *Times* to have "expressed himself quite forcibly against the practice of Federal officials having to do personally with the machinery of politics. He said that it was proper that these officials should vote, speak if occasion demanded, and contribute financially as they felt able and justified in aid of the cause. But he did not think it proper for them to engage actively in the management of the party, such as running conventions, caucuses, etc." If this report correctly indicates the President's sentiments with regard to the relations of office-holders to practical politics (and there is no good reason for doubting its correctness), we may be allowed to say that, while his attitude is very encouraging so far as it goes, nevertheless it may, in our opinion, be considerably bettered. A great part of the machinery of politics consists in speaking "when occasion demands," and in contributing financially when "the cause" demands; and so long as office-holders are "permitted" to do these two things there will ever remain but little distinction between *permitting* and *forcing*. There can be no infringement upon the rights of the office-holder in forbidding him even that share of activity in political matters which is perfectly proper and even desirable, to a certain extent, in all other men. The relations of the office-holder to the Government are not those of other men; and were it not for the long corrupting influ-

ences of the "spoils" system the hands which are now held up in horror at the thought of taking away an office-holder's rights, would make healthier gestures of astonishment at the thought of the impropriety of his contributing and publicly speaking for either party. But if Mr. Hayes, who, we believe, is seriously inclined to reform the civil service, desires to convince the public of the genuineness of his opposition to the management of caucuses by Government officials, there is one way, and one only, by which he can do so—namely, by dismissing those who are now managing them.

The election of McIver to the position of Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina is of itself a gratifying occurrence (judging only from newspaper reports of his fitness for the position); and the fact that the election was unanimous shows how thoroughly artificial was the hold of the Carpet-bagger upon the sympathies of the negroes, and how quickly these have come again under the influence of their former masters. The question of the payment of the interest upon the State bonds has been disposed of by a measure which, if not quite as satisfactory as might be wished, is nevertheless not repudiation. It is unfortunate, certainly, that just at the moment when South Carolina is beginning a new career with many fair promises and good intentions, the President should appoint as Internal Revenue Collector of the State a member of the old Returning Board. He may be a fit man for the place, but the presumption is against him, and his appointment can hardly fail to revive unpleasant memories. It is the more to be regretted because of a recent performance of Corbin in Charleston. As District-Attorney, in order to carry a case for the Government, he raked up an old statute, never before used, allowing the challenging of a juror who had joined in any insurrection or rebellion. South Carolina papers are justly asking that the kindly promises of Mr. Hayes be supplemented by appropriate actions on his part and on the part of United States officers.

It is difficult to make out whether the bill for the removal of the State capital to this city is meant seriously or is not intended to pass, but it has at any rate thus far secured a fair support in the Legislature, and it encounters no opposition and indeed meets with a good deal of support outside. We trust it will be pushed through as soon as possible. The more the subject is considered the more solid will the reasons for the change prove. The removal of the capital of the country from Washington to New York, where it ought to be, is, we suppose, out of the question, though its removal to St. Louis has been gravely mooted, simply because there are more votes to be had in the interest of St. Louis than of New York; but at least we ought to be spared any longer the spectacle of a rural assemblage such as makes up one of our State Legislatures attempting, at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles, to govern, like a conquered province or a dependency, the third largest city in the world.

The Governor's veto of the "Omnibus" Bill, whatever we may think of the nature or causes of the "pressure" brought to bear upon him for the purpose of securing it, is a sound state paper. He refuses to sign it mainly because it was passed by a Legislature in which, owing to an unfair apportionment, the city was not properly represented (he shows that the votes in the Assembly against it really represent about four-fifths of the voting population of the city); because the constant meddling with the affairs of New York at Albany is contrary to public policy, and has hitherto produced nothing but a long record of "confusion, robbery, and wrong"; and because the bill contains many unconstitutional provisions. The constitutional amendments proposed by Mr. Tilden's commission have passed both Houses by an almost strict party vote, and we believe

we express the opinion of every person of intelligence and possessed of any means in this city, outside of politics, in saying that the exhibition of themselves made by the Democrats in voting to prevent the people of the State from having an opportunity to express their opinion with regard to a carefully-considered scheme of municipal reform like this, is even more scandalous than the condition of unreformed municipal government itself. It now evidently depends on the chance of the Republicans carrying the next Legislature whether the amendments will get to the people or be stifled on their way. On the other hand, it is the Republicans who are responsible for the "Omnibus" Bill. Meanwhile matters are left in *statu quo*—to nobody's entire satisfaction except that of the *Times*, which finds itself once more enabled to lift up its voice and expatiate on the unmitigated badness of all Democrats, the love of reform and progress which distinguishes all Republicans, and the ever-present necessity of destroying Tammany Hall and exterminating the sachems.

The failure of the Continental Life Insurance Company of this city was of local interest only, but in the settlement of its affairs certain matters affecting the interests of all the people of this State, at least, have become prominent. From the report of Mr. Wm. Allen Butler, who was appointed referee by the Supreme Court in a suit against the insolvent company, with authority to enquire into and report upon all matters affecting the interests of the policy-holders, it appears that a life-insurance company can continue in business for ten years at least without any examination by the Insurance Department. It appears, furthermore, that the laws of the State do not sufficiently provide for an equitable and economical winding-up of the business of insolvent companies. It appears, again, that a decision of the Court of Appeals is still necessary in order to determine the method by which a company may be declared insolvent under the General Life-Insurance Act—whether a decree of dissolution may be issued upon suit brought by a stockholder or only upon application of the Attorney-General. This last fact is working grave injustice to the defrauded policy-holders of the Continental. Its effects are now and have been for some time in the hands of a competent receiver, Mr. William R. Grace, who was appointed by Justice Pratt during the above-mentioned suit. But Justice Westbrook, in direct disregard of the recommendation of Mr. Butler and the undoubted interests of the suffering policy-holders, has just appointed another receiver, Mr. J. P. O'Neill, in a suit brought by the District-Attorney, whereas every dictate of justice required him to reappoint Mr. Grace, and to leave the title of the receiver to be determined hereafter by the Court of Appeals. A vexatious and costly contest between the receivers seems now probable. There was scarcely any known form of systematic cheating—perjury, falsification of accounts, collusion with bank officers, fraudulent charges, etc.—not resorted to by the managers of the Continental in order to put in their pockets money belonging to other people, and the wishes of the robbed policy-holders were entitled to consideration at the hands of Judge Westbrook. No explanation of his action has appeared.

While "the tramp's gospel" is preached in Massachusetts in the manner elsewhere described, a proclamation of another form of it in this State was followed by consequences immediately perceptible. The new Capitol, upon which over \$7,000,000 has already been expended, was granted another million dollars in the Supply Bill, a grant which the Governor vetoed. When the question of sustaining the veto came up in the Assembly the latter part of last week, a gang of stone-cutters, who were expecting employment on the Capitol in case the appropriation was made, installed themselves in the galleries, and were directly preached at by demagogical members of the Legislature, who talked about the necessities of the poor workingman, and the duty of the State to provide him with labor and bread. Consequently, when the veto was sustained, and the stone-cutters and contractors understood that the State was neglecting its important duty of taking care of them,

they were moved with righteous indignation, and, assailing the sinful members of the Legislature, made things "lively" for them. Legislators running away down side streets, escaping into hotels, hooted and jeered at or actually maltreated by a mob, presented an unusual spectacle, but, under the circumstances, not an unnatural or altogether regrettable one. No "troops" have yet been ordered on from Washington, although the affair in a Southern State a few months ago would have furnished material for an abundant crop of "outrages" of various kinds; and as both Houses of the Legislature have passed a new appropriation of half a million dollars, the members will probably not be molested again. For the time being, the orthodoxy of the tramp's gospel is unquestioned.

Among the best "sensations" of the many which our fertile contemporary, the *Herald*, from time to time produces, there are none older or better than those which relate to the "twin relic of barbarism" in Utah; and these have lately been made exceptionally marketable through the interest excited by the confession of the murderer Lee. Within the past few days the *Herald* has been actively at work among the Saints, rousing them from their sensual lethargy, arming, drilling, and equipping them for war, organizing an army in the shape of the "Nauvoo Legion," and generally preparing the misguided polygamists for a death-struggle with the forces of civilization, progress, and monogamy. We are glad to see, however, that this formidable insurrection has been quelled by a correspondent of the *Tribune*, who ridicules the story that the Mormons are preparing to rise, declares that the Nauvoo Legion is not making ready for war, but intends to have peace at any price, and that in case Brigham Young should be indicted, as he ought to be, for murder in the first degree, he would submit as quietly to arrest as the humblest citizen. The manner in which the *Herald* finds it worth while to deal with the Mormon question illustrates chiefly the magnifying power of the imagination. A very slight amount of reflection would convince anybody that a community of the size of the Mormons, surrounded by a bitterly hostile population, merely exists on sufferance; that any attempt on its part at active resistance would be followed by immediate destruction. But in the absence of this amount of reflection the "Mormon problem" assumes gigantic proportions, and the Nauvoo Legion becomes as terrible a host as the once famous "Black Horse Cavalry," which, under the lead of the *Spirit of the Times*, caused such havoc in the early days of the late war.

The coal companies have devised a curious method for improving their business. This is no other than to stop production for thirty days, from June 15. They have mined for this year much more coal than usual, not because of the profit which current prices have yielded, but because the financial necessities of some of them have made it necessary to turn property into cash to meet payments which, if neglected, would threaten their existence; just as an overloaded real-estate "operator" might sell at a sacrifice parcels of his land to pay the taxes or the interest on the mortgages of other parts. The President of the Philadelphia and Reading Road is now in London, endeavoring to secure the consent of a part of the bondholders of the company to forego for several years the interest on their bonds. He has not agreed to stop production for a month, pending negotiations, but his representative here consents, subject to the approval of his principal. Buyers of coal may, therefore, interpret this action of the companies, which may or may not be binding, as a pressing invitation to supply themselves with coal before the 15th of June, when the month of non-production will begin, provided the companies can agree. It looks as if the coal trade would be obliged to submit to the inevitable readjustment in spite of such expedients. Except for the combination, this readjustment would have been completed within a year or two after the panic of 1873. It was deferred by artificial means, only to be accomplished with more distress after other interests had begun to mend.

The Ultramontane troubles, which have probably brought about the ministerial crisis in France, run back to the Pope's Allocution to the cardinals of March 12, in which, after going over all the wrongs inflicted on the Papacy by the kingdom of Italy, he came down to the Mancini law against clerical abuses then under discussion in the Parliament, and denounced it in a fashion of which we gave some account soon after. This drew forth a circular from the Italian Minister of Justice addressed to the various public prosecutors of the kingdom, in which, after reciting the denunciations of the Government contained in the Allocution, and pointing out the illegality of the publication of such a document by the newspapers, he nevertheless gave orders that no prosecution should be instituted for such publication unless it was accompanied by approving comments. Cardinal Simeoni therefore sent, in reply to this, a circular to the various Papal nuncios, showing that the very declaration of the minister, that as an act of grace he would not prosecute the publication of the Allocution, showed that the Pope was not free in his communications with the outer world. This correspondence and the debates on the Mancini law (which was intended to prevent the conversion of ecclesiastical discourses into political denunciation of the Government and institutions of the country) produced a good deal of excitement in Ultramontane circles, both in France and Belgium. The Bishop of Nevers wrote a letter to Marshal MacMahon calling for his aid in restoring his liberty to the Pope, and actually addressed a circular to the maires of his diocese requesting them to stir up their fellow-citizens in support of the scheme. For his letter to the Marshal the Bishop received a severe official snub, and the hawking of the circular by the book-peddlers was forbidden by the police. It was proposed by the reporter of the Budget Committee, M. Guichard, that the bishop's salary should be stopped; and when the Assembly met it opened its proceedings with a fierce debate on the growing insolence and turbulence of the clerical party, in which extracts were read from various clerical papers calling for war with Italy. The language of M. Simon's speech, however, though apparently sufficiently denunciatory of clerical intrigues, did not satisfy the Left, while it was yet strong enough to alarm the Right.

The breach between the Marshal and M. Simon when it came was evidently a foregone conclusion. The former had made up his mind to get rid of the Ministry, and wrote a letter to M. Simon calling him to account for not having opposed a feature in the Municipal Councils Bill then before the Assembly, which made the sittings of these bodies public, and for not having opposed a modification of the Press Law, which made all offences, except insults to the President and foreign sovereigns, triable by jury. M. Simon had the excuse that he was unwell when the Municipal Councils Bill was read a first time, but he found that no excuses would avail him, and at an interview with the Marshal he promptly resigned. MacMahon then sent a message to the Assembly announcing in substance that the Ministry were not strong enough to resist the extreme radical faction, who were using his name to cover their designs, and that he could go no further in that direction, and must use his powers to save the country.

At the meeting following the dismissal of the Simon Ministry, after an eloquent speech from Gambetta, the Assembly passed, by a heavy majority, an order of the day declaring that the Chamber can only place confidence in a cabinet free to, and resolved to, govern in accordance with republican principles. To this the Marshal replied by proroguing the Chamber for a month and by the announcement of a new cabinet formed in the main from the Right. The Duc Decazes, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, remains at his post; but the Duc de Broglie, the defeated leader of the moderate Royalists, becomes President of the Council. Fourtou, the Minister of the Interior, is an old Bonapartist famed for his electioneering skill, who held office under the Empire, and is doubtless intended to play the part in the coming election played by our "Zach" Chandler in the

late Presidential contest. He has since been a member of the De Broglie Cabinet, after the resignation of Thiers. M. Caillaux, the Minister of Finance, has also been in office under the Republic. Vicomte de Meaux, the Minister of Agriculture, is a pious country gentleman, belonging to the Extreme Right, while Brunet, the Minister of Public Instruction, is a Republican, and the only one in the Cabinet. The Cabinet was no sooner formed than M. Fourtou went to work vigorously to prepare for the coming elections of the councils-general by changing twenty-one prefects to other departments, dismissing twenty-five, and putting sixteen on half pay. Of course, a government thus formed can only be a "gouvernement de combat." With a majority of the Assembly against it, it can accomplish nothing beyond exciting general alarm, and unless vigorous manipulation secures it a majority in the next Assembly, it will be impossible for it to go on. It is difficult to see how, in that case, President MacMahon can retain his position. It may be that France once more needs to be "saved," but she certainly, as all experience shows, cannot be saved in this way. The report that the Duc de Broglie has sent a circular to the bishops asking their assistance does not help to improve the outlook, and the alarm created in Italy and Germany by the suspicion that the Government has passed into Ultramontane hands is said to be great, but the retention of the Duc Decazes is intended to show, and doubtless sincerely, that no change in foreign policy is thought of.

The news from the Danube is that the Russians are showing themselves in force as far west as the Aluta River in Wallachia, and have even crossed it and entered the district known as Little Wallachia, forming the corner bordering on Hungary. This is said to be a violation of an understanding with Austria that her frontier was not to be hugged too closely, and is now excused on strategic grounds. That the force operating in this direction is the right wing and is large there is little doubt, but there is not much use in giving the newspaper guesses at its strength. The announcement that its object is to "turn Widin" is a perfectly safe one, owing to the obscurity which naturally attaches to the meaning of this phrase. But it is easy to see that a crossing effected anywhere between Widin and Nicopoli would bring a column within easy reach of the great northwest road to Constantinople through Sofia and Philippopoli and leave Widin harmless in the air; and if this is what is meant by "turning it" it is safe to say that the Russian staff entered Little Wallachia for some such purpose. The movements of troops seem to indicate that the crossing in force will be made above Galatz and that the Dobrudsha will not be used.

Except the declaration of Rumanian independence, there is nothing else of positive interest in affairs on the Danube. Eastward, two facts of importance have clearly emerged from the confused reports of the week—one, the capture of the important fortress of Ardahan by the Russians on May 17; the other, the evacuation by them of their port of Sugkum-Kaleh in the Caucasus, after bombardment by the Turkish fleet. The possession of Ardahan is of great importance with reference to the advance both on Erzerum and Kars, between which it lies to the north. In their engagements before the latter stronghold the Russians appear to have had no success, though one need not credit the tales of prodigious slaughter to which the London *Telegraph's* correspondent freely serves the public. The Turks are apparently concentrating at Toprak-Kaleh against the approach of the Russian left from Bayazid. The burning and occupation of Sugkum-Kaleh have evidently given the Russians much concern. The Turks are said to be actively using it as a base from which to distribute arms and incite insurrection among the Caucasians, as well as to strike at the railway and telegraph lines between Poti and Tiflis. But all this is perhaps less alarming to the Russians than the serious doubts they begin to entertain whether their torpedo defences will save ports far more important than Sugkum-Kaleh. Trepidation is felt at Odessa and all along the shores of the Black Sea, whence reports come plentifully of raids by Turkish vessels.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S CONFESSIONS.

IT is a common practice of criminals convicted of capital offences to persist in assertions of innocence up to the moment of execution, in hopes thereby of obtaining a reprieve or some other modification of sentence. We have listened to some curious speculations concerning the character of the revelations that might be made by certain criminals of this class if the opportunity of speech could be given them after execution, or at least after all hope of pardon or reprieve had been utterly given up. The conclusion generally reached has been that under the imagined circumstances the truth would be tolerably sure to get itself spoken. Feelings analogous to those which might be supposed to stir the reader of some such fancied revelation must have been aroused among all careful readers of a recent interview between a reporter of the *Herald* and the ex-governor of South Carolina. Regretting the lack of space which prevents a full reprint of the details of the interview, we shall endeavor to give most of the important passages in the replies of Mr. Chamberlain.

Admitting that the Democratic party is now in full possession of the government of the State of South Carolina, and that practically there is now no effective opposition by the Republican party, Mr. Chamberlain adds: "It is a fact that there is now peace and good order throughout the State. . . . So far, in the State at large, there have been no outrages of power or abuse of the colored people or Republicans generally"—an admission which should be somewhat comforting alike to Democratic and Republican critics of the President's policy. In explanation of his inability to bring about a similar good result during his own administration of affairs, he asserts that "the ignorance and inexperience of the masses of the Republican party of South Carolina" were among the great and inherent difficulties of his unfulfilled task. "I was," he affirms, "under the political necessity of making political appointments to offices from a party which as a rule was not able to furnish competent officers to represent the government. . . . The majority of the Republicans in the Legislature were never heartily in sympathy with me during any portion of my first term of office. . . . The reduction of taxes and a more economic expenditure of public funds were naturally the leading objects I had in view, and here it is but justice to say that I met with almost entire opposition within the ranks of the Republican party." This last damaging admission is not modified in favor of his own party when coupled with his next assertion that "from the best men of South Carolina and in the Democratic party" he received genuine and hearty support from 1874 to 1876. "I doubt," he says, "if any public man was ever more heartily and unselfishly supported by political opponents than I was by the Democrats of South Carolina during the period to which I refer. Our subsequent differences occurred from other causes than the want of sympathy between their views and mine upon questions of practical administration within the State."

With reference to the competency of the negro to take possession of a government, and to legislate, he at first oracularly says: "I think the colored people are just as competent to legislate and conduct a government as any other people who have had as little education and experience"—an opinion which, being nearly equivalent to the expression of an opinion that two is equal to two, cannot very easily be disputed; but he immediately adds, in very unequivocal language: "They only want brains. It is idle to expect under any circumstances a good government without a large preponderance of intelligence" (among the governing classes). "The strength of every community in the Union is measured by this fact. . . . Successful self-government, under the law of universal suffrage, requires education, intellectual training, and a large amount of accumulated political experience—in short, an understanding of the duties of citizenship." The negroes "were too ready to be led by designing and unprincipled men, who became by force of superior opportunities their leaders." He does not desire, however, to throw all the blame upon the negroes, and is candid enough to admit that

his own race has as much to answer for, as regards bad leadership, as the colored race. "The result is the same. Bad leadership and ignorant followers could not work out the problem of good government"—another identical proposition. His next admission, taken in connection with the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has abandoned South Carolina for New York, carries candor to an extreme. "I don't think," runs the candid and indisputable sentence, that "any man is qualified to lead in political life unless he has such substantial interests in the community to which he belongs as will put him in complete sympathy with the permanent institutions of that community"—a passage which, could it have been spoken by Mr. Chamberlain a few months ago, would have served well as a flag-motto for his opponents in the last campaign. As regards the future course of his party in the State, he believes that the Republicans will hereafter exert little or no influence on public affairs, and affirms magnanimously, "So far as the material and financial interests are concerned the Democratic party brings more wisdom, more experience, and a more representative character to the discharge of the duties of the administration, and I can readily believe that under these conditions of General Hampton's administration the people will be satisfied."

We have a few brief comments to add to these significant quotations. In the first place, we desire to call especial attention to the fact that all of them which refer to the qualification of the negro as legislator, and to his relations to the Democrats on the one hand and the Carpet-baggers on the other, were as true three months or six months or one year ago as they are to-day, and their correctness was as closely apprehended by all intelligent observers of political affairs then as now. Mr. Chamberlain, we are willing to believe, was one of the best and most intelligent of the Carpet-baggers, and doubtless recognized essentially the full force of the above facts a long time ago. He professes to be still of the opinion that a better condition of affairs was possible under him than under Hampton: he required only more time in order to carry out his plans. Fortunately or unfortunately, no part of the world can grant several generations of political power to any one man in order to carry out plans, however honest may be the man's intentions or however charming his theories. So long as we are subject to the limitations of present existence, we shall be obliged in political affairs to consider what is practically possible, and the utter impracticability of the negroes acting as legislators for the Southern whites was sufficiently demonstrated long before the last election in South Carolina.

In the next place, it is evident that Mr. Chamberlain's confessions have taken away the very last foundation-stone of any Republican opposition to the Southern policy of the President. There were not many stones left, it is true, but what few remained are gone for evermore. The most impudent and brazen-faced politician in Congress could not stand against the force of some of the above extracts, flung at him as they would be with the added weight of Mr. Chamberlain's authority. There need be no more discussion of the probable success or failure of the President's policy. It has been carried out; the arguments which sustain it, if any more were desired, have been here furnished, and, whatever may come of it, politicians have for the present no more concern with it. Ben Wade and his congeners may go back to sleep again. It is worth notice here, that at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, the other day, no reference was made to the negro: ship-building, civil-service reform, the tariff, the currency were talked about, but the negro was not mentioned. Democrats and Republicans alike are fully agreed at last upon this one point—the negro must work out his own salvation.

Our final comment is a hopeful one. We have no disposition to stir up muddy waters once waded through, but we cannot forbear calling attention to the comparatively judicial tone of the above "confessions," as contrasted not only with that of some of their author's previous letters and addresses, but with the general tone of the press throughout the weary years in which the negro question has been before us for final settlement—that is, since the end of the Civil War. The negro has been made into a fetish for the

worship of sentimentalists and impracticable idealists, who have too often sacrificed to it common sense and honesty alike; or he has become the tool of politicians who have used him for gain almost exactly as Tweed used the "slums" of New York. And the desires of these two classes have been reflected in newspapers and other periodicals with painful fidelity. The moral weakness displayed by a portion of the press in the treatment of this matter has been a fit accompaniment to that displayed by the politicians who made possible the scandals of the era of the *Crédit Mobilier*. The great temptation to the display of these demoralizing exhibitions of human nature is now gone, and we confidently look for a most decided and healthy change in the tone of both press and people in the discussion of the political problems now coming before us.

THE FRENCH CRISIS.

THERE is no doubt that the course of President MacMahon in dismissing the Simon Ministry is something both serious and unfortunate, but it would be a great error to suppose that there are not two sides to the quarrel. Gambetta has made an eloquent and exciting speech in support of the view that the President's course is an inexcusable outrage on the Assembly, and an act of hostility to parliamentary government in general; but this view is based on the assumption that the relation of the executive to the legislature, which has been created by usage in England since the death of George III., has been established in France so firmly as to have the force of law. This assumption has really no foundation in fact. Marshal MacMahon was elected to the "Septennat," or seven-years' term, which he now holds, by the Assembly which came into existence at the close of the Franco-Prussian War, and which was admitted by the Left to have "constituent powers," and which did frame the constitution under which the country now lives. The constitution as adopted included the Septennat and its present incumbent, and it was expressly provided that no revision of the constitution should be made until the expiration of the marshal's term of seven years. He has, under the constitution, the right to appoint and dismiss ministers, and exercised it in defiance of the Assembly in July, 1874, when the constitution was under discussion, in a way which revealed clearly what his opinion of his powers in this particular was. At that date the ministry of the day was defeated by a small majority, and thereupon, in English fashion, offered their resignation; but the marshal refused to accept it, and sent a message to the Assembly on the following day informing it that "in giving him the executive power for seven years it had imposed duties on him for which he was accountable to France, and from which he could in no case be permitted to withdraw," and that these powers were irrevocable. In other words, he gave distinct notice that he considered himself bound to discharge the duties of the executive in the older English or modern Prussian, and not in the modern British, way. The ministry were appointed by him and were primarily responsible to him. If they were supported by a majority of the Assembly, well and good; but this support was simply valuable as a means of facilitating business, and was not necessary to the tenure of their offices. This theory, too, he not unreasonably holds, was accepted and confirmed by his retention in office by the new constitution, and by the prohibition of any revision until his term expired. He has shown himself of late unwilling to push his prerogative to its extreme limits, and, indeed, in the appointment of M. Simon seemed to acquiesce in the English theory of his relations to the ministry; but, as a matter of fact, he never formally surrendered the Prussian one, and probably has always intended to act on it again when the occasion seemed to call for it.

What this Prussian theory is, everybody knows. It makes the ministers the servants of the executive officer, and responsible to him alone, and the exponents of his policy to the parliament; but it does not make them responsible to parliament or dependent on the support of a parliamentary majority for the tenure of their offices. This may prove highly inconvenient in practice; but then, for the inconvenience or for the injury to public interests resulting

from a deadlock the parliamentary majority are supposed to be as much to blame as the executive. They are as much bound to yield to him as he to them. All this is very familiar law in Berlin; it was very familiar law in London a century ago, and it is law in London at this moment, but it is law which the usage has made it little short of revolutionary for the Queen to carry out. It ought to be added, too, that the circumstances under which MacMahon obtained his present office, and was retained in it by the new constitution, fairly warrants a man who is not versed in the niceties of parliamentary government, and in whose mind recent French troubles are still very fresh, in supposing that he is at least the co-ordinate, if not the superior, of the Assembly in all that relates to the vigilant protection of the public welfare. The case is one, in short, of those conflicts of jurisdiction in which neither side is wholly in the wrong, and in which the Left is as much called on for discretion and prudence in the assertion of its claims as the Right.

Of course, after all this has been said, the question of MacMahon's wisdom remains untouched, and, as far as the facts are known, there does not seem to be much to say for him on this score. The selection of a minister as far removed from him by traditions and prepossessions as Simon, was a somewhat unfortunate one for a chief magistrate to make who was not prepared to accept the English theory in its entirety, for occasions of collision were very likely to arrive and arrive soon. There is no middle course between reigning and governing. But there seems much reason for believing that the present crisis is due to what used to be known at Washington in Grant's day as "the poisoning of the President's mind" by the Legitimists or Ultramontanes, who were alarmed, and justly alarmed, at the prospect of a general election conducted under the auspices of prefects appointed by the Left. The Ultramontanes have recently been undergoing a good deal of effervescence under the influence of the threatened legislation against the clergy now pending in the Italian Parliament, and some of the bishops have been issuing inflammatory manifestoes in favor of the forcible interference by France for the restoration of the Pope's temporal power, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the outburst was due to secret reliance on the growth at the Elysée of a feeling of dissatisfaction with the Ministry; and that this dissatisfaction had more or less justification, considering the nature of the French political traditions and the position which all parties assign in politics to the administrative machine, can hardly be denied. Every party in France, the Left as well as the Right, expects the prefects and sub-prefects to be used in disseminating right principles among the voters, and in seeing that they support "good men" at the polls. When the Radicals clamored a year ago for the dismissal of the Bonapartist and anti-Republican prefects, it was not by any means with the view of substituting perfectly impartial observers of the struggles of the various parties in the elections; it was with the view of putting in men who would see that the Monarchists and "reactionaries" of all shades got the worst of it; in fact, the interference of the prefects at elections is accepted by all parties as one of the legitimate facts of government, and results naturally from the desire of the peasantry for political guidance and their willingness to be instructed by representatives of the Government. It is not in human nature anywhere, and least of all in French human nature, to refrain from counselling subservient voters. Now, under M. Simon's régime, and under the new Republican officials whom he has put in office, not only the Monarchists but the Conservative Republicans have been steadily getting the worst of it at the polls—that is, in the few elections which have recently taken place to fill vacancies the extreme Radicals of visionary or communistic type have triumphed; and triumphed, as the Conservatives naturally think, with the connivance or assistance of the Ministry. At Avignon, a few weeks ago, of two candidates—both Republican, but one Moderate and the other Radical—the Radical carried the day. This, however, was not so serious as what occurred at Bordeaux, a great commercial city: there there were two candidates, one a furious Protestant pastor of the Talmage type

and with somewhat communistic opinions, the other a small lawyer of the most extreme Radical views, and the latter was victorious.

Now, incidents of this sort, of course, will not produce much effect on the present Assembly, but the Conservatives are terrified by the prospect of a general election taking place under the guidance of a Ministry and of prefects who can permit such incidents to occur, and they and the Ultramontanes combined have probably worked on MacMahon's fears and scruples of conscience sufficiently to make him believe that one of the crises in preparation for which his power had been confided to him had arrived, and that he must save France, even at the cost of a quarrel with the majority in the Assembly. The affair is most unfortunate, because it will, of course, no matter how it may be now settled, constitute another of those breaks in peaceable and orderly progress which have been the curse of France for ninety years, and which, whenever they occur, seem to make it necessary to begin over again, and build up once more as painfully and laboriously as before from the very foundation. Nothing is more necessary to French prosperity than a general conviction that a final political settlement has been reached, and this nothing but a long period of orderly government can give. Incidents like the quarrel now pending put everything at sea by rousing revolutionary passions, and turning men's thoughts to revolution as one of the near possibilities, and by bringing physical force once more into view as a necessary and perhaps useful party weapon. The spectacle is a melancholy one, but it is instructive.

THE TRAMP'S GOSPEL.

DOWN to the beginning of this century the rule of direct personal responsibility for all misfortunes and offences was mercilessly, and even savagely, applied. The bankrupt laws and laws against crime absolutely excluded all excuses and allowances. No defects of education, no temptations, surroundings, or physical weaknesses were allowed to temper punishment. The manifest lunatics were not hanged for murder, but they were subjected to an imprisonment which would have been cruelty to wild beasts. The plea of hereditary tendency in mitigation of punishment was unknown, and so was all machinery for the reformation of offenders. Criminal jurisprudence had but one object in view—viz., to rid the world of law-breakers, or else make them as wretched in it as was possible, short of taking their lives.

With the active practice of philanthropy there came a reaction. People began to see that merciless punishment was not effective, and that judicious punishment, while equally powerful as a deterrent, might also be made to convert the criminal into a useful member of society. The desire to encourage efforts for the reformation of criminals naturally led to the invention of "extenuating circumstances," and the list of extenuating circumstances was rapidly lengthened until at last, in the minds of some sentimental reformers, the idea of guilt all but disappeared, and the offender became simply an unfortunate or sick person who, far from owing expiation, needed succor and deliverance. The commission of crime became an accident, like the falling into a ditch on a dark night, and to claim inflexible honesty was to give one's self airs. Those who did not take this view of the essential likeness of thieves and murderers to all other men took the loftier but equally agreeable one to the criminal—that society was bound to look at crime "as God looks at it"; a doctrine broadly preached by Henry Ward Beecher apropos of the Ring thieves, and from which the deduction was easy that the District-Attorney ought to think twice before pursuing a rascal whom the Almighty saw fit to let run.

When those views first made their appearance they had the charm of simplicity and sincerity and freshness. As a protest against the hardness and inexorableness of the old penology they certainly were very useful. Their very extravagance secured them attention, and, though they had all "the falsehood of extremes," they diminished the falsehood of the other extreme, and made legislation for the repression of crime rational. But then, as might have been expected, the new gospel was not preached very long before a new kind of cant made its appearance. From talking of the criminal as a man entitled to humane treatment, his friends rapidly began to talk of him as an interesting creature, and probably better on the whole than the judge and jury, as having what they called a "deeper experience" of life. There is a sentimentalist out in the West, named Bovee, who devotes himself to a crusade against capital punishment. At first, we believe, he confined himself to showing that crime was more effectually re-

pressed by imprisonment for life than by hanging, but as he warmed to his work he took the ground, to which we drew attention some years ago in the *Nation*, that murderers sentenced to imprisonment for life were, *quasi ex-officio*, a very estimable and attractive body of men. He finally made it appear that to kill somebody in cold blood, and to be confined for it, was really a means of grace, or a sort of easy road to a great moral elevation. In fact, it is very difficult to watch the field of social reform long without feeling one's self driven very close to the conclusion that the desire to improve their fellows carries men constantly along the very edge of the abyss of mental unsoundness.

The most extraordinary outburst of the form of folly which distributes the moral responsibility of the crimes of individuals over the whole community, and thus makes individual character of little or no value as a defence of social order, took place in Boston the other day. Mr. Walter Smith, the Director of the State Normal Art-School, was taken down by the Mayor and some other local notables to the State institution for juvenile offenders at Deer Island in Boston Harbor, and delivered to the boys an address, from which we cut the following passage. It reads like an extract from a farce by Mark Twain, but the report seems to be verbatim and to have been revised by the author, and he is not a humorist:

"You have been told to-day that you have most of you committed crimes, and that you are down just now, but that you can reform and get up again. I've no doubt that is true; but there is another view of this matter which I take, and that is, that your crimes against society are not half as black or as numerous as society's crimes against you. The blame doesn't all belong to one side. Keep up your hearts, boys, even if you are down, for the society which cannot get along without shutting up three hundred boys on an island in Boston Harbor is a bigger failure than you are; you may be down, but this boasted civilization of the nineteenth century is lower down. Don't you go and believe that we have all come here to-day to patronize you. We have come to ask you to forgive us and make friends with us. We want to atone to you for our blunders. The sight of three hundred boys shut up in prison is enough to make a thoughtful man shudder, the angels weep, and everybody lose faith in the progress of the age.

"Count me on your side, boys, and let us tell the Governor of this commonwealth, and the Mayor of this city, and the legislative and administrative and educational bodies represented here to-day, that they are all bigger failures than we are, or we should not be here. Don't let the manhood be crushed out of you because you are here. It is not so much of disgrace for you to be here as for us to be here. We come down as grown men to confess to you small boys that we are not intelligent enough, don't know enough, to keep you boys out of prison; although as legislators, administrators, teachers, it is our business to do so."

"I don't doubt but that every one of your distinguished visitors will allow that we are penitent for our sins, and want to make amends, and don't feel any disgrace in this true penitence, or in the honest desire on our part to do better in the future. So, boys, you cannot only count me in on your side, but also count as friends all your visitors. We are all tarred with the same stick. I am just as much ashamed of being here to-day as you are; but we are going to try and do better, and want you to do the same. Let us all start fair in the same race, and may the best horse win; or rather, let us say that this is a race in which every good horse *must* win if he will only run; and when we have all won this race, you won't be in Deer Island Reform School, and no other little boys and girls will need to be sent here, and then there will be no necessity for mayors, aldermen, clergymen, and school-teachers to come and talk to them."

That the persons who have charge of the Reformatory, and are responsible for the care and training of the boys, who are all young criminals, should have permitted a harangue containing so much mushy immorality and ridiculous jurisprudence to be addressed to such an audience, is surprising as well as unfortunate; but it shows how far this form of craze has gone. The view of moral responsibility presented by Mr. Walter Smith to these youths was, we need hardly say, the one that may be heard at any little gathering of tramps, when smoking their pipes after gorging themselves with cold victuals, and preparing for an easy night on the hay in the barn. They will all snort out curses on "society" for the various evils of their condition, such as having to walk in search of more food, being short of whiskey in wet weather, and having sand get in through the holes in their shoes. They feel there is "something wrong" in a state of things in which their simple wants are not supplied wherever they happen to be and would like to stay, like those of the owners of the big houses where they get the cold meat and the stale bread; and they are sure that the judges and ministers and governors and policemen are somehow to blame for it all. But then, to have the Tramp's Gospel carried from the barn and the dry ditch to a public institution and preached to children whose first step in life has been a false one, and whose souls the state is trying, by well-considered means, to fortify for an honest struggle in life, is surely a most miserable spectacle. If there be any lesson which a boy who has begun his career by crime, and whose training and surroundings in his earliest years have been evil, needs to learn, it is that there is nobody on earth to blame for it but himself, and nobody on earth to whom he can look for deliverance but himself. If there be any lesson calculated to make his degradation hopeless, and stifle the seeds of manly resolution and noble ambition, it is the lesson that he is no more respon-

sible for his errors than anybody else ; that his sin came on him like the rain ; and that it is the business of the community to get him out of his scrape and keep him out of it. There is no foundation for private or public morality but the individual conscience, and what is to become of the individual conscience of the young thief who is told that the whole community in which he lives shares in his guilt ? What is to become of character when the wards of the state have their offences against common morality covered up by such prodigious blatherskite as the declaration that the sight of their kindly punishment and discipline is enough to "make a thoughtful man shudder, and angels weep, and everybody lose faith in the progress of the age." If "the Thoughtful Man shudders and the Angels weep" over the Deer Island Reformatory, we are sure it is not due to the fact that the community is making a well meant effort to rescue the inmates from vice before it is too late, but to the fact that they are not properly protected against inconsiderate orators. When an angel hears young criminals told that the Governor of the commonwealth and the Mayor of the city and the legislative and administrative and educational bodies are "bigger failures" than they are themselves, we are quite sure he does not feel satisfied with "weeping," but longs to clap his hand on somebody's mouth.

One of the peculiarities of the school of sentimentalists to which Mr. Smith belongs is, that though they are full of scorn for all legally organized attempts to contend with vice and disorder, and paint their inefficiency in glowing terms, they carefully avoid recommending any substitute. They always tell you when, after listening to their denunciations, you ask for advice, that they have no suggestions to make ; all they can say is that they are disgusted with everything they see. Wendell Phillips some time ago gave out that the workingmen were not going to put up with the bankers and other capitalists any longer ; and anticipating the question what were the bankers and capitalists to do, he declared in clarion notes that it was their business to find out. We must do Mr. Walter Smith the justice to say that his discourse was in some degree relieved by being illogical and incoherent—that is, he abandoned his first position before the close, and told the boys at the end what he ought to have told them at the beginning : that their redemption must be due to their own exertions, and that the world never failed to reward honest labor, and that by "living pure and good lives" they would rise into respectability. But then the boys were hardly likely to be as much impressed by this as by learning, as they did learn, that Mr. Smith himself (who gave them a glowing account of his own career and position) and the Mayor and the other notables were, at the ripe age of fifty or sixty, not one whit better than the juvenile offenders themselves. "Why," they would naturally ask, "should we be good and work hard when you, Mr. Smith, great a man as you confess yourself to be, and the Governor, and the Mayor, and all the rest of you are, to use your own words, 'tarred with the same stick' as we. You probably stole, and fought, and lied in your youth, but didn't get caught, and now, when you have got lots of money and fine clothes, you want us to drudge away and let you have a good time ; but it won't do. You admit you have helped to get us into trouble, and you must help to get us out."

THE PROSPECT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON, S. C., May, 1877.

FIVE years have wrought little outward or visible change in Charleston. The wharves have the same deserted look, the houses the same old, weather-beaten appearance, suggesting the urgent necessity of repair ; the streets are in the same ill-kept, ill-mended condition, and local improvement of any kind is not visible to the naked eye. And yet already there are signs of a changing condition—signs which are felt rather than seen. Fewer negroes stand along the streets or haunt the doorways of public offices, and those who still appear in such places have a less confident manner. Naturally, too, the whites show a more cheerful and hopeful spirit, and look forward, despite the prevalent complaint of dull times and business depression, to better seasons. Enthusiasm seems to be chiefly confined to the ladies, and their presence in large numbers both at the reception given Governor Hampton a few days since and along the line of march of the procession in his honor, was evidence of the favor with which they regard him and of their interest in the "cause" which he represents. It was pleasant to watch the procession as it moved along amidst the waving of handkerchiefs and the outbursts of applause which greeted Hampton at every turn ; and yet I could not help thinking that while this mutual admiration was very natural, it would have been wiser and in better taste to have deferred its display to a more fitting season. Seldom, if ever, in the history of the country have the affairs of a State demanded more constant attention and watchful care, not only from those in official life, but from

every liberal-minded, large-hearted citizen. With business at a standstill, taxes, even the lightest, felt to be a heavy burden, and the best method of levying them a most serious question ; with the natural feeling of suspicious distrust amongst the negroes to be removed and converted into a cordial reciprocity of good feeling ; with the pressing necessity of reform in every department of the government ; with the all-important question of State credit to be dealt with, and the educational problem to be solved, there is little time for gubernatorial festivity.

Of these questions, perhaps the most interesting, and certainly one of equal if not of paramount importance to any other, relates to the future of the negroes and the effect upon them of the present period of transition. To say that they are badly demoralized hardly expresses their condition. At best they see through a glass darkly, and have not the slightest conception of political cause and effect ; they have hitherto merely been living automata, under absolute leadership, and with unbounded faith in the name and power of the Republican party. But why a Republican president should have "deserted" Governor Chamberlain is utterly incomprehensible to them, and the realization of the stern fact that the gods in whom they trusted are now utterly powerless, brings great disquiet. Yet I do not for one moment anticipate trouble between the races, unless there is some gross and utterly uncalled-for provocation upon the part of the whites ; and for this belief there are several good reasons. In the first place, without organization the negroes are political ciphers. That they have remained a power so long has been the result of a systematic discipline and implicit obedience. Now, however, they are left without responsible leadership. To their former white leaders, who have hitherto furnished most of whatever the party possessed in the way of brains, they can no longer look for guidance. By them they have been advised, as I am informed upon excellent authority, to make the best terms possible with the Democrats. Some of their leaders are following their own advice, and are disposing of themselves to the best advantage. Others, now out of office, are preparing to remove from the State, for no "carpet-bagger" can expect to compete successfully in any occupation or branch of industry in the State, unless he possesses sufficient means to engage in a comparatively independent method of earning a livelihood, as well as sufficient moral courage to withstand much contumely. I venture to say that with rare exceptions no professional or business man of decided Republican proclivities, though above reproach in character and social position, can hope to succeed in South Carolina, if his success depends upon local patronage. To the support of such men the negroes cannot, and the whites will not, contribute.

Moreover, the Democrats now have entire control of the election machinery of the State, and the use of force or "intimidation" may be dispensed with. Under the practical working of the present election law there is no reason why the Democrats should ever again lose an election. It is a very simple matter : the Governor appoints three "commissioners" of election for each county, and they in turn select three managers to preside in each election district ; but by law all these commissioners and managers may, and a majority certainly will, belong to the political party of which the Governor is a member. The only requisites, therefore, for a successful canvass are plenty of spare ballots and a majority of the managers of each election district who cannot be bribed by the other party. What was done last fall at Edgefield and in other "up-country" counties, where the Democrats managed to "secure" a majority of the managers of elections, and rolled up heavy Hampton majorities, can now be repeated *ad libitum* all over the State. Against such odds the negroes cannot contend, and it is doubtful whether they contemplate a struggle.

To this anticipation of injustice upon their part the Democrats have no right to except, since they have already given ample proof of the same old ante-bellum spirit of intolerance and proscription. Nothing could be more at variance with the pledges so freely given, and nothing could be more repugnant to every right-minded man, than the treatment thus far accorded the negro members of the Legislature. To force a parcel of ignorant, misguided negroes, a mere handful of a minority, to pass through a scene of shame and humiliation, and to force them amidst loud derision to make the most abject apologies before allowing them to take the seats to which they were justly entitled, was surely no more degrading to them than to the whites. The very next day after this shocking spectacle I listened to a debate in the lower House upon the adoption of a resolution seating a Democratic contestant. The negro Republican, who had been unquestionably elected, was a postmaster at the time of his election, and therefore, under the State constitution, was ineligible. I was informed upon excellent authority, and in fact it was practically admitted upon the floor, that in such cases the line of precedent in the State in favor of a new election was almost, if not quite, unbroken. Whether in accordance with precedent or not, it was cer-

tainly the honest course. One of the negroes upon the Democratic side of the House tersely summed up the situation by remarking that they "hadn't got no money" to spend in another election, and, although a very forcible and sensible appeal for fair and generous dealing in the matter was made by one of the whites, the solid Democratic vote went upon record in favor of the resolution. The entire Charleston County delegation—numbering more than twenty—have thus far been deprived of seats, although elected by several thousand majority and properly provided with certificates of election. I cannot hear of any real contest over these seats upon the part of the defeated candidates, but the Democrats seem to have resolved upon a course of masterly inactivity as the best method of starving the enemy into absolute surrender.

For all this and much more of the same sort, both in the House and in the Senate, only a part of which appears upon the surface, I do not hold Governor Hampton entirely responsible. I like all that I have heard and seen of him, and I am convinced that he means to do what he can to keep his pledges and to institute a new order of things, but I doubt his ability to carry out his intentions. He occupies a peculiar position, in which, through the force of circumstances and the pressure of outside opinion, he has hitherto been able to act upon his better judgment and yet to avoid entanglement. The simple fact is that he is surrounded by the Bourbon element of his party, possessed with the same rule-or-ruin determination which has been the curse of South Carolina. The men who have been chiefly instrumental in placing Hampton in power are to-day as intolerant, as impracticable, and as wrong-headed as they were twenty years ago, and nothing short of absolute regeneration will suffice to change them. The population of South Carolina, though similar in character to that of other Southern States, has been in some respects peculiarly distinct. There never has been a mixed population such, for instance, as Louisiana fortunately possesses; and portions of the State, especially in the upper part, are as half civilized to-day as they were fifty years ago. The district which once sent Brooks to Congress still finds representatives embodying the same spirit, and the attempted election of M. C. Butler to the United States Senate is practical evidence of this. Fortunately, Butler was never legally elected, and in the new election to be held I am told that he will be unable to command a sufficient support. Nevertheless, men like him form a very large proportion of the present ruling element in the affairs of the State, and unless Governor Hampton displays an unexpected and unusual degree of strength of character it is questionable whether he will be able to sustain himself; complaint is already being made, and time alone will show how far he will be able to stem the current. The best men in the State, men of liberal education and liberal spirit, whose horizon has not been always bounded by a pine forest, and who deplore a return to the old order of things, chiefly come from the seaboard, and they have as yet no representative in the Legislature and no voice in the government. My last hope for the State is that these men, through a revival of the old bitter contest between "up-country" and "low-country," may be enabled to take and keep control. Bad as is a geographical division in politics, it would be infinitely better for both whites and blacks than the future now promised them. Until there are two parties with native-born citizens in each, there never can be anything like a full development of the resources of the State. If that time arrives, and the means are afforded a good class of emigrants to come and settle in neighboring localities and in sufficient numbers to overcome local antipathy, a future will open to the State, but not until then.

FRENCH NEUTRALITY.

PARIS, May 4, 1877.

THE war is fairly begun in Turkey proper and in Asia Minor, and all the Powers are now meditating upon their future course of action. Those who have long hoped for peace now hope for a *localized* war. War is always localized; but we mean in this case by localization a mere duel between Russia and Turkey. The Queen of England, as usual, has issued a proclamation of neutrality conceived in the dry style of such documents. Here we are more florid; we have had a lengthy declaration addressed by the Duc Decazes to the Chambers, in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs explains what everybody knows—that France intends to remain neutral. There was a very ridiculous scene in the Chamber of Deputies when the neutrality proclamation was read; the Chamber, instead of receiving it in dignified silence, chose to make a manifestation. The Left, headed by Gambetta, applauded most enthusiastically, and in consequence of this the Right remained silent. I can conceive enthusiasm under many circumstances; but when you are simply told that you had better do nothing because you can do nothing, I hardly see why you should become frantic with satisfaction.

Such, however, is the temper of our democracy. It is frantically pacific; and it is a very fortunate circumstance. If Danton should come back and try his high-sounding phrases about raising legions from the earth by the mere pressure of his heel, he would have no success whatever. Gambetta, the roaring lion of the national defence, has become very tame; he seems to have forgotten all about balloons and war *à outrance*, and the defence of France as far as the Pyrenees. The reason of this change is obvious. Gambetta is probably, even certainly, as good a patriot now as he was in 1870; only he knows that war would be a terrible test for any government. The situation of France is such, the political scepticism of the millions of electors is in reality so complete, that no government would be strong enough to bear defeat. In vain had Napoleon III. obtained two plébiscites a short time before the war; when Sedan came, not a man was found to stand by him. What was called the revolution of the 4th of September was in reality no revolution at all; the Government fell, as it was left completely unsupported. The Minister of War of the time, General Cousin Montauban, Duke of Palikao, the President of the Legislative body, the Empress Eugénie herself, were among the revolutionists of the 4th of September, if you choose to call the change which took place on that day a revolution. The Republicans have a very just instinct when they believe that the Republic could not well bear another Sedan. The people would turn against them as it did against the Empire; the terrible question would then be addressed to them: "Qu'avez-vous fait de la France?" and the terrible exclamation: "Vare, Vare, redde legiones!"

Germany understood that our new Republic, born of misfortunes and defeats, would perforce lead a very pacific life, not from any love of peace, or any neglect of the interests of France, or any want of sympathy for the sufferings of Alsace; merely because defeat would be absolutely fatal to the republican cause. As long as things go on quietly, as the country is prosperous, as the army is reorganizing, as France has all the appearance of strength, the popular mind not only becomes reconciled to the Republic, but even among the most cultivated classes the notion of an orderly, conservative republic is in the ascendant. But, alas! the test of war has not yet been tried. If the Republic lost one more province and ten millions, there would be an outcry which nothing could resist. What could you expect from a republic which could form no alliances; from a feeble, disorganized government; from an ignorant and corrupt administration? The defeats of the Gambettist armies were condoned on the ground that these armies were raw levies, which fought for honor more than for victory; the regulars were all prisoners in Germany, Metz had surrendered. But suppose a war now, after our incessant efforts towards the organization of all our resources. The Government would be, so to speak, swallowed up in a defeat. The risk is all the more terrible, as it is impossible for the republicans to consider calmly what would happen after the fall of the present Republic. The Princes of Orleans are honestly and faithfully serving in the ranks of the present republican army; they, also, would be swallowed up in a great national defeat; surely, they would not choose the moment of such an humiliation to come forward with their claims; they would not pick up a crown in the blood and the dust. Who would come forward and take the responsibility of the future—who but the heir of the Man of Sedan? Helpless and innocent boy as he may be, his hungry followers would push him forward and say to him: "Come, sir! France has no government; she is under the heel of the conqueror; go to the conqueror, and sign a treaty of peace which nobody is willing to sign; be a vassal in order to be an emperor; be a tool in the hands of Germany, and let France be a tool in our hands. We shall again make of Paris the pandemonium of the world; we shall give to an abject people 'panem et circenses.'"

Such thoughts are in the minds of most republicans, and the vision of such a future makes them more than pacific. One of them said to me a few days ago, "We ought in no case to fight except that of an invasion." Some reasons make me feel, however, that it will not be so easy for us to shut ourselves up behind the wall of a complete and, so to speak, desperate neutrality. Not that we could easily be dragged again into a Crimean war. There is hardly a Frenchman now, even among the old Bonapartists, who would not willingly confess that the Crimean war was a mistake; that Napoleon III. undertook it merely in order to serve his dynastic purposes and to obtain a standing among the sovereigns. This Crimean war cost us a hundred thousand men and any number of millions, and did no good whatever to France. We never cared much in France for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the recent horrors of the Turks have diminished the very small amount of sympathy which was ever felt for them. France has besides a vague and undefined sympathy for Russia, arising probably from the fact that the Russians whom we see are half French. Russia does not hate France, as so many of our neighbors do, and we know it.

No vague sympathies, no vague antipathies, could drag us at present into a war; but we have nevertheless a fear that our neutrality will perhaps not last to the end of the present difficulties. There are two theories on the possibility of a rupture of the French neutrality: (1) the theory of a German aggression; (2) the theory of a common action with Germany.

The first is the prevailing theory. It is generally believed that the Eastern question has been for two years completely manœuvred by Prince Bismarck; that his object has been to give to Russia a "big job," to gain her gratitude by his diplomatic co-operation, and while Russia was engaged in the most difficult undertaking, or after she had come out of the war exhausted and tied to Germany, to do what he pleased in Europe—to give the last finishing touch to German unity and to have a last quarrel with France, so as to disarm and impoverish her, and to obtain a long period of European peace. It is said that, while officially at peace, France and Germany are already virtually at war; that the struggle takes a financial form. France has spent enormous sums under the name of the "liquidation budget," besides having an enormous war budget. In this race of millions Germany would be beaten in the end, as the financial resources of France seem to be much greater than those of her neighbor. The country bears lightly the weight of the most enormous budget; there are no failures; the Bank of France has two milliards in gold and silver in its vaults, which would form a war treasury in case of need. The material prosperity of France is marvellous, and it is said that Germany is suffering, that she is getting impatient and restless, that particularism has revived in many places and in many forms. The two speeches of Count Moltke have opened the eyes of Europe to a situation which is and has been always very alarming. France is not reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; Germany, by the mouth of Moltke, does not intend to make any new conquests on French soil, but she complains of our great armaments, and in his second speech Count Moltke says that Germany will take compensatory measures—that is, that we must accustom ourselves to see a large army in Alsace and another about Metz.

I have observed that as soon as two countries begin to speak of disarmament they invariably go to war. Such was the case between Piedmont and Austria; such was the case only a few days ago between Turkey and Russia. Still, I will not believe yet that Germany nourishes any bad designs against France. It is not true that we have an unusual number of troops between Paris and our frontier, and to accuse us of it is to make really what we call a "*querelle d'allemand*"; but a *querelle d'allemand* does not lead necessarily to a war. There are many symptoms which tend to support the second theory I was speaking of—the theory of a common action with Germany. It is quite certain that if France were willing to forget for a moment the memories of the war of 1870, her hands would be perfectly free; she is held by no tie whatever. If she had a statesman of the Bismarckian stamp he might be tempted to enter into the views of Bismarck. France and Germany neutralize each other at present. Suppose them united, their action would be really overwhelming. It may be that Prince Bismarck has thoughts of forcing us into some sort of alliance, of dragging us out of a cold, sullen, and really hostile neutrality, and of offering us a chance to make such changes in Europe as would conduce to a permanent peace and give France again the high place which she deserves. Bismarck showed himself a true statesman in 1870 when he resisted the excessive annexations from France demanded by the military party. It will, however, be very difficult, if not impossible, for a French statesman to find that common ground on which France and Germany could meet.

THE TURKISH NAVY.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 26, 1877.

WITHOUT attempting a critical statement, I will give you my opinion of the Turkish army and navy formed from observation, and my impressions of Turkish affairs received from good authorities. There is no doubt whatever that the Sultan earnestly exerted himself to prevent war, but finding himself obliged to choose between revolution with probable loss of power, and measures which were sure to make Russia declare war, he chose the latter reluctantly and with serious forebodings. The character of this man may be estimated from the following incident: He suffers from a decayed tooth, and, having been advised to consult a dentist, summoned one. The dentist advised the extraction of the tooth, and, at the request of the Sultan, explained the *modus operandi*. The Sultan summoned a slave, and directed the dentist to show him how it was done. The slave lost his tooth, but the Sultan was unnerved by the sight of blood, and deferred the operation on himself. It is stated on the best authority that the dentist has already been summoned eight times, and that eight slaves

have lost one or more teeth each, but that the Sultan still suffers from toothache. This incident might well serve as a parable to illustrate the way in which Western Europe has dealt with the rotten fabric known as the Ottoman Empire.

As to the army, Turkish soldiers are ignorant and fanatical, but of magnificent physique and very tractable. The officers are a little less ignorant, much more fanatical, very dissipated, and manifestly weak physically and irresolute mentally. It is a mistake to suppose that Mussulmans do not partake of intoxicating drinks because prohibited by the Koran. At the present time there is hardly an effort at concealment, although the drinking is still chiefly done in secret and out of heathenish love for the effect. Social temptation to excess is unknown. That which makes the "drunk come quick" is the favorite beverage. The army is without discipline and poorly drilled. Cleanliness, although strictly enjoined by the Koran, is not one of the characteristics of a Turkish soldier. The lack of uniformity and neatness in dress in any considerable number of troops is striking. The execution of manœuvres, so essential to the efficiency of soldiers, is a ludicrous sight with a battalion of Turks. Yet there is no doubt that the Turk will fight, and that the Turkish armies will be hard to conquer, unless the Russians defeat them in the first battle and annihilate the fragments before they can be reformed and led to successful resistance by a zealous enthusiast almost sure to arise in the time of their greatest adversity. That spirit of fanaticism and fatalism which is almost irresistible when once aroused is not extinct in Mussulmans, and is much more certain to develop itself if Turkey is left to her own resources than if any Christian power becomes her ally. Indeed, there are evidences that it is already developed, and that the Christian world may ere long stand aghast at the atrocities which must surely follow the success of Turkish arms.

The key to Constantinople from the Mediterranean is at the narrowest part of the Dardanelles, not far from the site of ancient Abydos, marked Chanak on recent maps. The defences comprise almost all kinds of fortifications, from the crumbled wall many centuries old to the modern earthwork. The guns range from the monster brass cannon, firing, in one direction only, marble and granite balls twenty-five inches in diameter, to the sixty-ton Krupp breech-loading rifle. Forty-two Armstrong and Krupp rifles of large calibre are mounted in the earthworks, and about one hundred and twenty-five smooth-bore sixty-eight and thirty-two pounders in the masonry forts. The garrison consists of fifteen hundred picked men, commanded by a general officer who is regarded as much above the average, having been educated in France, and who really appears to be an intelligent man. The day after the declaration of war an order was given to load the guns; it took thirty consecutive hours to complete this operation. Not more than one-third are provided with the necessary implements for loading and training, and serious doubts are entertained of the ability of the Turks to fire many of the guns once, much less reload them. Certainly a Farragut need have little regard for such defenses. Upwards of two hundred large torpedo-cans are lying about ready for loading and planting, but there is no one competent to do the work. An English officer in the Turkish service has openly asserted that there is no one in the Turkish army or navy with the knowledge necessary for taking charge of the torpedo defenses. But there are natural difficulties in the way of defending the strait with torpedoes. The depth of water is between 40 and 50 fathoms, and the surface current sets out with a velocity of two to three knots per hour, while the under current ascends with a higher velocity. Above Chanak there is a reach of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the strait then makes an abrupt turn to the eastward, the northern shore forming a right angle. This natural advantage of the position is ignored, for at the present time not a gun is planted for raking vessels ascending this reach. Indeed, the positions of the new earthworks seem to have been selected by some one ignorant of channel defense. But the Turks are confident that a Russian fleet attempting to force this passage would be met by a British fleet to defend it. If only the Russian fleet were at hand and ready it might ascend with impunity, and in twelve hours afterwards Constantinople would be at the mercy of its guns; and this in spite of the Turkish navy, which ranks in *matériel* fourth in the world, but in *personnel* last. Dislere ('La Guerre d'Escadre,' 1876) asserts that the Turkish ironclads are admirably adapted for offensive warfare. My personal observation confirms this assertion. All that English and Scotch ingenuity and skill could accomplish has been combined to render the Turkish navy efficient. Yet the officers have no ambition, the men no discipline; drills are the exception, target-practice is almost unknown. The fleet is efficient in manning yards and firing salutes whenever the Sultan goes afloat. The vessels are filthy, the arms neglected, the battery dreaded; in a word, these wonderful engines of destruction are rendered harmless by the indolence and

ignorance of their crews. The recent fleet-drill in the Sea of Marmora was a farce which excited the ridicule of foreigners and the jealousy of the native officers.

Hobart Pasha, the commander-in-chief, is worthy of the men he commands. He was engaged during our war in successfully forcing the blockade; afterwards he became involved in some disreputable financial transactions in Russia. He next appeared in Constantinople *en route* to take up arms against Turkey and with the Cretan revolutionists, but, having been offered a command in the Turkish navy, he accepted it, and led an expedition against the Cretans which crushed out their last hopes of success. For this he was promoted to high rank in the Turkish navy, but through the representations of the Greek government he was dropped from the British navy-list, on which he had been borne as a lieutenant. He has recently been restored as a captain on half-pay for "having rendered the Turkish fleet efficient," as stated by Lord Derby. Consonant with this is the fact that the British fleet recently at Besika Bay had extra officers and men on each vessel for the express purpose of manning the Turkish ironclads in the event of war with Russia; and it is positively asserted that many British naval officers are about to join the Turkish fleet. For all that, Hobart Pasha is most sincerely hated by the Turkish officers; this they do not even attempt to conceal.

Turkey enters into the war with an available military force not exceeding 300,000 fanatics, armed with the best weapons but very poorly officered; a naval force of about thirteen powerful ironclads and fifty other excellent fighting-vessels in good condition, commanded by a mercenary and officered and manned by lazy landsmen; forts provided with the heaviest ordnance, but with no one who knows how to use it; storehouses, arsenals, and armories stocked with munitions of war, but no organized or efficient means of supplying them to the armies or fleets; an empty treasury, a valueless paper currency, an abominable civil service, a ruler enfeebled by dissipation and swayed by favorites, and a large percentage of her population awaiting the opportune moment for shaking off a slavery and oppression without parallel in modern times. Neither British gold nor Irish blood can save her. Her end is approaching, and one is puzzled at the peculiar combination of avarice and jealousy which has permitted such a power to exist for so long a time.

A PROFESSIONAL OBSERVER.

Correspondence.

THE BOSTON COLLECTORSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your demand for the removal of Collector Simmons in the cause of civil-service reform is one eminently proper, and but expresses the desire of those detesting political trickery and nepotism in its worst form. Orders from Washington say that two members of a family shall not be employed in a department, and Collector Simmons notifies some of his subordinates that these orders necessitate their removal, but he has not removed any of his relations; he has now, to my own knowledge, a brother, two brothers-in-law, and two cousins under him, and I am assured these constitute but a small proportion—eighteen relatives and connections being given as the total.

Some of his former political associates at the North End ward, where he formerly lived, are very bitter against him, and speak openly of his trickery in conniving at and assisting repeaters in ballot-stuffing. I hope you will renew the demand for his removal, and I should be very happy to give all the information I can on this matter.—Respectfully, etc.,

WM. P. GRINNELL.

CHELSEA, MASS., May 18, 1877, 7 Marlboro St.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A regular subscriber to the *Nation*, I notice in some suggestions of yours in this week's issue upon civil-service reform that you recommend the instant dismissal of Collector Simmons. You seem to admit that he has now the confidence of the merchants of Boston, and suggest a reason therefor, but you say that "the question is not what do the merchants think of Messrs. Arthur and Simmons now, but what did they think of them and what was known of them at the time of their appointment." Would this be a just rule to adopt? Mr. Simmons is believed by many to have made an excellent collector, and if he has been a good and efficient officer should he be removed because at the time of his appointment it was

generally thought impossible? Will you have the kindness to inform your readers in what system of civil service you find this rule?—Yours, etc.,

CHAS. G. FALL.

BOSTON, May 18, 1877.

[The reason of the rule is that, under our present system of civil service, a collector has the merchants of a large city so completely in his power that their publicly expressed opinions of him while in office are nearly worthless. This is so well-known a fact that the Commissioners conducting the present custom-house investigation in this city proposed to invite confidential communications from merchants, with the hope of thus getting at the truth. There is, however, another and still stronger reason for removing both Messrs. Arthur and Simmons. There is nothing disrespectful to either of them in saying that, if the custom-house service had been properly conducted when they were appointed, it would never have entered into the head of any sane and honest man to select either of them for the position of collector of a great port. They had no experience, training, or associations qualifying them for any such position. They might as well have been selected for professorships in a theological seminary. Their sole knowledge of the collection of customs has been acquired in "the worst custom-houses on this planet" (out of Turkey), and while in charge of them they have been leading perpetrators and promoters of the very abuses which it is Mr. Hayes's business to reform. It is impossible, however, that any reform can be accomplished by and through such men. All their sympathies are with the old system; all their knowledge is drawn from it. They can hardly conceive of anything else. A custom-house without politics is to them like a tavern without liquor or a dairy without milk. The first step in reform is, in short, to get rid of them and of the like of them.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MR. BROWNING'S forthcoming translation of 'Agamemnon' is said to be exceedingly literal, in which respect it will present a marked contrast to Mr. Fitzgerald's translation, a review of which we give elsewhere.—Three great-granddaughters of De Foe, all unmarried, over fifty years of age, and in almost destitute circumstances, are now living in Lambeth, and an appeal for aid in purchasing an annuity for them has been issued by two gentlemen of the Lambeth Charity Organization Society.—For the benefit of the widow and children of the artist, John Beaufain Irving, Mr. August Belmont, of this city, will open to the public his collection of pictures on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th of May, from 9 A.M. until 6 P.M., and also on Friday and Saturday evenings of the present week from 7.30 until 10. The last work of Mr. Irving, painted for Mr. Stanford, and other pictures from private collections, will be added temporarily to Mr. Belmont's collection.—The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science will be held at Nashville, commencing on the 29th of August. The Secretary of the Local Committee, Mr. J. Berrien Lindsley, may be addressed by those desiring to attend the session.—The difference of opinion between Mr. Spencer and Mr. Tylor with regard to their respective claims concerning the doctrine of "animism" (briefly noticed by us last week) has called out from Mr. Tylor a letter in the *Academy*, in which he states that a probable mistake of the printer, in *Mind*, in setting down his paper on "The Philosophy of Religion among the Lower Races of Mankind" one year later than it should have been, has led Mr. Spencer to suppose that it was anticipated by the latter's essay on "The Origin of Animal Worship." Mr. Tylor goes on to state, however, that his paper mentioned above is but an abstract from some chapters of 'Primitive Culture' written in 1869, and that the doctrine had previously been put forth by him in the *Fortnightly Review* as early as 1866.—Professor Simon Newcomb's 'Popular Astronomy' is announced by Harper & Brothers, and, in advance of publication, may be safely pronounced an accurate and authoritative work. The same firm will reprint 'The Challenger Expedition,' by Sir Wyville Thompson. Both works will contain maps and illustrations. 'Camp, Court, and Siege,' by Wickham Hoffman, is also announced by them.—'N'importe' is the peculiar title of the first volume of a new series of original novels and translations, to be known as the Wayside Series, published by Lockwood, Brooks & Co.—'A History of the Alphabet,' from the pen of Mr. Isaac Taylor, is an-

nounced by Macmillan & Co., who will also issue a small work on 'Hospital Organization,' having special reference to hospitals for children, by Dr. Charles West.—As an antidote to Mr. Home's work on spiritualism, mentioned last week, may be purchased 'Mesmerism, Spiritualism, etc.' (historically and scientifically considered), by Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter, soon to be issued in London by Longmans & Co. Among other London works, announced but not yet issued, may be mentioned 'Across Central America,' by Mr. Boddam-Whetham, to be published by Hurst & Blackett; Mr. Aubrey de Vere's poems—his "secular" poems, more particularly, written prior to 1872—which have been collected in two volumes and will be brought out by Henry S. King & Co.; and a companion volume to his 'Ride to Khiva,' by Captain Burnaby, describing his journey in Asia Minor.—Scribner, Armstrong & Co. will publish 'The Life and Correspondence of Thomas de Quincey,' by Mr. H. A. Page, who has been entrusted with all of De Quincey's papers remaining in possession of his family. Dr. Eatwell, in the same work, will consider the medical aspects of De Quincey's opium-eating.—Another 'History of the United States of America' will be added to the many produced by the Centennial year, by J. B. Lippincott & Co. The author is Mr. J. W. Leeds. They will also publish a duodecimo volume of sermons entitled 'The Power of Spirit, and Other Discourses,' by Dr. William H. Furness.—The Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures in Boston will appear in the autumn, from the press of J. R. Osgood & Co., in two volumes, entitled 'Biology' and 'Transcendentalism.'—D. Appleton & Co. have in press the 'Memoirs of Jefferson Davis.'

—In taking up *Lippincott's* for June many readers will turn first to Turgeneff's story, "The Priest's Son," but natural expectations of pleasure will not be fully satisfied. It is a story of a young man of delicate constitution whose nerves become diseased by over-study, and who dies under the influence of an hallucination of the devil. An old priest, the boy's father, tells the story, which contains no plot, and is not particularly interesting as a study of character. "A Lost Voice" is the story of another insane man who becomes the grandfather of the singer "Lisa," and the longest extract from a new Italian writer, Edmondo de Amicis, introduces an insane girl. Three insane persons in a single number of a magazine make a little too much of a not over-pleasant subject, especially, as happened to be the case with us, if the articles containing them are read in succession. With this exception, which in fact might escape the notice of any one reading the magazine through in the order in which the articles are printed, the number is an excellent one.

—The secret of the popularity of *Harper's* is an open one, and is well set forth in the current number. No constant or occasional reader of the magazine needs to be told anything of the character of the articles entitled "Contemporary Art in Germany," "The Androscoggin Lakes," "The Niebelungen Lay," "The Wheeler Survey in Nevada," "Gibraltar," and "Birds' Nests." These are all well written and illustrated condensations of larger works, or condensed treatises upon the subjects considered. They are books epitomized; and each one contains all, or nearly all, that many people care to know or have time to learn upon its subject. The shorter tales and the serials are furnished in their usual abundance, and lovers of "Little Breeches" poetry will find "Whistling in Heaven" quite to their taste.

—An amusing controversy has been going on of late in the Boston *Globe* between an anonymous writer and Mr. John Fiske. It grew out of an article by Mr. Winsor in the *Advertiser*, in which, speaking of the complaint that "the cost of the subject-catalogue of Harvard College crippled the professors in their work, and that money which might give them more books was spent in indexing," he said: "We learn that it has been decided to have the books and dispense with the catalogue, and that is the decision of the Academic Council." The denial of this rumor by Mr. Fiske, and the assertion that "the idea of discontinuing the subject-catalogue has never been entertained here for a moment," especially as "all our books are purchased with the income of sundry special funds, which can in no possible way be affected by the greater or less expense of the catalogue," drew forth the jesting enquiry from the New York *Evening Post*, "If Boston newspapers are not to have news from Cambridge," like this and the white-ant story, "what are they to write about?" To this the *Globe* retorted that the "abominations of New York are not so handy to us nor so suited to our taste or that of our readers. Good literature and the best means to help use it are topics not unrelished hereabout." Flushed with this easy victory, the *Globe* next turned to attack Mr. Fiske, calling his note more "ingenious than ingenuous," a collocation of epithets which is more neat than new; but the three specifications on which this charge is based are

hardly sustained: 1. "His note asserts that the subject-catalogue is not to be discontinued. Nobody said that it was." The *Globe* had apparently forgotten Mr. Winsor's article, in which that is very plainly said. 2. "Also that 'the opinions held at the College Library' are opposed to discontinuing the subject-catalogue; nobody said they were not, but that there was a purpose among some of the professors to increase the supply of their specialty books at the expense of the catalogue." But as the question of this discontinuance is to be decided not by the professors but by the authorities of the library, the information which Mr. Fiske gives appears very much to the purpose. 3. "Also that the College Library books are bought from special funds with which the catalogue money has nothing to do. This last statement is beside the point; the question was not of perverting book-funds but of diminishing the cataloguing funds." Around this point the battle raged. Mr. Fiske replied, the *Globe* rejoined, and a third letter and article have hardly finished the war. Putting aside the hard names, expressed or implied, such as "fly-gobbling penny-a-liner," "Ass. Librarian," "scurrilous blockhead," which the combatants employ somewhat too lavishly, the gist of the argument is this: Mr. Fiske asserts that the money which would be saved by giving up the subject-catalogue "bears no sort of relation to the money spent in cataloguing," which is the philosophic way of saying that it is not within the control of the librarians or of the supreme authority of the Library—the Academic Council, which buys the books—and if saved could not be spent by them any more than the money received for the grass cut on the College grounds; just as the fines taken at the Boston Public Library must be turned over to the city treasury, and cannot be put into books or anything else by the trustees. The *Globe* says that the money can be spent for books if it can be spent at all, and this is true if the president and fellows appropriate it for that purpose. So the Boston fine-money could be spent for library objects if the Common Council would give it to the trustees; but they never have done so. So the money saved by the late reduction of force in the Pension Office could be used in printing Mr. Billings's catalogue; but he could best tell how likely he is to see his catalogue in type. In fact, to adopt the style of part of this discussion, the existence of money in one's environment by no means presupposes the coexistence of power to apply it to one's own uses. And as the Corporation gave the Library no money to buy books with when the book-funds produced less than three hundred dollars a year, it is fair to suppose that they will not give much when those funds produce over ten thousand dollars a year. As to the facts, therefore, Mr. Fiske was, as might be expected, in the right. On witty argument, however, the longer articles of the *Globe* bore off the palm; they will repay looking up and reading. They remind us of a saying of a late president of the College: "I answered him a little sophistically, perhaps, but I answered him."

—An interesting correspondence on the subject of a Chinese teachership at Harvard has recently taken place between President Eliot and Mr. Francis P. Knight, last year Chinese Commissioner at the Philadelphia Exposition. In February Mr. Knight wrote to Mr. Eliot that his commercial and official experience in China (extending through fifteen years) had convinced him of the importance of a knowledge of the language to American residents; pointing out that the constantly increasing commercial and diplomatic interests of this country in China have made the lack of this knowledge painfully apparent, and that the establishment of professorships of Chinese at many European universities, as well as the proposed érection of one at Yale, showed the desirability of some provision for introducing the study at Harvard. Mr. Knight then enumerated the various practical advantages which a knowledge of Chinese opens to young men who have in view a career in the East. At Peking, it seems, our legation offers two permanent positions, those of secretary and interpreter, while, with the State Department in good hands, it is to be assumed that capable men possessed of a knowledge of Chinese will be considered as having the first claim also to the consulates. In commercial life there will be the opportunity of replacing the native "shroff," or treasurer, now so common. In the foreign Chinese customs service Harvard has already four graduates, one of whom is a commissioner with a very liberal salary, and the service offers a number of other excellent positions. Besides this, there will be great need of civil engineers for the development of the railway system, of mining engineers for the exploration of the enormous mineral resources of the country (an English expert has been employed in the coal-fields of Formosa), and room for more lawyers in the treaty ports. In addition to these practical advantages, the proposed study of Chinese will tend to a higher end—the enlargement of the means of communication between the Western world and a large portion of the human race now practically excluded from the family of nations. Moreover, as Mr. Knight

says: "There is in China an almost untouched field for the traveller, the scientific man, and for many others, which might well attract many minds, apart from the consideration of emolument; for they would find an unexplored country and an unexplored literature—both of vast extent; and although in science we should teach, it is far from improbable that we may in the arts be able ourselves to acquire some valuable empirical knowledge which has come down from a remote antiquity." What Mr. Knight proposes to do is, therefore, not to establish a professorship at once, but to bring from China one or two native teachers for a period of years, and he offers, in case the college approves the plan, to see what can be done to raise the necessary funds. He does not regard the difficulty of acquiring the Chinese language as anything that need frighten away students. On the contrary, two years of resolute study, with the help of the text-books of Sir T. F. Wade, would put a young man in possession of sufficient knowledge of the language to take a position of some usefulness upon arrival in the country. The President's reply to this letter cordially approves the plan, and promises the assistance of the Corporation in the undertaking. The only thing remaining to be done is to raise the money, and the names of a few gentlemen in Boston connected in one way or another with the East have been obtained. The plan ought certainly to recommend itself to that large class of merchants and manufacturers in this and other Atlantic ports who must from their experience be most aware of the advantage of a knowledge of the language, and most interested in securing it for their countrymen in the East.

—Professor Taylor Lewis, who died last week at the age of seventy-five, was a man of original and versatile genius; an exegete, a theologian, and a student of languages, though not of language. His best energy he gave to the study and defence of the Scriptures, but scarcely less loving was his devotion to the Greek and Latin classics. Plato and the Platonists were his delight, and he continually imported their ideas into his exegetical and polemical writings. It was this philosophy—for it certainly was not his science—that led him to defend the doctrine of the origin and transmutation of species which now bears the name of Darwinism with great earnestness, as both biblical and philosophically probable, against the bitterest attacks of theologians and scientists, led by Prof. Dana, who branded his doctrine as infidel in religion and absurd in science. His arguments, it must be confessed, were subtle and speculative, but that was a characteristic of all his work. He was full of brilliant, original thoughts, which he clothed in wonderfully attractive language, but he lacked that soundness of judgment which carries conviction. He was a learned man, in Oriental languages as well as in the classical tongues, but he was as little of a logician as he was of a philologist. No more delightful commentaries were ever written than his additions to Lange's expositions of Genesis and Job; but absolutely no confidence could be put in his frequent attempts to explain the Hebrew from other languages, cognate and not cognate. He was a very prolific writer, both of books and of articles for the periodical press; and his age, his total deafness for some years past, and his increasing feebleness scarcely interrupted his literary labor until within a few weeks of his death.

—The death of Mr. Edmund Quincy, at Dedham, Mass., on May 17, was not more sudden than it was surprising, seeing how well preserved he was, and what promise he gave of rivalling the longevity of his distinguished father. He was born in Boston, February 1, 1808, graduated with honor at Harvard in 1827, and ever afterwards kept alive his interest in letters, to which circumstances forbade, however, that he should wholly devote himself. The strong repugnance to slavery felt both by his grandfather and his father was manifested publicly by Mr. Quincy on the occasion which first induced him to abandon his natural modest reserve. Forty years ago the murder of Lovejoy, which sealed Mr. Phillips's connection with the Abolitionists, added Mr. Quincy also to their number, and his first speech, which required all the courage and independence of his ancestors, was in denunciation of the Alton tragedy. From that time he served a despised and apparently hopeless cause with an unsurpassed fidelity, assiduity, and single-mindedness, and absolutely without worldly reward. He abandoned all thought of the honors which awaited one of his lineage and breeding, and all the benefits of the prestige which these gave him he freely shared with his new associates. Without being an orator he was always an effective speaker, and he rendered great and peculiar service as a presiding officer by his dignity, tact, and humor under the most trying circumstances. As a journalist he was even more efficient. For a long term of years he furnished the weekly editorial leader for the *Anti-slavery Standard*, besides contributing a Boston letter (under the signature of "D. Y."), in which his remarkable wit and raciness of style found full vent. He was also an occasional

correspondent of the *Tribune* and contributor to the *Liberator*. Reviewing all he had written for the press alone during a period of less than thirty years, we remember to have heard him say that he had surpassed Voltaire in voluminousness. It is to the letters that the student of the anti-slavery struggle must turn for examples of Mr. Quincy's well-directed satire against the "peculiar institution" and its apologists; and they deserve to be collected and republished not only as a contribution to the history of the time, but as a literary monument of the same order as the 'Biglow Papers.' Mr. Quincy shared with his coadjutors the supreme felicity of surviving the overthrow of slavery, and in 1865 he permanently withdrew from an agitation which had ceased to have any object. Two years later he produced the in every way admirable 'Life of Josiah Quincy,' and in 1875 edited fourteen speeches delivered by his father while in Congress. These are his solid contributions to American history and literature; a lighter venture, in fiction, gave us, if not *the* American novel, a novel of which America need not be ashamed—'Wensley, a Story without a Moral,' published in 1854. Mr. Quincy's last public performance, like his whole life, was disinterested and patriotic; he delivered before his townsmen a lecture on "Glimpses of Colonial Life," in aid of the fund for preserving the Old South Church. We must not forget to add that Mr. Quincy was a frequent and valued contributor to the *Nation* from its commencement down to a very late issue.

FITZGERALD'S 'AGAMEMNON.'*

MR. EDWARD FITZGERALD, the translator of that remarkable poem, the 'Rubáiyat,' of the Persian astronomer poet, Omar Khayyám, has followed that high literary success with a "version or per-version," as he himself calls it, of the 'Agamemnon' of Æschylus. He represents the very opposite pole of the translator's art from the Longfellow school, for he utterly rejects all minute precision and cultivates audacity. He holds, indeed, that in dealing with this most difficult of ancient dramas, "the most conscientious translator must not only jump at a meaning, but must bridge over a chasm very often." This he does with extraordinary power; the trouble is that he sometimes appears to mistake the ocean itself for a chasm to be bridged, and is tempted to fill it in with materials that offer, on the whole, an inadequate substitute for the horizon line. Still, when we consider that the 'Agamemnon' is one of the half dozen masterpieces in the literature of the world, and that the recent explorations of Dr. Schliemann have thrown a new and intense interest about its whole theme, we may well rejoice that a man of such commanding skill as Mr. Fitzgerald has tried his hand upon it.

The 'Agamemnon' has been called the 'Macbeth' of antiquity; but its text is in such a state that some lovers of Greek literature have abandoned, in a kind of despair, the attempt to read it. This naturally gives to Mr. Fitzgerald a peculiar justification for his mode of dealing with the tragedy; and he frankly avows, in his preface, what his method has been:

"This grand play, which to the scholar and the poet lives, breathes, and moves in the dead language, has hitherto seemed to me to drag and stifle under conscientious translation into the living; that is to say, to have lost that which I think the drama can least afford to lose all the world over. And so it was that, hopeless of succeeding where as good versifiers and better scholars seem to me to have failed, I came first to break the bounds of Greek tragedy; then to swerve from the Master's footsteps; and so, one license drawing on another to make all of a piece, arrived at the present anomalous conclusion" (pp. iv., v.)

Anomalous it is not, however, though somewhat wild and irregular, and needlessly wayward on some points, especially in regard to rhymes. One covert design that runs through its structure is evidently to reproduce by metre the effect contributed by music on the Greek stage. In the original edition of this poem, privately printed some years ago, the author thus alludes to this purpose in a note to the preface, not preserved in the present edition:

"I wish the reader who knows Beethoven would supply, or supplant, my earlier lyric choruses from some of his many works which seem to breathe Æschylus in their language, as Michael Angelo, perhaps, in another. For Cassandra's ejaculations we must resort, I doubt, to a later German music."

And with this suggestion in view, it is not hard to fancy a lonely flute that plays when the chorus sings the flight of Helen, or the trumpets and cymbals that welcome the approach of Agamemnon. The denunciation of the guilty lovers by the chorus sings to the ear with a collective mass of instruments like the orchestral thunder in the last scene of 'Don Giovanni.' Not that any such accompaniments are mentioned in the book, but that with the above suppressed note in one's mind it is easy for the imagination to supply them.

* 'Agamemnon; A Tragedy. Taken from Æschylus.' London: B. Quaritch, 1876.

Most American readers will have come to Mr. Fitzgerald by the way of his previous poet—Omar Khayyám; and their first interest will be to learn, if possible, by a comparison of the two works, how much of the 'Rubáiyat' was contributed by the Persian and how much by the Englishman. If much of the present book proves to coincide in flavor with its predecessor, it awakens suspicions or confirms them. As a matter of fact, while the general tone of the two is very unlike, we now and then encounter a passage, interpolated into the Greek, which has singularly the flavor of the astronomer-poet. Take, for instance, the following:

"But thus it is: All bides the destined Hour;
And Man, albeit with Justice at his side,
Fights in the dark against a secret Power
Not to be conquer'd—and how pacified?" (p. 7).

Or this, where the 'Rubáiyat' flavor is still stronger:

"Call not on Death, old man, that call'd or no
Comes quick; nor spend your ebbing breath on me
Nor Helena; who but as arrows be
Shot by the hidden hand behind the bow" (p. 69).

There is absolutely nothing of this in Æschylus, except the words "Call not on Death" and an allusion to Helena. If there is so much of Fitzgerald in this quatrain, how much is there in those attributed to Omar Khayyám? It may be said that it is no great matter, so long as the wine is good, to enquire too closely from what cask it came. It is a satisfaction to know the brands apart; but, after all, if a vintage proves to be contemporary with ourselves, there remains the hope that we may have more of it.

This question answered, we turn to ask if there is power enough in this English poet to give us something of the grasp and strength of Æschylus? There certainly is; and it is, indeed, in this quality that he eminently shines. The grander soliloquies and descriptions in the 'Agamemnon' have never been so well rendered; we may almost say that they have never before been rendered at all. Take, for instance, the magnificent passage which describes the flashing from hill to hill, by signal-fires, of the news that Troy has fallen:

"And first . . .
Did Ida fire her forest-pine, and, waving,
Handed him on to the Hermaean steep
Of Lemnos; to the summit of
Zeus-consecrated Athos lifted; whence,
As by the giant taken, so despatcht
The Torch of Conquest, traversing the wide
Ægean with a sunbeam-stretching stride,
Struck up the drowsy watchers on Makistos;
Who, flashing back the challenge, flamed it on
To those who watch'd on the Messapian height.
With whose quick-kindling heather heap'd and fired
The meteor-bearded messenger refresh'd,
Clearing Asopus at a bound, struck fire
From old Kithæron; and, so little tired
As waxing even wanton with the sport,
Over the sleeping water of Gorgopis
Sprung to the Rock of Corinth; then to the cliffs
Which stare down the Saronic Gulf, that now
Began to shiver in the creeping Dawn;
Whence, for a moment on the neighboring top
Of Arachneum lighting, one last bound
Brought him to Agamemnon's battlements" (p. 9).

Or take this fine burst from the lips of Clytemnestra, on the arrival of the herald to confirm the news first told by the signal-fires:

"CLYTEMNESTRA. I sang my song of triumph ere he came,
Alone I sang it while the City slept,
And these wise Senators with winking eyes,
Look'd grave, and weigh'd mistrustfully my word,
As the light coinage of a woman's brain.
And so they went their way. But not the less
From those false fires I lit my altar up,
And, woman-wise, held on my song, until
The City taking up the note from me,
Scarce knowing why, about that altar flock'd,
Where, like the Priest of Victory, I stood,
Torch-banded, drenching in triumphant wine
The flame that from the smouldering incense rose.
Now what more needs? This Herald of the Day
Adds but another witness to the Night;
And I will hear no more from other lips
Till from my husband Agamemnon all" (p. 25).

Thus much for Mr. Fitzgerald's power of picturesque and vigorous rendering. These are soliloquies, but in the most thrilling dramatic passage of the poem his boldness has secured for him an equal success. It is a scene which might have been regarded by a Greek spectator, in the performance, with some such hushed expectancy as that which awaits on our stage the approach of Lady Macbeth in her sleep-walking trance—the unsealing of the lips of Cassandra. Poor Cassandra, the daughter of King Priam, and now the slave and concubine of Agamemnon—she who in her pride of beauty and innocence had refused the love of a god, and had been doomed in return to the fatal gift of unbelieving prophecy—here she stands in presence of an enraged queen, her vengeful rival and future murderess. Thus the scene proceeds:

"CLYTEMNESTRA (re-entering). Yet for a moment let me
look on her:
This, then, is Priam's daughter—
Cassandra, and a Prophetess, whom Zeus
Has giv'n into my hands to minister

Among my slaves. Didst thou prophesy that?
Well—some more famous have so fall'n before" (p. 49).

Cassandra is speechless, and the queen becomes more imperious:

"CLYTEMNESTRA. . . . At once descend
From that triumphant chariot. And yet
She keeps her station still, her laurel on,
Disdaining to make answer.

"CHORUS. . . . Nay, perhaps,
Like some stray swallow blown across the seas,
Interpreting no twitter but her own.

"CLYTEMNESTRA. But if barbarian, still interpreting
The universal language of the hand.

"CHORUS. Which yet again she does not seem to see,
Staring before her with wide-open eyes
As in a trance" (p. 50).

Clytemnestra goes out to her deed of darkness; the chorus chant a solemn song of doom, till suddenly, swift as the arrows of Phœbus himself, comes the shriek of the inspired girl. The chant has thus proceeded:

" . . . And the sisters three that twine
Cut not short the vital line;
For indeed the purple seed
Of life once shed—

"CASSANDRA. Phœbus Apollo!

"CHORUS. Hark!
The lips at last unlocking.

"CASSANDRA. Phœbus! Phœbus!

"CHORUS. Well, what of Phœbus, maiden? Though
a name
'Tis but disparagement to call upon
In misery.

"CASSANDRA. Apollo! Apollo! Agamemnon!
Oh, the burning arrow through the brain!
Phœbus Apollo! Apollo!

"CHORUS. Seemingly
Possess'd indeed—whether by—

"CASSANDRA. Phœbus! Phœbus!
Through trampled ashes, blood, and fiery rain,
Over water seething, and behind the breathing
War-horse in the darkness—till you rose again,
Took the helm—took the rein—

"CHORUS. As one that half asleep at dawn recalls
A night of Horror!"

And so the scene goes on, drawing from Cassandra, in a wild whirl of passion, whose circles expand every moment, a revelation of past, present, and future more powerful and fearful than any Dantean terror—and all transacted, be it understood, at the very moment when Agamemnon is approaching his doom. Another instant and the curtain or stage-scene is drawn aside, revealing Clytemnestra by the body of her slain husband. There is no scene in Macbeth of more tremendous power; and although all this, as here quoted, is rather a transfusion than a translation, yet it gives more of the real sense of the original than all previous translations put together.

But, after this, it must be said that it is the stirring and dramatic passages in which Mr. Fitzgerald is strongest, and that in the more delicate and tender descriptions his touch is not always gentle enough to satisfy. It is one of the extraordinary features of this great drama that the Promethean Æschylus here introduces phrases and passages as soft and beautiful as any in Shakspeare's songs, and it is in rendering these that Mr. Fitzgerald is least satisfactory; less so, indeed, than Dean Milman, whose grace and sweetness this rugged Elizabethan translator doubtless despises. Sometimes Mr. Fitzgerald omits the passage altogether, as with the celebrated description of Helen's entrance into Troy—perhaps the most exquisite miniature-painting of womanly beauty to be found in literature—a passage which can scarcely be translated without being spoiled, but in which every syllable seems to thrill with the consummate loveliness it describes.

This is all that the polished Milman can make of it:

"Too soon in Troy, her coming seemed to be
Like gentle calm over the waveless sea:
She stood, an image of bright wealth untold.
Oblique from her soft eye the dart
Preyed sweetly on the inmost heart,
Making love's flower its tenderest bloom unfold."

(Milman's 'Agamemnon,' p. 38.)

This is hammering it out well enough; but Æschylus gives us the gold:

"Παραντὰ δ' οὖν ἔλθειν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν
Λέγοι' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν
Νηέμου γαλήνας,
'Ακασκαίου δ' ἄγαλμα πλούτου,
Μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,
Δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος."

('Agamemnon,' v. 698-703.)

It is a serious charge against a translator, or even an imitator, to say that he omits a passage like this, and that he also omits the greater part of the lovely picture of poor Iphigenia at the altar ('Agamemnon,' v. 211-222). The greater the power of Æschylus the less we can afford to lose these passages; it is as if a translator of Shakspeare should omit his songs.

The reader naturally turns from this to see how Mr. Fitzgerald has dealt with a passage yet more famous, whose peculiar type of beauty seems to ally it with the romantic, rather than the classic, school of art—the description of the departure of Helen and the despair of Menelaus. Unhappily the text of this passage is very corrupt; yet it is easy to see which Mr. Fitzgerald has followed, and the result is strangely unequal. The lines are those beginning—

“ Πάρεστι σοί γ' ἄνιμος, ἄλοιορος.”—(‘Agamemnon,’ v. 388.)

Milman thus translates the first part of them :

“ Silent there she stood,
Too false to honor, too fair to revile;
For her, far over the ocean flood
Yet still more lovely in her parting smile,
A spectre queens it in that haunted spot.
Odious, in living beauty's place,
Is the cold statue's fine-wrought grace.
Where speaking eyes are wanting, love is not ” (p. 22).

It may be true, as the *Contemporary Review* said, that Milman gilds the gold of Æschylus; but when we turn to Fitzgerald we find no translation at all, but a rambling paraphrase, not without a power of its own, but quite disguising the beauty of the lines, until suddenly he steps back into something like literalness and closes thus :

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“ He sleeps; and dream-like as she fled, beside
His pillow, Dream indeed, behold! his Bride
Once more in more than bridal beauty stands;
But ever as he reaches forth his hands,
Slips from them back into the viewless deep.
On those soft, silent wings that walk the ways of sleep.”
(Fitzgerald, pp. 16, 17)

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sition by which Æschylus passes at once into the solemn march of the
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We should say, on the whole, that while Mr. Fitzgerald's ‘Agamem-
non’ is a far more heroic and stimulating work for the English reader than
a version like Milman's or Miss Swanwick's, yet the lover of Æschylus
must prepare himself for occasional resentment as well as gratitude; and
he who wishes to know Æschylus in English must still combine several
parallel translations for each passage from the Greek. It would be safest
to say that this remarkable poem is not to be placed in the department of
translations, but rather of original works, and that it is Greek only in the
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1877.

The Week.

THE Treasury Commission appointed to make enquiries into the management of the New York Custom-House have made a partial report, which fully confirms various matters of popular belief. Of the 1,038 employees of the Custom-House, excluding the Appraiser's department, twenty per cent. may be at once discharged without injury to the customs service, and a further reduction may be found necessary. Clerks, the Committee further report, are not punctual in attendance or in attention to business; some are deficient in business qualifications and integrity of character; a few are employed in private business, to the detriment of the service; some fraudulently accept money for official services; and all of them are expected to contribute to the support of "the party," the amount of contributions asked "being fixed by a percentage of their respective salaries." Some of the officials repair their diminished salaries "by exacting or accepting from merchants unlawful gratuities." The Committee advise that the service be "freed from the control of party and organized on a strictly business basis, with the same guarantees for efficiency and fidelity in the selection of the chief and subordinate officers that would be required by a prudent merchant"—a recommendation which merits warm approval, and, if strictly carried out, would secure all the reform desired in custom-house management.

Mr. Sherman, to whom the report of the Committee was made, approves the minor recommendations of the Committee—those referring to punctuality of attendance, discharge of useless clerks, etc.—and writes to the President requesting advice with reference "to that part of it relating to appointments upon political influence without due regard to efficiency." The President, in reply, approves all the recommendations of the Committee, and expresses his belief that the party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens; no assessments for political appointments on officers or subordinates should be allowed; no useless officer or employee should be retained; and no officer should be allowed or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns, though the right to vote and to express views on public questions, either orally or through the press, should not be denied. In his letter of instructions to Collector Arthur with regard to the carrying out of the President's wishes, Mr. Sherman discusses the modes of reduction to be adopted. These may be heartily approved, with two exceptions. He suggests the dismissal or reduction to inferior positions of those longest in the service, when disabled by age or infirmity—a course which may be necessary, without doubt, but which should be most carefully guarded against abuse. He modifies one of the most important of the President's suggestions, also, by saying that "naturally, in a Government like ours, other things being equal, those (officers) will be preferred who sympathize with the party in power; but persons in office ought not to be expected to serve their party to the neglect of official duty . . . or to run caucuses or conventions"—a very lame method of forbidding wire-pulling and pipe-laying on the part of custom-house employees. It is worth notice that Mr. Sherman says nothing about political assessments, nor are they forbidden, as "contributions," by the President. Nor is anything said about the removal of Arthur himself, but, on the contrary, his approval of the Committee's report is referred to as a gratifying fact. On the whole, therefore, while the Committee's report is to be commended as excellent, so

far as it goes, the action taken in consequence of it is not nearly so satisfactory.

The President, too, has not yet rid himself of the delusion that the officers of Government are essentially different from those of a banking-house, factory, or railroad. He is reported to have stated recently, in the course of a conversation, that although he should not consider a tenure of eight years sufficient cause for removal, he would still always take it into careful consideration before making a new appointment. In other words, in the case of a man who has kept his place for eight years, and presumably therefore is thoroughly qualified to fill the place, and has fully learned the duties of his position, good reasons must be given—not for his removal, as would naturally be supposed—but for his retention. The hold which this absurdity has upon the mind of one who has certainly given more consideration to the subject than nine-tenths of the "practical" politicians, shows how deeply-rooted the old spoils system has become. It shows, moreover, the danger of relapse into old ways so long as the old race of politicians continue in power. These men apparently have no understanding of what a civil service should be. They have been educated so long and so thoroughly in the old faith that they cannot comprehend the new. Even when they endeavor to chime in with what they suppose to be correct popular sentiment with regard to it, an unlucky slip, such as would occur in the pious remarks of a prize-fighter turned Christian, betrays what they have been, and the power with which the old associations still rule them. There is a boldness and a completeness about the plan of turning out all the old officeholders once every eight years which may readily cause it to be cherished. It is an easily explained and easily comprehended scheme, and is a very good one, therefore, for the stump-speaker and for "battle shouts." It is likely to turn up often in coming years.

Senator Morton has written a characteristic letter on the political situation, in which he calls attention to the fact that the Republican members of the Committee on Privileges and Elections last spring reported that, "prima facie," Packard was the lawful governor of Louisiana, his Legislature the lawful legislature, and Kellogg the lawful Senator, and declares that this will stand when Congress meets, in spite of what has since happened in New Orleans. He next points out that there was no way of keeping the carpet-bag governments in Louisiana and South Carolina in power except by the use of the army; that they were overthrown by violence, or the fear of violence; that at the next election things were likely to be worse for the Republicans than better; that the Democratic House was likely to deprive the President of the use of the army, and that there was really nothing for it but to let them fall. The recognition of Packard, he says, "would have been futile and the failure disastrous," but the Democratic party is to blame for it all, and the promises of kind treatment of the Southern whites are not to be depended on. He closes this part of the letter with a fulsome eulogy of President Hayes, and goes on to predict the revival and assertion of the "Southern claims," about which Mr. Murat Halstead warned us during the late canvass; maintains that the preservation of the Republican party as the protector of the Southern blacks is more necessary than ever; declares that their condition in all parts of the South is that of pariahs, outcasts, and criminals, and the reported quiet at the South is that of "paralysis and strangulation." The letter is, in all respects, worthy of the sincere and simple-minded author. He supports the President's policy and thus falls in with the prevailing opinion, while at the same time, by hearty abuse of the South and a dismal account of the condition of the blacks, the honest old fellow takes care that he shall not lose

standing with the Radical wing of the party. When Butler reads the letter he will feel that Morton has got the start of him. In 1867 he, however, got the start of Morton, with the proposal to pay the public debt in greenbacks. There are three things which appear plainly in the letter: (1) that Morton knows that opposition to the Administration would be fatal to him in his own State; (2) that he could write an equally strong argument on the other side, and probably came very near doing it; and (3) that he admits by implication that the party was in a minority when Hayes came in.

Mr. Randall, the ex-Speaker, has written a letter to some leading citizens of Galveston, Texas, in reply to an invitation to visit them, in which he points out that, while the total foreign trade of the countries lying south of the United States on this continent amounts to about \$520,000,000, our share of it is only \$112,000,000, and of this only \$37,000,000 is carried on under the American flag. "Such statements," he very properly remarks, "should at once rouse our people from their lethargy." What we need to mend matters is, he says, "more favorable commercial relations and more comprehensive trade connections with other nations," and he adds "that the policy of the Government should be to enlarge our trade relations with Mexico and with the Central and South American States," and he afterwards speaks of this as "an extended policy." He is, however, very careful not to explain what he means by these vague phrases, and we should not be at all surprised, if he were pushed to the wall, by his revealing that his plan was to take a portion of the taxes to pay people for selling goods to the South Americans and to pay ship-owners for carrying them. Mr. Randall's antecedents all strengthen the supposition that by "extended policy" he means some subsidy scheme or drawback. The difficulty which afflicts the trade of this country with South America is the one which afflicts our trade with all foreign countries. We have so arranged our system of taxation that it costs us more to produce commodities than foreigners are willing to pay for them, and consequently we have to pay for what they sell to us largely in gold, and they cannot afford to take gold. South Americans, like other rational people, go to the market where they exchange their own goods to the best advantage for other people's goods. Left to themselves Americans would soon make such a market here; under the rule of the school of economists to which Mr. Randall belongs, they offer foreigners about the worst markets in the world.

The subject of free-trade in ships has been freely discussed by the press during the past week, and has been debated by boards of trade and similar bodies. The debates and discussions, however, so far as we have observed them, have been confined to the single point of the removal of the existing restrictions upon the purchase of foreign-built vessels. While we believe that this prohibition of purchase is an absurdity in legislation and should be removed at the earliest moment possible, we yet fail to perceive in what way its removal would have so great an effect upon trade as some of its advocates enthusiastically prophesy. England does most of our carrying trade, and probably does it as cheaply as we should if we owned and sailed the vessels. Even if we were allowed, therefore, to purchase her ships, something more than the permission would be requisite before many persons would avail themselves of the privilege. The removal of the restriction, again, would not directly encourage ship-building in this country, any more than putting it on filled our ship-yards with busy mechanics, as its friends hoped would be the case. Whenever we can build ships as good as England builds, and can afford to sell them for the same or a less price, we shall then have our share of the world's trade in ships, and shall not need to purchase them of a foreign country. But, it may be well to remember, ability to build ships does not by any means ensure cargoes to put in them when built, although the contrary of this appears to be assumed by many of those who are now clamoring for free-trade in ships. The agita-

tion is a wholesome one, however, even if it should lead to inquiries which some of its chief advocates might not care to answer. There is, indeed, a glaring absurdity in the fact that the only articles which Americans are prohibited from importing are, as expressed by Mr. Wells, "counterfeit money, obscene books, and ships."

The policy of the Secretary of the Treasury is not yet officially declared. During the week he has advertised the sale of \$1,000,000 gold, presumed to be part of the \$5,000,000 obtained by the sale of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds. The legal-tender notes which this gold brings, it is understood, are to be transferred to the legal-tender note fund held for the redemption of fractional currency. As the fractional notes outstanding are either destroyed or lost, they will never be presented, so that to a small extent, at least, contraction is possible outside the Resumption Act. An effort has been made to induce the banks, or some of them, to apply for new circulation, so that legal-tender notes can be cancelled. The plan is for a bank to forward to the Treasury say \$500,000 bonds, get \$450,000 notes, hold these for a few days, then return them to Washington and get the bonds back. This would compel a cancellation of \$360,000 United States legal-tender notes. The bonds could be used twice this way in one month, and a contraction of \$720,000 legal-tender notes could be effected with no enlargement of the National Bank circulation. The object sought in this way is a good one, but none of the prominent New York banks has yet been found willing to lend itself as the means to secure the object. It is possible, however, that this plan may be acted on to a sufficient extent to reduce materially the volume of legal-tender notes even before the October session of Congress.

An event of the week was the reduction of one-half in the capital stock of the Bank of Commerce—the largest bank in the National system. Its capital was \$10,000,000, and is now \$5,000,000. The reduction was made because with the continued low rates for money it was found impossible to make the capital earn safely as much as it would on simple investment. Bank capital is so heavily taxed in New York that, making moderate allowance for the expenses of a bank, fully seven per cent. has to be earned before a dollar goes to the stockholders. If the Albany Legislature had listened to the appeals of the banks and their customers, the Bank of Commerce capital would to-day have been \$10,000,000. At the auction sale of coal during the week there was a decline in prices ranging from forty to ninety cents per ton. It has been suspected that these low prices were caused by the sales made for the purpose of forcing the Reading to agree to stop production for one month—the consent of that company not having yet been received.

The absence of foreign newspaper correspondents at the scene of operations on either side, and its remoteness from the civilized world, combined with the wonderful activity with which canards are manufactured both in Constantinople and Vienna, have made the war news up to the present time more than usually vague and untrustworthy. The London *Telegraph* has had some sort of correspondent with the Turks at Batum, but he seems to be a good deal of a poet, and very unfamiliar with military operations. He has witnessed several "tremendous battles," and has looked upon many plains "strewn with Russian corpses," but somehow the Russians keep advancing through their defeats, and his trumpet has gradually grown fainter. Two reports that have been started, possibly by him, and eagerly accepted by some of our own Turk papers, of great risings in the Caucasus and among the Crimean Tartars, were absurd on their face to those who know anything of the condition of the Crimea or the Caucasus; but they have had a good ten days' run. The Caucasus is so thoroughly traversed by roads, and dotted by blockhouses and pits, and the tribes so completely disarmed and disorganized, that a serious rising there is out of the question, though small parties might momentarily have interrupted

the traffic between Tiflis and the railroad at Vladikaukas. How little guerillas can accomplish against the communications of well-handled troops was made familiar to everybody in our own war. The small amount of attention paid in 1853 by the Allies to schemes for raising the Caucasians was perfectly justified by the facts. The road between Tiflis and Vladikaukas, which is the terminus of the Russian railroad system, crosses the mountains by the only available pass, known as the Pass of Dariel, and could be easily protected if there were any likelihood of its being seriously assailed, which there is not. In 1864 the Russians completely crushed the insurrection which had lasted so long, and the consequence was that the Circassians proper, the tribe which had done nearly all the fighting, emigrated *en masse*, 400,000 or 500,000 strong, to Turkey, leaving the country which they occupied on the side of the Black Sea almost completely uninhabited. The Abkhasians, who have been also represented as carrying on a formidable "rising," can hardly be said to exist. Most of them have emigrated, and the rest are feeble and peaceable. In short, there is no chance of any help for the Turk from this quarter. All that the Circassians are likely to do for him they did by lending a hand in the Bulgarian massacres last spring.

The report which created a rising among the Crimean Tartars was still more foolish. The Crimean Tartars are but a handful, and one of the most peaceable, unwarlike, least armed, and worst cowed people in Europe. There is absolutely no fight in them. The Turks, who had full access to them in 1854, tried in vain to make soldiers of them; there is still less chance now, twenty-four years later, when they are in the hands of the Russian garrisons. The news from Asia since the taking of Ardahan indicates the purpose of the Russians to mask Kars and follow Mukhtar Pasha up and destroy him, if they can catch him. He seems to have fallen back on Erzerum, not, the American Turks said, by any means by way of retreat, but simply for the purpose of "correcting an error" ("changing his base"), he not having perceived that Erzerum, and not Bardess, was the place to fight at. He will probably have to fight soon or abandon Erzerum, or go on "correcting his errors" along the coast towards Constantinople. The notion that a determined resistance of any kind is to be expected from him is idle. His incapacity was proved last year in Herzegovina, where his troops were literally butchered by the Montenegrins, and he is now operating in a more difficult country, and against a more formidable enemy, and with an army probably much worse supplied. The distrust of him at Constantinople has already led to his being placed under the orders of Djeni Pasha.

On the Danube the movements of the Russian troops and of their supplies towards the river continues, and there will probably, even if the weather permits, be no crossing until the whole force has come up and is ready to strike quickly. The roads are said to be still so bad as to hinder the transportation of heavy artillery, and the Russian staff is probably not sorry for the delay, as it leaves a chance that a great blow in Asia may spread terror and demoralization at Constantinople before the campaign on the Danube is fairly opened. The preparations of the Turks seem to be confined to the strengthening of the fortresses and the accumulation of bashi-bazuks, of whose military ardor the *Telegraph's* Asiatic correspondent telegraphs glowing accounts. The usual war rumor of the approaching lunacy of the Czar has got afloat, and his physicians are already carrying him from place to place to soothe his irritable brain. At Constantinople the news of the impending catastrophe in Asia is creating great confusion, and the softas have once more risen and demanded a change of ministry. A state of siege is said to have been proclaimed. The Montenegrins are again in the field. It is announced with a certain positiveness that another Servian army is about to appear or has appeared on a war-footing, and there is little doubt that the first

decided Russian success will bring Greece also into the arena, so as to give her a claim to more territory whenever the spoil comes to be divided.

From France there is no fresh news, except that M. Fourtou continues to make preparations for the coming elections by shifting or removing prefects, and Marshal MacMahon has been taking great pains to assure Bismarck that the change of ministry does not mean any change in the foreign policy of France, or any adherence to Ultramontane policy. In England everything has been quiet since the close of the debate on the Gladstone resolutions, and there is a steady denial of all stories about warlike preparations on the part of the Government. The incident which, outside of foreign events, has excited most discussion is the action of the Senate of the London University in throwing open the medical degrees to women, for which, however, the University Convocation refused to thank it, and condemned, with strong and stormy support from the medical graduates, its application of special treatment to the Medical Department. They say, in other words, that the women should be admitted to all degrees or none, and they rest their case on the supplemental charter, which makes provision for special and separate examination of women in literature, science, and art. Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe have been the most prominent advocates of the claims of the medical women, and we presume the strongest argument in favor of the action of the Senate is, that women are more desirous of the medical degree than any other, as it is the only one which distinctly helps them to a professional career.

It will probably be found, if the causes of the present crisis in France ever receive thorough examination, that "insults" are at the bottom of it all. Indeed, a large number of all the perturbations of French politics are due to "insults." It now appears that the Ultramontane "recrudescence" against which the majority of the Assembly directed its recent resolution, and which is supposed by the Radicals to have led to Marshal MacMahon's "coup de palais," had its origin in the language of a portion of the Radical press about Catholics and the Catholic religion. Some of this abuse was worse than violent, and it was all sweeping, treating the Catholic faith as a piece of gross imposture, and its professors as a parcel of unpatriotic knaves and dupes. Then there was an "insult" to the Emperor of Russia by an obscure Radical paper at Nancy, which led to a valorous defence of that sovereign by Paul de Cassagnac, and to a call on him in acknowledgment by the Russian minister, and so on. In fact, the disturbance created by "insults" is so great that one is in doubt whether the French Government can be carried on without "muzzling the press," which in its turn raises the question whether a free government is possible for any great length of time with a muzzled press. A certain thickness of skin seems to be absolutely necessary to healthy and orderly political progress. In the French Assembly a hot word which sounds like an "insult" throws the whole body into frantic confusion, and makes the restoration of order impossible until everybody has done enough "hurling back" to satisfy him.

The Mancini Clerical Abuses Bill has been thrown out in the Italian Senate by a majority of seven, to the great disgust of the Ministry and the great delight of the Vatican. The victory is, however, of comparatively small value, as nobody ascribes it to sympathy with the Pope or with clericalism such as might lead to a similar triumph in the French Senate. The fact is that the Italian politicians of all parties, and, of course, especially the Conservatives, are men of moderate temper and have shown it abundantly in their dealings with the Church, and the Ministry has not had hearty support even from its own followers in resorting to what may be called extreme Prussian measures. But the majority in the House on the one side was so large and that on the other side in the Senate so small that it will doubtless cause the clergy to be a little more prudent hereafter.

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE ENQUIRY.

WE have given elsewhere an abstract of the results of the first report of the Custom-House Commission. We regret on many accounts that Messrs. Jay, Turnure, and Robinson seem inclined to take a narrow view of their powers, under the instructions issued by Mr. Sherman. The Commission was directed to enquire and report: 1st, Whether the force employed in the various branches of the Custom-House in New York is in excess of the actual needs of the service; 2d, whether any of the employés are deficient in faithfulness, in qualifications, or in integrity; what number of hours they work, and whether these hours can be increased; whether they are employed in other business; 3d, whether the system of business in vogue in the Appraiser's Department can be improved; and 4th, whether the manner of making appointments can be improved, and whether appointments heretofore have been made through political influence without due regard to efficiency. Mr. Sherman also expressed a wish for a "thorough examination" into the "conduct of business," and desired the Commission to give its "careful attention" to "such complaints as may be presented" as to "the mode of conducting business" and as to "the efficiency of the service," and to take them into consideration in making its report "upon the general subject involved." Under these instructions it is obvious that considerable latitude was given the Commissioners, provided they were willing to take it, and we think it safe to say that, unless they in their final report take the widest view of their powers, and go far beyond a report on the details of the service, they will accomplish but little permanent good.

We say this with the more confidence from the recollection of the meagre results of the last Custom-House enquiry, conducted five years ago by a Congressional Committee. The labors of that Committee and the discoveries it made throw a much greater responsibility upon the shoulders of the present Commission than would rest upon them if custom-house abuses were still virgin soil. Most of the ground they are now going over was thoroughly examined during the incumbency of "Tom" Murphy. That appointments are procured through political influence, and without regard to fitness; that the Collector of this port, for instance, got his appointment through politics, and not because anybody had the faintest idea he was qualified for the place; that salaries are regularly assessed in all important campaigns, and that the customs service generally is bad, are not matters on which anybody in this city needs any light. No sane business man would think of discussing them any more than he would think of discussing the advisability of electing Tweed mayor, or of putting Jay Gould at the head of a railroad commission. It requires now some strange and grotesque revelation—as that made the other day of an appraiser who had entered plants as "printed matter"—to attract even the passing attention of the public. When the existence of facts is as notorious as these are, and has been actually established once already before a competent tribunal, it is not a new proof of them that is needed, but an immediate entry of judgment and execution. This explains the small amount of interest excited by the enquiries of the committee, as well as the great difficulty the Government had in getting good men to serve on it. Indeed, the abuses have not only lasted so long, but have been exposed so long, that many of the best people among those directly concerned, to say nothing of the general public, feel about them as people used to feel about municipal government—that they cannot be reformed, and that there is no use in trying to reform them. No report on the Custom-House is now likely to have much effect that does not take this scepticism into account. Messrs. Jay, Turnure, and Robinson know as well as any three men in the community that it was not much shaken five years ago by the results of the former investigation—the substitution of Mr. Arthur for Murphy and the abolition of the "general-order" abuse; and no mere changes in the details of administration enquired into at Mr. Sherman's suggestion, or increase of

hours of work, abolition of sinecures, or "consolidation" of offices, can accomplish much. A return to fundamental principles, and reform in accordance with these, is the only thing now that will save us, and this, too, no matter what sort of a storm it raises, or whom it may injure. In considering proposals of Custom-House reform there are two or three of these which must be steadily held in view; they furnish tests by which the present and any future reports must be tried.

The first of these is, as the Commission points out, that no reform is possible at all until all connection between the Custom-House and "politics" ceases; and in everything that the Commission and the President say on this subject we heartily concur. But at the same time the report would have been enormously improved if the Commission had, in the consideration of this matter, gone to the root of this connection, which is the character of the tenure by which offices in the civil service are held. A great deal of attention is always directed in every Custom-House investigation to the question of political assessments, the theory being that if these could be stopped there would be no more trouble. This is undoubtedly true, but campaign assessments are not a cause but an effect, and an order forbidding assessments can no more reform the character of the service than an order prohibiting bribes can prevent passengers from getting silk dresses or London clothes through the Custom-House. The assessments are paid simply because the payer knows that his tenure is not secure, and that, as removals can be made without cause, he must pay to make sure of his regular income. They are a tax upon this income, laid by an authority possessed of absolute power over the income. Take away the power and they will no more be paid than would a tax levied by a foreign government. Let the power remain, and the tax will be collected, no matter how often it may be abolished by law. During the Custom-House investigation of 1872 a curious illustration of the confusion in the public mind on this subject was given. Testimony was introduced to show that an assessment was made under an order said to have been posted up in the Custom-House and signed by the Collector. The Custom-House officials immediately offered to prove that the order was a forgery, and that it was not posted up; their theory being that if this could be proved it made no difference whether money was actually paid under it or not, because it must then have been paid "voluntarily." As a matter of fact, it was paid, and went into the regular campaign fund. The payment, thus made under a doubtful order, "voluntarily," was a far better proof of the crushingly demoralizing force of the system than even a forced payment would have been; for it showed that the dread and uncertainty caused by the present tenure is so powerful as to cause money to make its appearance at the bare suggestion of an assessment. On the other side, the certain cessation of the whole system of contributions to campaign expenses as a consequence of a change in the rules with regard to tenure, is distinctly indicated by a fact frequently referred to recently in the newspapers, and never, so far as we know, denied in any quarter, that since Mr. Hayes's inauguration, and the promulgation of the intentions of the Administration on this subject, it has been found impossible to collect the percentages in arrears assessed during the late campaign. The idea that there will be any trouble about "voluntary" payments with a certain tenure is a delusion. No one *volunteers* to pay a tax on his income to carry on the "party" when it is only just large enough to carry on himself and his family. So, too, no clerk would dream, after a hard day's work, of spending his evenings in filthy ward-rooms, nominating members of Congress of whom he has never heard and whom he does not know by sight, did not his position and advancement depend on it. His political work is payment in kind, just as the other is payment in cash, and it all comes back to the central question of the whole—that of tenure. This question the Commission have not discussed.

The other point which we hope the Commission will still feel itself at liberty to consider is the close connection between Custom-House abuses and the system of laws on which they have grown. The laws

we have now on our statute-book are the most stringent in the world, while our complaints of fraud in importations are the loudest. Chief among the causes of fraud undoubtedly is the very stringency in question. For twenty-five years we have been trying to make up for the inefficiency of the service caused by rotation, by the enactment of penal laws and the multiplication of oaths, till the end in view has been defeated by the cumbrous nature of the machinery invented to bring it about. Under a rational system of administration the importer is regarded as a respectable man engaged in a respectable business, to be interfered with as little as possible by the Government in the collection of any tax it imposes upon him. With us the importer is regarded as a suspected person, if not actually an habitual swindler. He cannot engage in the business at all without taking, through the penal laws we have referred to, risks to which no other business is exposed; he is liable at any time during his continuance in business to utter ruin, through a mere mistake in the construction of the law; he is compelled at every step in his dealing with the Government, during every week of his life, to do what no other business man is required to do—make oath to the truth of all his statements; and his oath is taken not as a voucher for the truth of his assertions—the Government having actually enquired beforehand through its own agents into the truth of them—but chiefly as a foundation for criminal proceedings. If the importer were engaged in some obscene calling, it would be difficult to imagine greater pains taken to entrap him or drive him out of the business. But the strangest part of the whole thing is that it is from importations that the Government derives the chief part of its revenue; so that if there is any business that it ought to encourage and protect, it is just this which it persecutes. If any one thinks these statements too strong, we should advise him to read the accurate and circumstantial account of the process of getting goods through the Custom-House contained in the letters recently published in the *Evening Post*, describing the operation, and ask himself whether anywhere else in the civilized world such a system exists.

There is a close connection between this penal and oppressive system and that of protection to native industries. Protection rests on the theory that it is better, economically, for the Government to stimulate native industries by taxation than to leave them to develop themselves; and if this is taken for granted, it is a necessary inference that those who help the Government in its good work—*i. e.*, those engaged in native industries—are an unselfish and noble band of self-sacrificing patriots, who deserve the sympathy and support of their fellow-men. The enemies of these good men are of course all those who are engaged in a conspiracy against the development of the native industries—in other words, all engaged in foreign commerce. Now, it is well known that the legislation of the country has been for years directed by a party devoted to protection, and what we may call the prevailing Custom-House sentiment about this branch of trade (aptly illustrated by the term applied by the notorious Jayne of “the thieves over there in New York”) has been reinforced and developed by the sentiment prevailing in a body like a protective Congress, in which three-quarters of the members felt (or represented a constituency feeling) towards those engaged in foreign trade as the executive committee of a trades-union feels towards employers of labor who hire gangs of “outsiders” at wages below the regular rate. There never was much chance of this being brought to an end until the power of the dominant party began to wane, and, as a matter of fact, the slender progress made by Custom-House reform thus far has been made *pari passu* with the decline in power of the Republican party. The first step was the removal of “Tom” Murphy and the abolition of the general-order abuse, the next, the suppression of the moiety law and the spy system. The present report marks the third stage in what progress has been made. We have now a Democratic House of Representatives and a nearly evenly divided Senate. From such a body we have the right to expect a great simplification of the tariff and a return to rational methods of collecting it.

LEGAL TENDER IN ILLINOIS.

THE recent act of the Illinois Legislature, making all silver coins of the United States legal tender to any amount within that State, raises several questions of both legal and economic interest, but is chiefly instructive as showing how strong a hold the silver infatuation has taken in the West since silver became a “softer” kind of money than greenbacks. The Illinois statute seeks to make the subsidiary coinage legal tender to any amount, both as to past and future contracts, unless the terms of the contract expressly call for some other kind of coin. The value of the subsidiary coinage is 7 per cent. less than the old silver dollar, which latter is, at this time, something less valuable than the greenback dollar—that is to say, the new Illinois legal tender is more than 7 per cent. “softer” than United States legal tender, although, being limited in quantity and having a specific use as small change, its actual softness is not indicated in the market quotations, and cannot be made available at present to the suffering politicians of the West. But if it were otherwise, the phraseology of the statute seems to be poorly calculated to realize the intentions of those who passed it. It says “all silver coins, the standard value of which has been fixed and declared by the Congress of the United States, shall be a legal tender,” etc. There are no silver coins whose standard value has been fixed and declared by Congress beyond five dollars in one payment. There is no such thing as “standard value,” which is neither intrinsic value nor legal-tender value. There is a standard ration, and a standard gallon, and a standard meridian, and a standard of fineness for silver, but a standard *value*, dissociated both from the worth of the thing in the market and from the force of law, is simply non-existent. It is easy to understand what the Illinois legislators intended. They meant to say that in all cases where Congress has declared that \$4.65 worth of silver, divided into convenient tokens and duly stamped under Government authority, shall be legal tender for \$5 in one payment, and no more, any multiple of the same shall be legal tender in Illinois for any amount whatsoever; for instance, \$4,650 shall be legal tender for \$5,000.

Failing to say this, however, it is not likely that any court will enlarge the meaning of their words. We are not likely to have the question brought up under the Illinois statute, interesting as it would be, whether a State can make certain coins legal tender which Congress has not made legal tender, or whether it can make them legal tender for larger amounts than Congress has made them. Congress not having fixed the “standard value” of dimes and quarters, but having merely fixed their standard weight and fineness, and given them a legal-tender value to the amount of five dollars, there are no coins for the Illinois statute to operate upon. Nor are we likely to get any decision from this starting point on the question whether such a law, supposing it to be properly phrased, would be applicable to past contracts, though we venture the opinion that it would not be. As to future ones, it is competent, even without this law, for parties to agree to pay in silver, whether in half-dollars, or trade-dollars, or pounds avoirdupois. The whole affair is a curious piece of legal blacksmithing, intended to be dishonest, and turning out to be only stupid; but the last clause is perhaps the most curious of all. It declares that the silver coins aforesaid shall be legal tender for the payment of all debts “which are not made, by the terms of the contract which created them, expressly in other kinds of coin.” It would appear to be unlawful, therefore, in Illinois to make contracts payable in greenbacks, or, at all events, that such contracts cannot be enforced. Here is a precious coil; and now we hope to hear less animadversion from the loyal organs of opinion in Illinois on the unpatriotic inhabitants of the Pacific States, who adhered to a metallic currency, despite the Legal-Tender Act. The *Chicago Tribune*, by the way, invites the Californians, who are supposed to have an inconvenient surplus of small change, to send it to Illinois, where they can now get a dollar's worth of property for ninety-three cents! Whether this is fine irony, or incoherence and confusion of ideas, we cannot precisely

make out. The *Tribune* admits that "the effect of the passage of the act remains to be seen."

The first effect will be to impair the credit and standing of the State of Illinois, which have heretofore been high. Flanked by Indiana on the one side and by Missouri on the other, the two most unhappy communities in the Union as regards paper inflation and soft-money swindling, Illinois has withstood the neighborhood craze in times past in a very creditable manner, and has more than once given a sort of casting vote in national conventions against tampering with the public credit by impairing the value of the greenback. But neither of the States named has committed itself to so glaring a fraud as to declare that a person owing \$5,000 shall be discharged upon paying \$4,650. Something may be pardoned to the ignorance which prevails on the silver question—meaning thereby the proposed remonetization of the silver dollar of 412½ grains—but no such ignorance besets the question in hand. This is barefaced cheating, or rather attempting to cheat, frustrated only by the inability of those making the attempt to accomplish what they designed. It is not necessary to suppose that the business community in Illinois have participated in this transaction. There is no evidence that they were consulted about it at all. It is not probable that their influence would have availed anything if they had been. The law bears all the marks of paucity of ideas governed by lurking dishonesty, and might have been passed in any assembly of demagogues who fancied that the majority of their constituents were in debt and unprincipled.

Probably the passage of this law will give some impetus to the Western demand for the remonetization of the silver dollar. This is a matter of such import that it cannot be suitably discussed as a sequel to the Illinois dime law. A few principles may be stated, however, which should govern the action of Congress on this momentous question. It may be desirable that silver should be retained in the world's currency, but the United States alone cannot retain it there. We can have silver exclusively or gold exclusively, after we resume specie payments, but we cannot have both silver and gold unless other commercial countries have both silver and gold also. Therefore, we ought not to take final action without first obtaining the co-operation of Western Europe or some considerable part of it. What is needed to retain silver in the world's currency is fixity of value, and this can be secured only by the existence of some large market where it is exchangeable for gold at an agreed ratio—the larger the market the more complete and assured the fixedness. The ratio of fifteen and one-half to one, if agreed upon internationally, is better than any ratio or any number of ratios not thus agreed upon. This ratio happens to exist by law in a large part of Western Europe among people accustomed to the use of silver, although the operation of the law is for the present suspended by the closing of mints. Therefore, if remonetization is to prevail here, a presumption exists in favor of the ratio of fifteen and one-half to one. Separate action by the United States on this question will yield nothing but disappointment and loss, and the worst form of separate action would be remonetization on a basis which would render international agreement impossible. This is precisely what the Bland bill offers us, to which the existing paper currency is every way preferable.

BANKSIDE.

DEBHAM, MAY 21, 1877.

I CHRISTENED you in happier days, before
These gray forebodings on my brow were seen;
You are still lovely in your new-leaved green;
The brimming river soothes his grassy shore;
The bridge is there; the rock with lichens hoar;
And the same shadows on the water lean,
Outlasting us. How many graves between
That day and this! How many shadows more
Darken my heart, their substance from these eyes
Hidden for ever! So our world is made

Of life and death commingled; and the sighs
Outweigh the smiles, in equal balance laid:
What compensation? None save that the Allwise
So schools us to love things that cannot fade.

Thank God, he saw you last in pomp of May,
Ere any leaf had felt the year's regret;
Your latest image in his memory set
Was fair as when your landscape's peaceful sway
Charmed dearer eyes with his to make delay
On Hope's long prospect,—as if They forget
The happy, they, the unspeakable ones, whose debt,
Like the hawk's shadow, haunts our brightest day:
Better it is that ye should look so fair,
Slopes that he loved, and ever-murmuring pines
That make a music out of silent air,
And bloom-heaped orchard-trees in prosperous lines;
In you the heart some sweeter hints divines,
And wiser, than in winter's dull despair.

Old friend, farewell! Your kindly door again
I enter, but the master's hand in mine
No more clasps welcome, and the temperate wine,
That cheered our long nights, other lips must stain:
All is unchanged, but I expect in vain
The face alert, the manners free and fine,
The seventy years borne lightly as the pine
Wears its first down of snow in green disdain:
Much did he, and much well; yet most of all
I prized his skill in leisure and the ease
Of a life flowing full without a plan;
For most are idly busy; him I call
Thrice fortunate who knew himself to please,
Learned in those arts that make a gentleman.

Nor deem he lived unto himself alone;
His was the public spirit of his sire,
And in those eyes, soft with domestic fire,
A quenchless light of fiercer temper shone
What time about the world our shame was blown
On every wind; his soul would not conspire
With selfish men to soothe the mob's desire,
Veiling with garlands Moloch's bloody stone;
The high-bred instincts of a better day
Ruled in his blood, when to be citizen
Rang Roman yet, and a Free People's sway
Was not the exchequer of impoverished men,
Nor statesmanship with loaded votes to play,
Nor public office a tramps' boosing-ken.

J. R. L.

A EUROPEAN REMEDY AGAINST BROTHERHOODS.

IN an article on "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" (in Nos. 611 and 612) the *Nation* suggested that railroad companies should form benevolent associations for the benefit of their employes as the best protection against the outrageous practices of "Brotherhoods." The subject is one which in its various aspects has engaged the attention of railroad men in Europe, as well as in this country, and in returning to it we purpose to acquaint our readers with the manner in which one of the foremost of European railroad corporations has solved a problem that has recently assumed such importance here. The company referred to is the Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft of Austria, whose main track extends from Bázias, on the confines of Hungary and Servia, to Bodenbach, on the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony, and whose various lines aggregate over 1,100 miles in length. The capital of this company on the 31st of December, 1875, was 253,000,000 florins (about \$100,000,000 in gold), and the number of persons employed in its various departments, including mines, iron and machine works, chemical factories, etc., as well as on its domains in Hungary and Bohemia, exceeded 34,500.

It detracts nothing from the practical value of some of the measures adopted by the company in the interest of its employes that they were primarily dictated by necessity and considerations of self interest. The works of the company being mostly situated in districts where labor is

scarcely, it was necessary to attract workmen from other places, and to provide them with homes. Large houses for the accommodation of so-called colonies were erected, as well as small dwellings for single families. In 1875 the company owned 662 such buildings, which could be purchased or rented by the laboring population, their average value being about 1,450 florins. The company advances loans to laborers wishing to build their own houses, the ground being sold to them at a merely nominal figure. The difficulty of obtaining even the necessities of life for the laborers on the works in the remote districts of the former Banat (S. E. Hungary) led to the establishment by the company of large storehouses for the supply of provision and clothing. The benefits of this arrangement—which adds merely a small fraction for freight, etc. (five per cent. on an average) to the actual cost of the articles, while weight and measure are guaranteed—have been extended to the laborers employed in the cities, including Vienna. The goods may be had on a credit limited to one or two-thirds of the monthly earnings. The average saving thus effected to the laborer is estimated at from fifteen to twenty per cent. In Pesth, Prague, and elsewhere eating houses are connected with these establishments. The sales of the storehouses at the various railroad stations amounted in 1875 to about half a million florins, and at the works in the Banat to over one million. While thus assisting the laborer in his material wants, the company endeavors to promote his intellectual improvement. In the Banat it has thirty-three well-appointed schools, in which nearly 4,000 children are gratuitously instructed. The school-houses have been partly erected by the company, one of them at a cost of over 15,000 florins. The expense of these schools amounted in 1875 to over 33,000 florins, and a nearly equal sum (30,500 florins) was expended for religious purposes. The company's patronage extends to thirty-two parishes, with thirty-eight priests of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches. Five places of worship have been wholly erected at the expense of the company.

Pension associations also have been formed under the auspices of the Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft, and a summary of their leading features may prove suggestive, although modifications would be necessary in order to adapt them to our own needs. It is, moreover, essential, in order properly to estimate their importance, to bear in mind the fact that the prospect of a pension offers a much greater attraction to office-holders in Europe than to the same class in this country. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the rigor apparent in the regulations of the benevolent associations of the Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft is but in keeping with the admirable discipline of a service which ensures to personal merit the certainty of recognition and reward. The officials of the company, to the number of 2,028, and the subalterns and workmen form two distinct associations, membership being obligatory on all officials less than thirty-five years of age on entering the service. Older persons can only exceptionally be admitted to membership. The fund of the association of officials is sustained in the following manner: I. Members must pay in three per cent. of their monthly earnings, the amount being deducted by the company; II. Members on entering pay in, in twenty-four monthly instalments, twenty per cent. of their first year's salary; III. Upon an increase of salary taking place each member contributes, in twelve monthly instalments, fifty per cent. of the amount by which his annual wages were increased; IV. An annual amount is "voluntarily" contributed by the company equal to the aggregate of the regular contributions of three per cent. V. Fines imposed upon delinquent officials go to the funds of the association. Members of ten years' standing who are physically incapacitated from service receive a pension of forty per cent. of the amount of the salary last paid them, each further year of service adding two per cent. to this quota, which is never to exceed one hundred per cent. A pension of at least forty per cent. of the salary is, however, paid to any member incapacitated from service by reason of an accident sustained in the discharge of his duties; while to members dismissed from service before the expiration of ten years, all amounts paid into the treasury, together with four per cent. compound interest, are refunded. Officials voluntarily leaving the service of the company thereby endanger their right of pension, which is absolutely forfeited by the conviction of a member in court of a criminal act. The widow of a member who was either in the enjoyment of a pension or entitled to one receives two-thirds of its amount, her pension ceasing on her remarriage, but being restored to her in case of a second widowhood. A widow not entitled to a pension receives, once for all, a compensation equal to one-fourth of the amount of her husband's yearly salary, to which is added the sum of half a month's wages for each year of his membership. A widow, however, who has been divorced from her husband for "cause," or who leads an immoral life, forfeits her claims on the association. The children of deceased members receive, until the completion of their eighteenth year, an annual

amount which, together with the pension of the mother, cannot exceed seventy-five per cent. of the father's pension. In case of the death of both parents, the rights of the mother descend to her children under the above age. In like manner, the children of a widow deprived of her pension by reason of her personal misconduct are entitled to support as though they were orphans, but assistance may be withheld from orphans guilty of criminal acts. The affairs of the association are administered by a committee composed of five of its members, and of the highest officers and one of the trustees of the railroad company. The management of the funds of the association is entirely independent of that of the finances of the company. An undue accumulation or an insufficiency of funds may be met by a decrease or increase in the rate of contribution, the company in the latter case "voluntarily" bearing a part of the burden. The following figures show the condition of the association in 1875:

Number of paying members, ...	2,019
Pensioned members, ...	163
" widows, ...	192
" orphans, ...	32
Contributions of members for the year, ...	106,533 florins.
" of the company for the year, ...	67,542 "
Amount paid in pensions, ...	150,876 "
" donations, ...	1,568 "
Value of the fund at the close of the year, ...	4,095,949 "

Nearly 3,000,000 florins of the fund were invested in buildings in the city of Vienna.

The association of subalterns and workmen differs in some essential particulars from that of the officials. Its members are divided into two classes, the permanently employed contributing six per cent. of their wages and being entitled to pensions; while those but temporarily employed pay two per cent. and merely secure relief for themselves or their families in case of destitution, illness, or death. The company annually contributes twenty-seven per cent. of the aggregate amount paid by the members of both classes. After ten years of membership the pension is reckoned at thirty per cent. of the average wages received in the last three years, two per cent. being added for every further year of service, the maximum pension never exceeding seventy per cent. Ten years are, however, added in the computation of the pension to the actual duration of service in the case of a member who has been permanently disabled or lost his life in the discharge of his duties. Widows receive two-thirds of the husband's pension, and, in case of the death of both parents, the same amount is paid to their children under fifteen years of age. At the close of 1875 the financial status of the association was as follows:

RELIEF FUND.—Members, 32,567; annual contributions, 158,143 florins; value of the fund, 611,988 florins.

PENSION FUND.—Members, 9,039; annual contributions, 166,335 florins; value of the fund, 1,746,701 florins.

The expenditures from the date of the establishment of the association, in 1860, to the close of 1875 were:

RELIEF FUND.	FLORINS.	PENSION FUND.	FLORINS.
Physicians' fees, ...	661,199	Pensions paid to members, ...	476,108
Cost of medicines, etc., ...	144,978	" " widows, ...	375,967
Hospital expenses, ...	108,353	" " orphans, ...	20,600
Assistance to members during illness, ...	1,005,271	Donations, ...	56,254
Funeral expenses, ...	140,643	Current expenses, ...	100,319
Assistance at births, ...	81,497		
Donations to widows, etc., ...	122,230		
Current expenses, ...	143,378		
Total, ...	2,407,539	Total, ...	1,029,254

This fund is invested, in part, in buildings in the city of Vienna, which serve as cheap dwellings to such members as are employed there. The association employs 87 physicians, and has contracted with 31 hospitals for the accommodation of its members. In Reschitza, in the Banat, where the largest iron and machine works of the company are situated, and in two mining districts, the association has built its own hospitals. It should be added that the company pays full wages to its officials in permanent employ in case of an illness not exceeding 3 months, and, in case of continued illness, one-half of their wages for 9 months longer. In all, the contributions of the company to the two associations described had reached the sum of 1,705,300 florins at the close of 1875.

Independently of these institutions, as well as of the charities of the company, a life-assurance association has been formed by the officials and subalterns. This association numbered, in 1875, 4,153 members, and the amount assured (the policies not exceeding 1,000 florins) was 3,052,250

florins. From the time of its establishment, in 1864, to the close of 1875 the association had paid 348,386 florins to the survivors of 524 members. The total income during this period was 804,263 florins, and the expenses were 413,293 florins, the fund of 390,975 florins thus remaining being 22,221 florins in excess of the liabilities as computed on the 31st of December, 1875. A part of this fund is profitably employed in loans advanced to members, 11,914 such loans, to the amount of 895,242 florins, having been granted since the establishment of the associations.

In addition to the advantages of the institutions mentioned, the employés of the Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft enjoy various minor privileges, such as the purchase of fuel of the company at the cost price. Two scholarships, moreover, endowed at the commercial high-school of Vienna, are open to sons of meritorious officials, and an annual grant of 500 florins each is at present made to five sons of employés in the Banat, for the pursuit of higher studies. All in all, these measures testify to a better appreciation, on the part of the Staats-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft, of the true relations between labor and capital than is to be found, to the best of our knowledge, among railroad men in America.

THE GROSVENOR GALLERY AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

LONDON, May 9, 1877.

THE season of picture-shows in London has this year been marked by an important event—the opening of the much-talked-of Grosvenor Gallery. Besides having been talked of in advance, all winter, the Grosvenor Gallery has been kept well before the eyes of the public by a great display of bricks and mortar and boarding in the middle of Bond Street, and by large placards on blank walls and the tops of omnibuses. It was to have been opened on the 1st of April, but at that moment the bricks and mortar in Bond Street were still in a fatally chaotic condition; so the date on the placards was altered, and on the first of the present month the new exhibition made its first appearance in public. This may perhaps seem an awkward way of saying that the private view took place on that day; but a private view in London is, after all, a denser concourse of people than a public one. The Grosvenor Gallery is the creation of Sir Coutts Lindsay, a Scotch gentleman of fortune with a taste for painting, who has conceived that there will be a “chance” in London for a place of exhibition independent of the Academy and its diplomatic mysteries, in which a moderate number of the very best pictures may be commodiously hung. He has executed his plan in a very sumptuous manner, and the artists who exhibit have done so by “invitation.” Everything in this world falls short of its ideal, and I believe that as regards two or three points of detail the Grosvenor Gallery has had to sacrifice to awkward necessity; but whether or no it is to be one of the institutions of the future, it is at least one of the topics of the present, and is certainly the most interesting thing that the season of 1877 has brought forward. In three or four very elegant and agreeable rooms (one of which, however, is draped with a crimson of altogether too vivid a hue) are disposed some two hundred works of varying interest, but the general effect of which is to suggest a higher level of ability than the very much larger show at the Royal Academy, which opened a week later. The works of each painter are all hung together; an experiment worth trying, but not, I think, altogether successful. Two or three painters who rarely exhibit are present in force—notably Mr. Burne Jones and Mr. Whistler. Mr. Rossetti, according to report, was to have been represented; but he has been deterred by considerations with which I am unacquainted. The two painters who have most things are foreigners—Heilbuth and Tissot—one of them with ten, another with eleven pictures; and the consummate cleverness of the work which each of them contributes acquires the utmost relief from its juxtaposition with the comparative helplessness of hand and brush observable in the English painters. Alma-Tadema, with his masterly skill in painting (he contributes half a dozen things), profits also by contrast with his more primitive neighbors.

I am far, however, from saying that any one of these artists is the most interesting figure in the Grosvenor Gallery. Heilbuth puts forward his specialty—cardinals and *monsignori* on the terraces of Roman gardens, getting into their coaches with the help of old snuff-taking lackeys in ill-made liveries stiff with embroidery, or putting out their hands to be kissed by little crop-headed, full-skirted seminarists in high places, from which you see the dome of St. Peter's through a balustrade of porous travertine. The painter's observation and his sentiment of certain Roman things are almost exquisite; but why should he ignore so completely the yellow Roman light, and represent everything as happening beneath the cold, steel-grey clouds of a Parisian December? M. Tissot deals in *tours de force*; most of them are highly successful, but the success is, to my

mind, not agreeable. Among the most interesting things are three or four portraits by Mr. Watts, which amply justify the claims of his admirers that he is the first English painter in his line. One of these, a large portrait of Lady Lindsay playing a violin, and another, a still larger likeness of Mrs. Percy Wyndham, have an admirable breadth and harmony; the great success, however, is a masterly full-face of Mr. Burne Jones, which has in an extraordinary degree that quality of transmuted reality distinctive of the highest portraiture. These things are serious painting. They lose nothing by comparison with Mr. Millais's three heads of daughters of the Duke of Westminster. We doubt whether more inexpensive work than this ever proceeded from the hand of a painter of equal talent. Mr. Holman Hunt contributes a picture no longer new, which was much talked of in its day—the “Afterglow in Egypt”—a young girl with a panier on her head, surrounded by fluttering and alighting doves, and illumined by the clear, rosy twilight. The picture is a puzzle, so much of beautiful work does it contain, and yet so little of easy and natural charm. Mr. Whistler presents half a dozen canvases which I must take care not to mention as pictures; they are, according to the catalogue, “nocturnes,” “arrangements,” and “harmonies.” Since our business is with pictures, it were better, I suppose, not to speak of these things; but, after all, their material is paint and canvas, and they are framed and hang upon a wall. I have never seen any combination of these ingredients which has struck me as less profitable. Mr. Whistler, it is known, is an “impressionist”; one of his nocturnes is his impression of Mr. Henry Irving, and another his impression of Miss Ellen Terry. It may be good to be an impressionist; but I should say on this evidence that it were vastly better to be an expressionist. Mr. Whistler's productions are, in the very nature of the case, uninteresting; they belong to the closet, not to the world. They may be good studio-jokes, or even useful studio-experiments, but they illustrate only what one may call the self-complacency of technicality. To people who stand on their two feet and look at a reproduction of life with their two eyes, they appeal with no persuasive force whatever.

There are several other things in the Grosvenor Gallery which would be worth speaking of, but I must pass them over for the purpose of saying three words about the great contribution of Mr. Burne Jones, which I have intentionally left to the last. This extremely interesting painter offers eight large pictures which more than cover one wall of the room. There are a great many things to be said about them, but I can only offer my tribute, in passing, to their altogether extraordinary beauty. They are not only, beyond all comparison, the most brilliant work offered at present by any painter to the London public, but they rank among the most eminent artistic productions of our day. It is possible to urge a hundred objections to them—to declare that they lack freshness and manliness, that they are affected, dilettantish, monotonous, unreal. They have an amount of imaginative force the mere overflow of which would set up in trade a thousand of the painters who are more generally accepted by the public; and it is very certain, at any rate, that at the Grosvenor Gallery they completely dominate, as the French say, the exhibition. The place of honor among them is occupied by the painter's most perfect and elaborate work—the “Days of Creation.”

I have left myself but little space to speak of the Royal Academy, though doubtless it ought to be sufficient for an account of impressions gathered in the crush, the bewilderment, and the conversational interruptions of a private view. The exhibition of 1877 is a tolerably full one, and the Academy apparently has not suffered by the rival claims of the Grosvenor. It is to be said, however, that though the catalogue offers a complete list of distinguished names, some of them are represented by works of slight importance. There are no “pictures of the year” to rival Mr. Poynter's “Atalanta's Race” or Mr. Leighton's “Daphnephoria” of last season. The latter of these artists, however, is by no means absent; he is present in a manner which testifies afresh to his brilliant and various ability. He figures this year as a sculptor, and the first thing, probably, that the knowing people will look for at the Academy is his bronze statue of a “Young man struggling with a python.” The presumption is certainly against the success of a man of middle age, who has dealt exclusively with another branch of art, “going in,” from one day to another, for the laurels of Phidias; but it must be said that Mr. Leighton's young man and his python have both a surprising amount of beauty and truth. It is brilliantly clever work, full of an almost French *finesse* and audacity—a contribution to British sculpture which, in the present state of her resources, she certainly cannot afford to make light of. I prefer it, I confess, to the two very elegant pictures which Mr. Leighton exhibits this year. The general impression made by a stroll through the various rooms of the Academy is

not, it must be admitted, in a high degree flattering to British art. The savor of æsthetic Philistinism is of the strongest; the pictures all seem painted down to the level of the most vulgar *bourgeois* taste. Everything is anecdotal; the sense of beauty, of form, of imaginative suggestiveness, is strikingly absent. It would, indeed, on the evidence of the present exhibition, not be difficult to represent the Academy as a society for the promotion of front-parlor æsthetics. Especially noticeable is the absence of any rendering of the nude human being, any frank reproduction of the great type of formal beauty. Here, as throughout the field of English art and letters, the influence of the "young person" and her sensitive cheek is perceived to prevail. The picture of the year is unquestionably Mr. Long's "Egyptian Feast," an elaborate and charming work, in which indeed there is a considerable presentation, on a small scale, of the undraped limb. The picture is based upon a text in Herodotus, who relates that, in the course of their banquets, the Egyptians were wont to have a mummy brought in and dragged solemnly about under their eyes, to remind them of their mortality in the midst of their revelry. Mr. Long's perturbed revellers are very prettily rendered, with a great variety of attitude and expression, and the picture is a very graceful and tasteful performance. The clear, diffused, yet not violent light is especially good. I should call it superficial painting, however, and risk the observation that its brilliancy is decidedly comparative. The great name in the English art of our day—that of Mr. Millais—is represented by three large works, one of which is a remarkable landscape. Mr. Millais at his worst has the *allures* of a real painter, and in two of these pictures he is not at his worst. One is an old Beef-Eater, in his red embroidered doublet and hose and beribboned black velvet hat. The old man's gentle, crumpled face is, I suppose, more or less painted; but it is killed by the wholesale crimson of his costume. The whole thing, however, is brushed in in a very painter-like fashion, and suggests various reflections as to what we might have if such a vigorous, manly hand were guided by a spirit a little more worthy of it. These reflections present themselves with even greater force in regard to the canvas labelled "Yes," which is simply an enlarged specimen of the illustrations which Mr. Millais used to contribute to Mr. Trollope's novels. The landscape, however, which represents a large, brawling stream in an autumnal Scotch forest, is strong, rich, and interesting. I must add that there are two very charming things by the American painter, Mr. George Boughton, touched with ingenious fancy, interesting in sentiment, and peculiarly refined in color.

Correspondence.

THE BOSTON COLLECTORSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A dispute with an editor in his own columns, it is often said, and for obvious reasons, never pays. But as you make my letter, which doubted the justice or public policy of dismissing Collector Simmons because many believed, at the time he was appointed, that he could not, and some thought that he had no right to succeed, the cause of a more severe attack upon him, you will allow a word further, I hope.

His endorsement by the merchants of Boston has been general. Of this there can be no doubt. But in your editorial comments you say that they did this because they felt compelled to by the power over them which a collector has; that what they said they did not mean; that, in short, the signers are guilty, one and all, of moral prostitution. This is the charge, is it not?—a grave one, and against men the most honorable. But are you not mistaken? Can this opinion be accepted? Is it not more reasonable, and more just too, to believe that they mean what they say; that they believe he has made a good officer, and want him retained; and have no favor for any system of civil service that seeks to reform out an officer who has done his duty well and faithfully? And must we not the more readily accept this opinion when we hear many of them supporting their public words by their private conversation?

But you say, further, he should be removed because he never should have been appointed. Admitting, for the moment, that his appointment could not then be justified, so that we may discuss only your principle, let me ask if you would for the same reason remove every public officer? If yes, the President would have little time for Southern matters. He would be chiefly occupied, for the present at least, in reviewing the appointments of his predecessor; and this would compel every man to produce before him the certificates upon which he was appointed—which would be, of course, absurd. Besides, it would recall too much the degenerate days of General Grant, of which some have complained so much.

But you would, perhaps, compel a few only—the collectors of large ports, for instance—to try their titles by your rule. In such a reform, however, there would be no principle; it would not be thorough, but the creature of caprice, and no more like true reform than a sentry-box is like Windsor Castle. More than that, would it not be as ungraceful as unjust and impolitic for our President, so soon after the trouble preceding his inauguration, to dispute the title of any of his officers because they were not rightfully appointed? Would this not be a more practicable rule—to let those remain in office who have proved themselves both capable and honest? No one, then, either Democrat, cynic, or Republican, can suggest the old reasons for removals—that some one else wanted the office. And under this rule should you not give great weight to the public and private endorsements of merchants who have daily business with the collector?—Respectfully,

C. G. F.

Boston, May 26, 1877.

["Moral prostitution" of the kind our correspondent describes is one of the commonest and most notorious facts of the day and one of the scandals of our politics. Not Collector Simmons only but almost any poor rascal who has a favor to ask of the Government can get a warm recommendation signed by almost anybody he chooses to ask. The experience of the President and of all heads of departments on this point is well known to be deplorable. If we said that the American conscience was dead in the matter of giving testimonials and certificates of character, we should hardly be guilty of exaggeration. We do not affirm that the merchants who "endorsed" Mr. Simmons were guilty of this "moral prostitution," but we do affirm that this "moral prostitution" is so common, and in a case of this kind so probable, that the President would be perfectly justified in disregarding any such testimonial, and acting as if it did not exist. An enormous proportion of the revenues of the Government is raised through the custom-houses of New York and Boston; in other words, there is more civil service to reform in them than in any other department of the Government. Now, reform means a change not only in the mode of appointment but in the aims and interests of all the officers, in their hopes, fears, and ambitions—in short, in the whole spirit and atmosphere of the place; and we have no hesitation in saying that such a change would be very difficult, if not impossible, under chiefs who had administered the old system and believed in it, and who most unquestionably, no matter what President Hayes may do now, will always secretly cherish the expectation that there will be a relapse under his successor, and try to keep themselves in a state of preparation for it. No private firm would think for a moment, if contemplating a reorganization of their business, of having the work carried out by men identified with the old abuses and sure to be secretly hostile to the proposed changes. No sincere reformer could have become or remained Collector of the New York or Boston Custom-House as managed by Mr. Arthur or Mr. Simmons.—ED. NATION.]

WHAT IS PATRIOTISM?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A correspondent in one of the evening journals has recently been complaining that while a duty of twenty to twenty-five per cent. is charged on his raw material—copper and spelter—the manufactured article, yellow-metal sheathing, is admitted free for use upon American-built vessels engaged in foreign trade. The foreign metal is consequently supplied in such cases at a considerably less price than it can be made for here.

The question at the head of this letter has often occurred to me. You will readily see why. My father came to this country in the year 1847, bringing a family consisting of my mother, an only son, then eleven years old, and five daughters, all younger than that. He died in the year 1862. His moderate property had been seriously impaired by some of the earliest depredations of the *Alabama*. As advised by those older than myself, I invested the entire proceeds of his estate—\$14,700—in a vessel under a foreign flag. Some of my neighbors, who had lessened their interests in shipping by large and very advantageous sales to the Government, and were employing the proceeds of those transactions in filling army contracts, charged me with a want of patriotism. They took the ground that the use of any but our own flag was a distrust of the Government. They were

patriotic, and I was not. In the end, they made money, and so did I; the just and the unjust prospered alike. I have now six vessels, all under a foreign flag. When one of them requires a suit of yellow-metal sheathing, I am informed that, not being American-built, I cannot avail myself of the special provision permitting its use free of duty. I must take that manufactured here, paying from two to three cents per pound more for it than the foreign would cost, and am assured that it cannot be made for less under the existing tariff. My neighbors still charge me with a want of patriotism, a desertion of the dear old flag, because I buy my vessels where I can get them cheaper. They take an American-built vessel, and cover her all over, top and bottom, with foreign material, because it is cheaper. The question puzzles me, Are they more patriotic than I?

NAVIGATION.

ANDERSONVILLE ONCE MORE.

[A subscriber in New Orleans sends us the following, touching the late discussion in our columns of the treatment of the Andersonville prisoners. We publish it in deference to Judge Campbell's position, but must decline to give any more space to the subject:]

I have read an article published in the *Nation* of the 5th inst. entitled "Treatment of Prisoners in the Civil War," at your request, and proceed to examine that portion to which you refer me which speaks of Col. Chandler's reports on the condition of the Andersonville Prison and an endorsement made by me on those reports in 1864. These reports of Col. Chandler, and his testimony upon the trial of Wirz, the custodian of the prisoners, in 1865, have formed the staple of campaign speeches by malignants since that date, and enjoy a credit they do not deserve, even from them. He was attached to the Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office at Richmond, and most probably was detailed for a tour of inspection service, under orders from the War Department, comprehending a visit to Andersonville. He performed this duty, made his report to his superior officer, and there his functions and action ended. His report came to the officer to which he was attached, and was read and considered. The Assistant-Adjutant and Inspector-General (Chilton) deemed it of sufficient importance to be submitted to the Secretary of War. He endorsed on a blank leaf "that the condition of Andersonville Prison was a cause for reproach of the Confederacy"—thus the report came to the War Office. As Assistant-Secretary, I examined the report; I directed that Gen. Winder, who had charge of the prisoners, and whose conduct was impugned, should have a copy and should furnish explanations of his conduct, and a similar course was taken in respect to other officers and other subjects, as deemed suitable. The reports were carried by myself to the Secretary of War, and contain an endorsement signed by me that the statements in the reports disclosed a state of things which made the interposition of the War Department proper. You will observe that the War Department sought the information, and that whatever was done by each of these officers was done in the orderly and regular course of army organization and correspondence. Chandler, in his testimony at Washington after the war, represented the War Department as listless, careless, negligent—that he was alone. The endorsements on the reports themselves, when they were afterwards produced, discredited the statement he had made. I have seen a speech which represented him as procuring the endorsements and importuning something to be done. Of course this was absurdly false. His rank, his standing in the army, as well as the system of army administration, would have hindered any such lobbying. The fact is, there was no inattention or indifference on the subject. Each officer of the department understood his duty and all that the subject demanded, and did not need anything from Col. Chandler except what he was required to do. In due course Gen. Winder answered the charges contained in Chandler's report. I remember that it contained an indignant and scornful denial of the truth of the statements in Chandler's reports. Gen. Winder's letter, with other documents relative to this subject, may possibly exist among the Confederate papers in Washington City. Some time after the death of Gen. Winder, in 1865, Chandler consulted me at the War Office whether a court of enquiry could not be convened so as to vindicate him from the strictures made by Winder upon his character and reports. The death of Winder and the impending crisis in the affairs of the Confederacy rendered such a measure impracticable.

I had no share in the consultations relative to the change of the conditions, custody, or care of the prisoners, and no connection with their management. My connection with the officers of the Confederate Government enables me to say with emphasis that there was no inhumanity, cruelty, or wanton maltreatment or neglect on their part.

The condition of the prisoners must have been deplorable. This was the condition of Confederates in the camp and in the hospital. There was scarcely a family in the Confederate States which was not abridged in its comforts and a very large proportion in the necessities of life. It was the condition of yours and of mine. The inexorable and iron policy of the United States precluded relief to those prisoners by a resort to the usual course of making an exchange of prisoners. The blockade prevented the introduction of medicines, stores, supplies. Armies of invasion made a desolation and a waste in the land. The destruction of railroads, mills, and magazines prevented the accumulation and distribution of provisions. The posts at which the prisoners were placed were thus separated from intercourse and supplies. Their conveniences, comforts, and even necessities must have been curtailed.

Nevertheless, it fully appears that the number of deaths among the prisoners captured by the Northern armies was proportionately greater than the deaths of Northern prisoners in Southern prisons.

I am not prepared to conclude that inhumanity, cruelty, want of care to the suffering and the impotent belong exclusively to the States south of Mason and Dixon's line.—Very respectfully and truly yours,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

NEW ORLEANS, April 16, 1877.

Notes.

LIPPINCOTT & CO. are the American publishers of 'The Science of Language,' a translation of M. Hovelacque's 'La Linguistique,' noticed in No. 554 of the *Nation*.—Noyes, Snow & Co. have in press 'Coronation,' a novel, by E. P. Tenney, President of Colorado College.—G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready 'Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States,' by Prof. W. G. Sumner.—Hurd & Houghton announce 'The American Antelope and Deer, and their Domestication,' by Judge Caton, of Illinois.—The more important papers in the seventh volume of the 'Collections' of the Wisconsin Historical Society, just published, have been separately noticed by us. The personal recollections of several pioneers are of unusual interest.—The Boston Public Library's Check-list for American Local History is carried in *Bulletin* No. 41 as far as *Fitchburg*. Part III. of bibliographical notes on the history of Mental Philosophy, and notes of Americana—maps and early discoveries—still further enhance the value of the number.—The first *Bulletin* of the U. S. Entomological Commission gives practical directions for destroying the young or unfledged locusts, and appends the full text of laws granting bounties for their destruction in Missouri, Kansas, and Minnesota.—The third volume of Professor Stubbs's 'Constitutional History of England' is expected to appear before the end of the year.—Mr. Leighton's essay at sculpture in the Royal Academy is not the only instance nowadays of a painter seeking renown in a sister art. M. Gérôme, as we learn from the *Athenaeum*, is engaged upon a colossal group representing a gladiator giving the finishing stroke to a retiarius. It is to be cast in bronze in one piece, without retouching, and will be ready in September. Remembering how often, in past centuries, sculpture and painting were united in the same artist, it is surprising that they should have become so divorced, by custom and professional jealousy. The study of form would seem to be invaluable to a painter, even if he did not achieve distinction in modelling; but as a rule doubtless more painters would succeed as modellers than sculptors as colorists.—A fine old English mansion, Bramhall Hall, in Cheshire, which Nash has made famous, has just been stripped of all its contents—family pictures, armor, oak carvings and furniture, plate, etc.—which have been sold at auction. The fate of the Hall itself is undetermined. Several drawings of it have been lately given in the *British Architect*; the fourth in the issue for May 4.—The latest African exploration is mapped in the Berlin Geographical Society's *Journal*, No. 67 (the Tchad basin and its inhabitants, by Dr. Nachtigal), and in the *Geographical Magazine* for May (the Alexandra Nile and the Lukuga, by Mr. Stanley). The latter periodical also has a striking map of the famine districts of Bombay and Madras, and an article, even more impressive, on the systematic efforts for anticipating and repressing famines in India. The "practical man" will be surprised to find the idle observer of sun-spots looming up as a public benefactor and the minister of Plenty.

—A correspondent writes us from Ripon, Wisconsin:

"In reading Prof. Whitney's admirable English Grammar, which the *Nation* reviewed last week, the thought has occurred to me, as it probably has to others, that there is real need of a larger work upon the same subject, and that Prof. Whitney has proved his eminent qualification to supply that need. We have, to be sure, the English translation of Maetzner; but the

translation is poorly done, the book is without index, and altogether it is of little service except to scholars. It is more than doubtful whether Maetznar could be made to supply the need which the writer has in mind. Recent scholarship has made large additions to our knowledge of the history and laws of the English language, but the larger portion of these results are accessible to scholars only. Now, a treatise upon English grammar of a third or a half the size of Maetznar, which would bring these results within reach of all educated men, would be a most serviceable book; it would be of especial value to advanced students in our colleges and seminaries. I cannot but regret that the *Nation*, in its review, did not add its authority to this suggestion."

—Those who wish success to the *Magazine of American History*, which now makes punctually its monthly appearance, will view with mixed feelings the establishment of a rival, albeit a quarterly. The Trustees of the Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have issued the first number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, gratis to the subscribers to the Fund, and at three dollars per annum to other persons. In form, paper, and typography it is superior to its New York contemporary, and it is at least not inferior in its contents. These consist of a variety of hitherto unpublished documents, and of seven of the memoirs prepared for the Centennial celebration of the adoption of the "Resolutions respecting Independency," by descendants and others. The paper on Edward Whalley, the regicide, will attract attention, but we are not so sure that it will make converts. After pointing out our ignorance of the date and circumstances attending the death of Whalley, and the weakness of the arguments on which rests the common belief that he died between 1674 and 1676 and lies buried in New Haven, Mr. Robins advances the opinion that it was Whalley who left Hadley in 1680 and journeyed West and South as far as Virginia—tradition saying merely on this point that one of the judges did so, and never returned. He then introduces a document written by one of his ancestors on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1769, who claims Edward Whalley, "otherwise Edward Middleton," as his ancestor, states that the regicide came to Virginia in 1681, and thence "travelled up to ye province of Maryland," and settled on the Atlantic side of the Eastern Shore, bringing his family thither about 1687, "in ye name of Edward Middleton," the last being his wife's maiden name. After the Revolution of 1688 he threw off his disguise, and had his lands patented in his own name. He became blind many years before his death, which occurred in 1718, when he was one hundred and three years old. Thomas Robins, "3rd of ye name," and the authority for these statements, adds a pious regret that his ancestor had not "received yt due to him," viz., the scaffold, and ends with a "vivat rex," July 8, 1769. We are next shown, from the will-records of Worcester Co., Maryland, the will of Edward Wale, dated April 21, 1718, and agreeing as to the names of his children with Thomas Robins's account of them. That Edward Wale signed his last testament with his mark would be explained, we suppose, by his blindness.

—The literature of the Eastern Question multiplies daily. Leaving the larger works for formal review, we note here some recent pamphlets that have come to hand. Appleton & Co. publish 'The Northern and Asiatic Defences of Turkey,' chiefly the work of Mr. Charles H. Woodman, who has freely made use of Moltke, Chesney, and other authorities. One chapter, florid and nowise weighty, by Mr. Geo. M. Towle, treats of the defences of Constantinople, and sees trouble ahead for the "assailant Cossack or Muscovite" from the "fierce and swarthy legions of Asiatic Turkey." For its topographical and statistical details this compilation will be found worth its price; two small maps elucidate the text, and will answer all ordinary purposes for the campaign. Mr. Edward A. Freeman's trenchant essay on 'The Turks in Europe' (Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.) is characteristically lucid and direct, and answers without illusions the questions: Who and what are the Turks? What has the Turk done in Europe? What is to be done with the Turk? We need quote but a single sample of the author's style and opinion:

"Experience shows that to preach to the Turk, to argue with the Turk, is simply to waste words. The notes and memoranda and despatches which were sent to the Turk during the last year, the proposals and counter-proposals which were made to him during the late Conference, had the simple fault of coming five hundred years too late. Five hundred years ago, when the Turk was a new-comer, and men did not know him so well as they do now, those notes, memoranda, despatches, and proposals would have been reasonable and creditable. After five hundred years' experience of Turkish doings, they are simply foolish."

This might have been put more tersely, but not more justly. Mr. Freeman rightly insists upon the fact that the inferiority in which his religion requires the Mussulman to hold the infidel, is fatal to the hope of any such reform in Turkey as will give all her subjects the equal protection of the laws. His historic summary of the origin of the Ottoman Empire may now be supplemented by a fuller summary—Dr. Johannes Blochwitz's 'Brief His-

tory of Turkey.' We noticed this work in the German in No. 617, on its first arrival in this country, and it has since been translated by Mrs. M. Wesselhoeft, and rushed through the press of J. R. Osgood & Co. The original was too hastily printed, and the translation suffers from its defects as well as from some of its own. There is an omission of dates and even sentences which seems somewhat arbitrary as abridgment, but may have been unintentional; as, for instance, on pp. 31 and 35. What is truly regrettable, however, is that errors which ought not to have escaped Bernstein's proof-reader in Berlin have been copied from Blochwitz by Mrs. Wesselhoeft and again overlooked by the proof-reader of the Franklin Press. Thus Blochwitz twice (pp. 25, 26) gives 1553 as the date of the capture of Constantinople, instead of 1453; and likewise 1552 for 1452. The same errors (gross ones, because the chapter-headings determine the period exactly) reappear on pp. 34, 35 of the American edition. Again, on p. 35 of the latter, the translator, preferring another reckoning, has changed Blochwitz's Constantine XI. to Constantine XIII., but failed to correct his estimate of an interval of 1520 years between Constantine the Great's making Byzantium his capital and its downfall (in reality 1123 or 1125 years at the outside). Otherwise, the translation is praiseworthy, and two maps, which are wanting in Blochwitz, are inserted in this handy volume. Osgood & Co. publish also 'Russia and Turkey, with Maps,' by Mr. James M. Bugbee, a writer not so well known as his painstaking accuracy and sound sense deserve to make him. The little handbook does not attempt to do any more than furnish necessary information about the Eastern Question, and this Mr. Bugbee gives in a straightforward, unpretentious way. The maps are very good. There has been no more convenient manual on the subject published in this country. It remains to speak of two capital maps, Handtke's "Turkey in Europe" and "Black Sea" (Westermann). The first is on a somewhat smaller scale than Liebenow's, from which it differs also in having the orography delineated, and in covering more ground. Liebenow stops with the parallel of Galatz, but Handtke gives S. E. Hungary, all of Moldavia, and part of Bessarabia—in a word, the country from Kishenef to Spalatro. Its side-maps represent, enlarged, the Bosphorus, Crete, and Montenegro. The Black Sea map, though smaller still in scale, is comprehensive enough to embrace the entire probable seat of war. Its scope is from Belgrade to Tiflis, and northward as far as Jassy. The whole of the Ægean is shown, and in side-maps the harbor of Sebastopol, the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, on a most liberal scale. In short, if but one map were wanted, it would be this; and the dual operations on the Danube and in Armenia make a single map exceedingly convenient, if not indispensable.

—The erection of a statue to Halleck, in Central Park, has produced a good deal of critical writing about his standing as a poet; the best of which that we have seen is Mr. Lathrop's article in the June number of the *Atlantic*. Fame, as it has often been said, is an uncertain thing, but it has been left to the nineteenth century, with its newspapers, magazines, and other machinery for organizing "agitations" of all kinds, to give posthumous reputation a curiously spasmodic and intermittent character. Halleck had a most modest estimate of his own abilities; as Mr. Lathrop observes, he said of himself near the close of his life: "I have published very little and that little almost always anonymously, and have ever been but an amateur in the literary orchestra, playing only upon a pocket-flute, and never aspiring, even in a dream, to the dignity of the *bâton*"—an expression of humility in prose as graceful as anything that is to be found in his verse. If he is now cognizant of what is going on in his old home, it must be somewhat startling, after a cold oblivion of a quarter of a century, to be suddenly given a month's lease of a fame wider than he possessed while alive; to have this connected, too, with a political reception, and to be able at the same time to feel an absolute certainty that this brief flash of renown will be succeeded by another long if not perpetual period of obscurity. The occasion has brought out in strong relief the fact of the growth of this city, and its development from a local town—we had almost said village—into a real capital. Halleck was one of the poets of its early provincial period, and it is as difficult now to imagine a genuine enthusiasm over the literary performances of that day as it would be to imagine a political excitement over the deeds of "Clinton or John Targee." The erection of statues in the Park has gone to a length already, which is, to say the least, very great, and the principal objection that will occur to most people against the erection of the Halleck monument probably will be, that if poets of his calibre are to be admitted, the supply will be so great that it will soon be a question whether the Park was made for the statues or the public. But this is unfair. We take our revenge on Halleck for saying that all we would do was to "trade and vote" by forgetting who Halleck was, but there is no doubt

that he deserves at least a niche in our local temple of fame. He was not a great poet, but his "Marco Bozzaris" is a poem which stirs the blood to-day as it did when it was written, and contains several lines which are remembered and quoted by persons as ignorant of their origin as of that of common proverbs. Besides this, he wrote many pleasing *vers de société*, and in "Fanny" produced a poem abounding in neatly-turned satire.

—There is some monotony in praising each successive portion of a periodical as it appears with an absolutely equal cordiality; but the evenness of merit in *L'Art* makes this uniformity of commendation a duty. The eighth volume, which has just arrived, and is to be had in America of J. W. Bouton, contains some of the best etchings and most pregnant articles which have ever appeared in this most sumptuous of art-journals. The necrology of the twelvemonth affords occasion for some of the more interesting papers in its list of contents. That on Fromentin is embellished with a large and highly-finished etching of his "Falcon-hunt," by Monziès, but the article is comparatively colorless; not so that on the late painter Diaz, whose decision of character imprinted on almost every day he lived some trace of an extraordinary strength. Such was his graphic portrait of Couture—whom he saw exhibiting his fat figure in an "Almaviva" mantle—as "yonder poisonous mushroom"; and such was his declaration about Ingres: "If he were shut up in a tower, where he could not get at his engravings, he would stay there with his canvas empty, while I should come out from such a place with a picture." The occasional reliance of *L'Art* on illustrated sale-catalogues, by the by, is exemplified in a somewhat mortifying way in the case of Diaz; having illustrated one number with tracings from his groups, prepared in a heavy, Philistine way, it is compelled to apologize on page 71, and make the posthumous Diaz catalogue its excuse. A notice of Wylie, the American genre-painter, who received the unprecedented honor of a second-class medal at the Salon of 1873, is given with that hospitable heartiness towards the art of other nations so peculiarly French. The works of Chiffart, who, it seems, suffers from a name especially vulgar in the ears of his countrymen, and who has, therefore, never attained success, are illustrated and cordially reviewed. There has never been any periodical news undertaking so splendidly embellished as *L'Art*, and we are glad to find that in the season of famine caused by an interregnum between two Salons its quality is not suffered to drop beneath its own exalted standard. The *Portfolio* for May has an etching after Stanfield, and Prof. Colvin's proofs (not too convincingly made out) of a partial reliance by Albert Dürer on the "Tarocchi playing-cards." An etching of a French sculptor's portrait is by Legros, who has the genius of "style."

—The most noteworthy article in the last *Popular Science Monthly* is that on "The Evolution of the Family," by Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is the first of two chapters which are to be appended to the first volume of his 'Principles of Sociology,' and combats the social theories, or, more particularly, the patriarchal system of Sir Henry S. Maine. An article extremely characteristic of the writer, and which brings together the names of two men who are probably regarded in popular estimation as birds of a feather, is that on Spinoza by M. Ernest Renan. It is from the *Contemporary Review*, and is the address delivered by its author at the unveiling of the monument to Spinoza at the Hague on the 21st of February. The moral characteristics of Spinoza are those most prominently brought forward, although his philosophical and theological views are by no means ignored. It is not as a philosopher, we believe, that Spinoza's influence is to be hereafter felt. The man who could write the sentence, "It is of the nature of the substance to develop itself necessarily by an infinity of infinite attributes infinitely modified," cannot affect the prevailing philosophy of the present day; and although his doctrines of the liberty of conscience and of the relations of government to the individual were very far indeed in advance of the accepted theories of two hundred years ago, they are not in advance of the best thought of to-day, and good statesmanship everywhere is endeavoring to apply them. His moral courage, dignified humility, and breadth of sympathy furnish sufficient justification for the perpetuation of his memory. We quote a passage which certainly does not accord with some popular conceptions of the "Jewish atheist"; it might, indeed, have come from the pulpit of some one of our city churches last Sunday: "To state my views openly, I tell you that it is not absolutely necessary to know Christ after the flesh; but it is otherwise when we speak of that Son of God—that is to say, that eternal wisdom of God which has manifested itself in all things, and more fully in the human soul, and, above all, in Jesus Christ."

—On the first of May appeared the fourth volume of Mr. Edward Arber's page for page 'Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Sta-

tioners of London between 1554-1640.' There remains in preparation a fifth volume of biographies, indices, etc., and one of the conditions of its appearance is that all surplus copies (*i.e.*, printed but not subscribed for) shall be immediately destroyed. The edition is limited to two hundred and thirty copies in all, thirty being on large paper; and the total number of subscriptions, including the editor's copy, is thus far but one hundred and forty, of which exactly one-seventh are from the United States. Omitting individual subscribers, we find that copies have been ordered by or for the Library of Congress, Astor Library, Long Island Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, Boston Athenæum and Public Library, Public Library of New Bedford, Mass., Peabody Institute of Baltimore, and the university libraries of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Pennsylvania. Not an individual or an institution west of the Alleghenies or south of Washington has bespoken so monumental a work as this—a fact for which it seems difficult to account, seeing that the total cost of the 'Transcript' is less than \$150, and that its value will surely and rapidly grow with time. There is no public and no private library of any pretensions that ought to be without the 'Transcript,' and yet Philadelphia (5), Boston and Cambridge (5), and New York and Brooklyn (4) absorb seven-tenths of the copies at present assigned to this country. There is even one subscriber in Longmeadow, Mass., but none in Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, or San Francisco. There is here certainly room for public spirit at a small sacrifice. To quote Mr. Arber's prospectus: "Of many books, still lost to us, these Registers are the *only* record. They are also, and ever will be, the foundation of English Bibliography, and, besides, are the chief authority, for their period, in the history of English Printing. . . . There is nothing like them anywhere extant in any foreign language." The period which they cover is, of course, the greatest in English literature.

—Under the direction of the English Master of the Rolls will shortly be published the second volume of the 'Thómas Saga Erkebyskups,' an Icelandic life of Thomas à Becket, which supplies some of the missing portions of the well-known biography of the saint by Benedict of Peterborough. It will complete the work, and like the first volume, which appeared in 1875, will contain the Icelandic text and a translation and notes by Mr. Elrík Magnússon, one of the librarians of the University of Cambridge. Although styled a biography it possesses all the peculiarities of the ordinary saga, to which nothing in modern literature so nearly corresponds as the historical novel. The characteristics with which we are so familiar in Scott—the alliance of truth and fiction, the careful local coloring, the individuality and thorough humanity of the characters, the conversations clothed in the quaint dialect of a former period, the frequent descriptions of costumes and personal traits, the occasional employment of supernatural machinery, the introduction of many personages almost equally prominent (substituted by Scott for the one conventional hero of the old novel of sentiment), the slow development of the plot, followed ultimately by a more rapid progress and culmination, the thread of the narrative carried on through seeming digressions—all these are to be found in the sagas. Natives of Iceland who read the Waverley novels at once notice the resemblance, and are accustomed to characterize Scott as the modern sagaman. But neither Icelandic scholars nor English critics have ever ventured, it is believed, to suggest any direct connection between the Scandinavian narratives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the tales of the great creator of the modern school of historical fiction. It is worthy of note, however, that Scott's study of the saga literature, which was more comprehensive than is generally supposed, immediately preceded the appearance of his long series of romances. His translation of the Eyrbyggja saga was finished in October, 1813; 'Waverley' was published in July, 1814. The initial chapters, it is said, had been sketched some years previously, but even if the author's acquaintance with the old works of the North did no more than revive a half-abandoned plan, the fact is assuredly an interesting one in literary history. Be this as it may, it is certain that the essential features of form and manner which make the saga what it is are more closely reproduced by the Scotchman than by the modern Scandinavians, like Tegnér and Oehlenschläger, who avowedly derive the subject-matter of their works from the rich storehouse of the old Northern literature. No one can form a very accurate idea of a saga from a perusal either of the former's 'Frithiofs Saga' or the latter's 'Hakon Jarl'; but he who has read 'Rob Roy' or 'Peveril of the Peak,' and has made due allowance for the difference in the periods which gave birth to the two classes of works, ought to have a very clear conception of those remarkable prose narratives which, to so large an extent, make up the ancient literature of Iceland.

JAMES'S 'AMERICAN.' *

THE American whose adventures are here recorded is named Christopher Newman. At the time the story opens he is thirty-five years old, having served in the war, from which he came out a brigadier-general by brevet, and accumulated since a large fortune by dealing in leather, wash-tubs, and stocks. His instruction from books had been slight, for he tells us he celebrated his tenth birthday by leaving school; he had, however, seen many men and cities before the whim seized him of going to Europe to enjoy his fortune, not after the fashion of the majority of his fellow-countrymen, but quietly, rationally, with a vague notion of supplying the missing foundation-stones in his education. He meets an old friend named Tristram in Paris, who introduces him to his wife, and she, finding herself entrusted with a good-looking, rich bachelor, who, moreover, is not averse to matrimony, naturally turns to match-making, and looks about for a wife for him. The woman she has in view is a French lady of excellent family, who had early married a man a great many years older than herself and is now a widow. She and Mrs. Tristram had been schoolmates. Without much difficulty she manages to introduce Newman to her friend, Madame de Cintré, and the romance fairly begins. The action does not hurry on from this point, however, for Newman is first dismissed for the summer that he may take French lessons, visit picture-galleries, examine the architecture of churches, and in general rid himself of the dust of the prairie which might have made him too conspicuous for the houses of the French nobility. With the winter he returns to Paris, having carried with him throughout the summer a very distinct memory of Madame de Cintré's dark eyes. What follows next is very entertaining, as Mr. James gives the reader a most interesting study of the way the intricacies of a complex society pass unnoticed by our fellow-countryman, who suddenly finds himself in better company than he was ever in at any time of his life. The difficulties that would beset even the most successful stock-speculator from San Francisco in his attempts to enter the houses of the Legitimist nobility are ingeniously put out of the way by the proper exercise of the novelist's art, so that nothing seems more natural than that Newman should be stretching out his long legs in one of the most exclusive houses in Paris. His own position is made very clear. He had no diffidence, and his education had not encouraged in him the habit of cringing before the aristocracy, so that with his frankness and manliness he makes an attractive contrast to the artificial creatures he meets in this new world. For Valentin de Bellegarde he has that warm affection which a man has only for the favorite brother of the woman he is in love with; and Valentin, a capably-drawn young *gentilhomme*, consistent throughout, certainly deserved this affection. Newman does not disgrace himself in his new surroundings, except so far as sprawling one's legs in company is a disgrace; at times, to be sure, cold shivers must have run down the backs of his new acquaintances at his allusions to the past when he was struggling in business, but his self-possession keeps him from being uncomfortable, and he never finds it necessary to bolster up his courage by bragging about himself or his native land. He is conscious of his wealth and of its value, because he amassed it himself, but he is above all vulgar ostentation. Then, too, he is supremely good-natured, and he endures the scorn of the mother and other brother of Madame de Cintré, of Urbain de Bellegarde namely, with great composure; indeed, generally these cold-hearted aristocrats when they descend to trying to snub their visitor get, as the phrase is, as good as they give.

In spite of their noble prejudices they consent to receive Newman as a suitor for Mme. de Cintré's hand because he is wealthy and there is no very violent objection to be urged against him; but in their hearts that half of the family hate him. Even Valentin is startled when he first hears from Newman's lips of his audacious hopes and plans, but he consents not merely to refrain from throwing obstacles in his way, but even to do what he can in furtherance of his suit. As for Madame de Cintré, she finds herself for the first time in her life thrown with a man who is genuine, sincere, and as simple as a child, whose virtues stand out in sharp relief against the affectations and hollowness of the society in which she lives. Newman's quaint ways are to her the evidence of originality, and naturally she is not blind to the force of his affection for her. By a capital touch she is represented as very shy—she is overridden by her despotic mother and brother; but when the time comes she is bold enough in accepting Newman with all his imperfections on his head. Their love-making is for the most part discretely cool: even Urbain, the marquis, might have sat by without casting

too heavy a gloom upon Newman while he was wooing, and without receiving any great shock to his patrician susceptibilities. There is but one sure test, however, of the excellence of any method of courtship, and if it is applied here, it must be confessed that Newman's way was a wise one, for the woman he loved promised to marry him. So far everything had gone on as he wanted, but soon he comes on crags and sunken rocks in the shape of the perfidy of the mother and her favorite son. Newman is introduced to a number of the most aristocratic friends of the family at a ball given in honor of the engagement, when suddenly the firm ground gives way under his feet, and he is told by Madame de Cintré at his next visit that she has decided not to marry him. The reason of this suddenly altered determination is that her mother has asserted her authority, and expressly forbidden her taking that step. Her obedience to this command seems in no way impossible; we have already had plenty of proof of her great shyness, and it can be seen that with that quality and her detestation of a family quarrel, she felt her incompetence to keep a bold front against combatants as well trained as her own mother and brother, and that for the sake of peace she would consent to sacrifice even her own and her lover's happiness. She was a timid creature, and she was bullied into this renunciation of her hopes. So much is intelligible and consistent. But here comes the great disappointment of the story, which is Newman's conduct in this altered state of affairs.

It is very natural that novelists should grow tired of ending their stories with a fine wedding and the imaginative statement that the newly-married couple always lived happy afterwards. But it is also to be remembered that if readers ask that a love-story should end with a marriage or a definite statement of some satisfactory reason why the marriage did not occur, it is because they know that a real passion leads to marriage unless there is some insuperable obstacle in the way, and that this is a law which does not admit of exceptions. It may very well happen that a slight matter may turn off a half-hearted man who has deluded himself with an unfounded notion that he is in love, when he is only interested; but if he is ever in earnest he is earnest then unless he has deceived himself in some way. Now, it is impossible to suppose that Newman had not his whole heart in this matter. It was the one love of his life, and all the mothers and brothers in Christendom would have been no more guard for Madame de Cintré than half a dozen cobwebs. A man who has made his way so successfully in the world since he was ten years old is not one who can be rebuffed by his mistress's sense of duty to her family. He would know, and he would make it plain to her, that her duty lay elsewhere. She might not have been strong enough to take the responsibility of action upon herself; but he could have assumed it and have brought their troubles to a satisfactory end. This is what the reader feels. It is to be remembered, too, that Newman was no theorizer who formed his decisions first and then acted upon them; he was emphatically a man of action, who felt that he wanted something and at once put out his hand for it. He cares nothing for these enemies of his, but he lets the wave break over his head and thinks how badly he has been treated on account of his commercial pursuits. Even before he has lost all chance he gets into his hand a bit of paper, by means of which he might turn the tables on the Bellegardes, and possibly get their consent to the marriage, or, at any rate, inflict a lasting revenge upon them, and he goes to see an old lady, one of their intimate friends, who would take extreme pleasure in spreading scandal about them; but instead of taking his vengeance he lets the chance go by, and the plot of the Bellegardes is perfectly successful. There is no *mésalliance* in the family, Newman is shuffled out of the way, secret and all, as if the Bellegardes in their interview with him saw in him something the reader does not see, which told them that he would be a week-kneed adversary whom they could despise.

Now, either the reader has been all along mistaken about Newman's real feeling for Madame de Cintré, or this hero is totally unworthy of the sympathy that is surely given him. A man of his sort cannot sacrifice his life's happiness, and, what is more, that of the woman he loves, who had never known what happiness was, for a mere whim. It was very well for him to let the sixty thousand dollars go which he mentions early in the book, but there is no analogy between that renunciation and the final one, for he had plenty of money besides, whatever became of those thousands, while there was no woman who could replace Madame de Cintré. It is here that the element of passion is wanting, and it is not satisfactorily replaced by the drawing of Newman's extreme good-nature. Its absence is the more noticeable because in the account of Newman's wooing there is a beautiful passage, where Madame de Cintré accepts him, which promises real ardor in the energetic American.

But, apart from this, how much there is to admire in the novel! The

* 'The American. By Henry James, jr.' Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

different threads are managed with rare skill. The episodic story of Valentin and his doings is told most admirably, and it serves the purpose of bringing out more clearly the excellence of Newman's character. There is great completeness and symmetry in these chapters. But the best thing of all, in our opinion, is the delicacy with which Madame de Cintré is drawn, with her shyness and gracious delicacy. The success here, attained as it is by that apparent simplicity which is the height of art, gives the novel a place among the best modern studies of society, and makes it an honorable example of Mr. James's serious endeavor to attain excellence only by careful choice of methods.

An Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By Henry Sweet, M.A. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.)—Mr. Henry Sweet stands at the head of the students of Anglo-Saxon in England. He is a scientific investigator, who has prepared himself by careful study of living speech to grapple with the problems presented by dead languages. He has studied English, German, and Scandinavian dialects in the mouths of the people; and his discussion of Danish pronunciation before the London Philological Society has been pronounced by Mr. Ellis to be "one of the acutest phonological investigations of recent times." Thus trained and equipped, he addressed himself to original work on the earliest remains of Anglo-Saxon. These were still in manuscript, and inaccessible to scholars in other countries. His edition of Alfred's version of the 'Cura Pastoralis' of Gregory introduced a new era in Anglo-Saxon studies. He has now prepared an Anglo-Saxon Reader, with a brief grammar, notes, and glossary, for use in English schools. It contains about 100 pages of grammar, 185 of extracts, and 18 of notes. The extracts begin with the account of the assassination of King Cynewulf found in the Chronicle under the date A.D. 755, and believed to have been written about that time, so that it is by far the oldest historical prose in any Teutonic language. Then follow prose extracts, mostly from the translations of Alfred and of Ælfric, or from the Chronicle, the last bearing the date of 1048; and then metrical extracts from Beowulf, Caedmon, and Cynewulf, with Judith and some gnomic verses; so that we have a fair representation of all the forms in which the classic West-Saxon has been preserved except legal documents, and scientific essays and formulæ. Some of the extracts are here printed for the first time. The famous Orosius MS. of the age of Alfred, which Lord Tollemache treasures up so carefully, and which scholars have been so long anxious to have printed, is in Mr. Sweet's hands, it seems, and he gives us three interesting extracts from it. The life of Oswald is given for the first time from the Cottonian MS., and specimens of Ælfric and Wulfstan are given from a new collation of the MSS. The texts are prepared with admirable accuracy and thoroughness. The editorial care extends to marking the quantity of every vowel; and, still further, Mr. Sweet here, for the first time, introduces two new letters, in effect *o* and *e* with *a* subscript, which indicate etymology in the first place, and then shades of pronunciation undistinguished in the manuscripts. He also carries out laws of printing double letters and of the use of aspirates, which require great labor as well as penetrating insight into the structure and history of the language.

Great pains have been bestowed on the glossary, mainly in the making of references by page and line to the places in which each word is to be found. The whole book is well labored, except perhaps the notes, which are of the briefest. It belongs throughout to a higher grade of scholarship than the manuals which have heretofore been used in England, and cannot fail to advance the scientific knowledge of the mother tongue. The little study done in England has been in manuals like Thorpe's 'Analecta,' Vernon's 'Anglo-Saxon Guide,' or Barnes's 'Delectus,' books which belong to an era little affected by the modern science of language, and meagre and lifeless at the best. They needed badly a new manual. Things are somewhat different in America. We have already four elementary books quite similar in general plan and contents to Mr. Sweet's, so far as the needs of beginners are concerned, and we want the old MSS. edited and printed. The neglect of the MSS. is the opprobrium of English scholarship; Anglo-Saxon studies are checked all over the world for want of them. Grein, whose edition of the Anglo-Saxon poetry accompanied by his great lexicon is the highest achievement yet in this field, and who is prepared by his labors in it to give the world a similar edition and lexicon of the prose, which would change the Anglo-Saxon from the least known to the best known of the early Teutonic languages, is stopped for want of reliable editions. Other men may make good elementary class-books, but who can edit the MSS. of Alfred like Mr. Sweet? We are glad to get anything which he will give us; but we remember, with a certain regret, that the labor spent on this

Reader would have gone far towards giving us editions of all the earliest MSS.

It should be said, further, that this book does not seem to be in all respects skilfully adapted to the needs of beginners. It is over-labored on the phonetic side, and too sparing of exposition and explanation of other matters. It is only in phonology that Mr. Sweet enters into details of comparative philology. In general, he considers comparison with other allied languages positively injurious to the student who is beginning this study, and announces it as a merit that he has avoided all reference to "*a*-stems," etc. In this he is surely mistaken, at least in its application to those who study Anglo-Saxon in America. They are almost all in our colleges or high-schools, and know a little German and Latin, and are used to noticing the derivation of words. Pointing out resemblances between Anglo-Saxon words and idioms and those they know in these kindred languages heightens their interest, aids their memory, quickens their reason, and helps them every way. It may not be well to make a great talk of *a*-stems; but it is a serious defect in Mr. Sweet's grammar that he does not arrange his declensions steadily by stems, as good modern grammars do in all Indo-European languages, but by a mixed method of genders. The vocabulary, which is so labored in its references, is without comparative etymology, or inflection forms, or particular statements of the conjugation or declension of each word, such as a beginner needs. Moreover, it is not arranged in common alphabetical order, and the words are often spelled differently from the spelling which appears in the text, so that a beginner may worry without end. The selections, which are chosen as specimens of the language, are many of them hard to understand, and Mr. Sweet gives no elementary help. Beginners might as well start Greek without notes in Thucydides and Pindar as Anglo-Saxon without notes in Cynewulf and Beowulf. It will be better to take up Sweet after having gone through one of our American Readers.

Electricity and the Electric Telegraph. By George B. Prescott. 8vo, pp. 978. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)—Mr. Prescott calls his book 'Electricity and the Electric Telegraph.' He would have made a more favorable impression on many of his readers had he restricted himself to the subject of the telegraph. The writing of a book on electricity—especially an elementary one—should only be undertaken by one who is thoroughly conversant with his subject; which again is the same thing as saying that the author should be well versed in all branches of physics. But Mr. Prescott shows his want of familiarity with the higher order of general physics, and does not seem at home in the theoretic treatment of his special subject. Like most of the "electricians" of this country who have taken to the pen, he makes sad confusion of the terms *tension*, *potential*, and *electromotive force*. He appears to use them—especially *tension* and *potential*—as exactly synonymous; but they are by no means so used by the best modern authorities. Mr. Prescott says (p. 113), "a tension or potential which necessarily increases or decreases according to the electric density." Yet his Fig. 17 is an equipotential surface. In one or two places he uses *potential* and *electromotive force* as synonymous. This confusion of terms should be carefully avoided in an elementary work, for it prevents the formation of clear and definite ideas. Looseness of expression is characteristic of this portion of the book. Such phraseology as "desire of the two electricities to unite again," "creation of electricity," and so on, is entirely out of place in a work proposing to serve as an introduction to the science. Though Mr. Prescott says in his preface that every available source of information has been resorted to, and thus makes a general acknowledgment to his instructors, yet we think he is hardly justified in copying half a page *verbatim* without even putting it in quotation marks. Jenkin's 'Electricity and Magnetism' has been of great service to him in the preparation of the book, and we are of the opinion that he would have made a very slight return indeed for this aid if he had credited Prof. Jenkin at such places as p. 44 and elsewhere. The arrangement of the book is faulty; as an example, the terms *potential*, *ohm*, *volt*, etc., are used many times before they are defined. Taking it as a whole, the theoretical portion of the work is neither a model of literary style nor an example of the clear and concise presentation of facts and principles.

The chapters relating to practical telegraphy are, as one would expect from the electrician of the Western Union Telegraph Company, very full and complete, though several instruments that should have had a place in the work are omitted. We may suggest the insertion of Edison's and Smith's stock-printer; the Edison electromotograph; a diagram of Sawyer's autographic instrument. On the whole, it does not seem that Mr. Edison has had given him the credit he deserves. These points, however, do not interfere greatly with the value of the book, and the full treatment of the

more recent improvements in the American telegraphic system alone should secure for it an extensive sale. Indeed, no one at all interested in the practical applications of electricity in general, or in telegraphy in particular, can consider his library complete without Mr. Prescott's work.

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Auerbach (B.), Aloys.	(Henry Holt & Co.) \$1.25
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NEW YORK.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1877.

The Week.

THE financial markets during the week have been influenced, to a large extent, by the reported intention of the German Government to mediate for a settlement of the war now confined to Russia and Turkey. The securities of all the European governments were freely sold "short" by speculators in the London and Continental markets when war was first declared, and British consols have since been sold in the same way on the calculation that England would be drawn into the war. Accordingly, when even the reported attempt at mediation came, there was an enormous demand for securities with which to fill contracts of sale already made. This demand carried consols up to $96\frac{1}{4}$ —as high as before the war began. Sympathetically all securities advanced. Here the price of gold fell a "point" and a half, and commodities which had been speculatively advanced on the expectation of a continuance of the war and its enlargement declined. The fall in gold was not wholly due to the foreign news, the Treasury having sold \$1,000,000 for legal-tender notes, to be held for the redemption of fractional notes which it is believed are destroyed. At the Stock Exchange there was a declining market for stocks, particularly those of the trunk-line railroads, which have again fallen into a dispute about passenger-fares from Chicago to New York; and this may easily grow to such a war as last year so seriously injured railroad credit and property. The gold value of the United States legal-tender note ranged during the week between \$0.9389 and \$0.9467. At the close of the week the bullion in a $412\frac{1}{4}$ -silver dollar would have had a gold value of $90\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

Governor Cullom has vetoed the act of the Illinois Legislature making the subsidiary silver coinage legal tender in that State to any amount. He rests his objections to the bill upon both constitutional and economic grounds, showing that the clear legal intendment of the words employed in the bill was to make debts contracted on a greenback basis payable in an inferior currency which is not legal tender under United States law, thus impairing the obligation of contracts. This would seem to be a sufficient reason for vetoing it without going any farther, but the Chicago *Tribune* finds it to be no reason at all, since being an act impairing the obligation of contracts, and therefore prohibited to the States, it was nugatory and void in that particular, and would have been quietly crushed, after about four years' litigation and confusion, by the court of last resort. The idea that because the Constitution of the United States expressly forbids a certain thing to be done, it is therefore allowable to do it, and send parties into the courts to get it undone at their own expense, is as ingenious a conception as one put forth by the same journal on the same subject, to wit: that under the operation of this proposed law a dollar's worth of property could be bought in Illinois for ninety-three cents, and that that would be a fine thing for the sellers. Governor Cullom is unable to see the advantage of the State in that kind of "swapping." On the contrary, he holds that the people of Illinois are not to be benefited by taking at par in exchange for their goods "a currency that goes at a discount as soon as a State line is reached." In fact, one can understand such a bill being passed with three cheers at a "meeting of the unemployed," but how it could be passed, after debate, in a legislative body of average intelligence remains to be revealed. It is needless to add that we do not credit the report that President Hayes regrets the veto of the bill.

On Monday the Custom-house Commission reassembled, and held a conference with a Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

Additional instructions issued by Mr. Sherman require the Commission to report on the question of salaries and the complaints of commercial bodies and others respecting the customs-revenue laws. The complaints made by the Chamber of Commerce are perhaps the most effective reply that could have been given to the comical suggestion that Mr. Arthur is a thoughtful reformer. No less than twenty-nine changes are asked by the Chamber, and these changes contemplate in effect a radical alteration in the whole system of collecting the revenue. They comprise the abolition of the Naval Office—a place of no use except as a berth for broken-down politicians—the abolition of triplicate invoices and consular certificates, a change from *ad valorem* to specific duties, besides a multitude of minor changes with regard to fees, entries, etc.

The pamphlet published in the interest of the retention of Simmons as Collector at Boston represents not only strong political support, but, it is said, eight hundred business firms and upwards of four hundred millions of capital. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Executive Council, Democratic Ex-Governor, Mayor, Aldermen, President of the Common Council, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House head the list, but the business signatures are, of course, the most important. The recommendations speak warmly of Mr. Simmons's faithfulness and business capacity, and are probably as good an endorsement as a public officer ever received in this or any country, and, considering what Mr. Simmons's reputation as a reformer was in Boston at the time of his appointment, recall some of the recommendations of the late Horace Greeley as a revenue reformer by leading free-traders in 1872. What is noticeable, however, about it is the total absence of any reference to Simmons's use of the Custom-house as a political machine. This, besides his total original unfitness for the place, is his great offence, and this, too, is an offence of a kind which the importers as a class are often disposed to condone in consideration of a certain amount of "courtesy" and attention to their interests on the part of the Collector. But it ought to be with the present Administration the one unpardonable crime.

A Commission is shortly to investigate the Boston Custom-house, and one of its chief duties will be an enquiry into one of the matters referred to in our correspondent's letter printed elsewhere—the use of the Custom-house by Simmons six months ago to elect the present mayor of Boston. The facts about this are a matter of common notoriety in Boston, and inasmuch as the election was carried by means of a special Custom-house ticket issued and voted under orders from headquarters, they ought to be easily capable of proof. Mr. Devens knows all about this, and will be held responsible for any failure of justice. The most dangerous thing about the retention of men like Simmons and Arthur is that they confirm sceptical people—that is, nine-tenths of the people who think about the matter at all—in the impression that Hayes's fight with the "machine" must inevitably end as Grant's did, in impotent submission. It is worth noticing that, as the investigation of the Philadelphia Custom-house is about to begin, the character of the Collector there, too, begins to brighten. He has, it seems, been "successful in instituting many reforms," and has brought much "experience and tact" to the performance of his duties.

A point of some importance in connection with the Treaty of Washington has not yet been settled. By the terms of one of the articles of the Treaty, fishermen of the United States were to be allowed for ten years' time to take and cure and sell fish on the coasts of the Dominion and Newfoundland. Similar privileges were granted to British fishermen with regard to the coasts of the United States north of the 39th degree of latitude. It was alleged, however, that the concession made by England in this respect was

of greater pecuniary value than that made by the United States, and a provision was inserted for the appointment of a commission to determine what amount of compensation, if any, was due to the Dominion. The Fisheries Commission, the delay in the appointment of which is said to have proceeded from the United States, will meet at Halifax on the 15th, and is composed of Mr. E. H. Kellogg on the part of the United States, Sir Alexander T. Galt on the part of Canada, with M. Delfosse, the Belgian Minister, as umpire. The only statistical data for an estimate of the importance of the matter in dispute are to be found in last year's report of the Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, which shows that the fish product of 1876 was worth \$11,147,590, of which \$1,348,637 worth was exported to the United States, Canada taking from this country during the same period \$530,000 worth, mainly oysters. The newspapers in the regions most interested are preparing for the hearing by a system of depreciation of the fish of the other party, which, if only half true, makes it marvellous that such bagatelles should have been noticed in the Treaty. Mr. Dwight Foster, of Boston, appears as counsel for the United States, Mr. Francis Clare Ford for Canada.

We know of no good reason for doubting the correctness of the recently-published explanations of the Governor of Mississippi with regard to his course of action since the Chisholm affair. The death of Chisholm was the result of a long-standing neighborhood feud, and as soon as he was shot the disturbance was at an end. There was no occasion for calling out the militia or resorting to any other desperate measure. The Governor, in correcting several of the sensational reports which have been sent North, states that he has done all in his power to bring the murderers to justice, and that he has procured a promise from the judge of the Circuit Court of the district to hold a special session in Kemper County at an early day. This is the limit of his power under the circumstances. "No one," says the Governor, "justifies the act by which Judge Chisholm lost his life"—a statement which we shall take the liberty of doubting. As with the deplorable Ellenton case in South Carolina, so with this sad Mississippi affair, the justification of the act by those who participated in it, and by their associates, fully accords with the moral code of a considerable part of the Southern people. We shall be agreeably surprised if a Kemper County jury can be found to convict.

The failure of the jury to agree in the Ellenton conspiracy trials is chiefly of interest as indicating the difficulty of executing the vague laws passed since the war to surround negro suffrage with exceptional safeguards. Had the defendants been indicted for any overt act committed on the day of election—as, for instance, knocking a negro on the head, making a crowd round the polls, or even using threatening language—proof of the offences charged would have been comparatively simple, and had the jury divided on the color line it would have been easy to fix the responsibility for the result. But to prove a conspiracy to commit overt acts is another matter, and to prove a conspiracy entered into before the day of election to prevent large numbers of negroes from exercising the right of suffrage, and to prevent them *because* they were negroes, is about as difficult a thing as a prosecuting officer could well undertake to establish; when he undertakes to establish it in a community in which half the people are bitterly opposed to the negro's voting in the interest of his color, it may be said to be impossible. The breakdown of the Ellenton prosecutions, therefore, probably marks the end of the attempt to enforce these vague laws, which, on the showing of the Southern Republicans themselves, are a dead-letter.

The *Southern Planter and Farmer* prints a contribution on the subject of the Virginia finances in reply to a paragraph which appeared in these columns on April 19. The author, Mr. Frank G. Ruffin, does not disprove any of the facts mentioned in the *Nation*,

and which we then stated were facts not of our own making but furnished to the public by Mr. Williams, a member of the Finance Committee of the Virginia House of Delegates; but we must do him the justice to say that he takes very broad ground, as is clearly indicated in the question which he puts at the head of his article, "Does Virginia owe the State Debt?" It is Mr. Ruffin's impression that Virginia does not owe the State debt at all, but that in law and equity it is owed by the United States as the "conqueror" of Virginia. We should not refer to this article at all, were it not for the note by the editor which follows it, and which seems to show that in Virginia at least there are gleams of returning reason on the subject of State obligations. This note points out that a State "enforcing in its members the obligations of contracts" "cannot repudiate its own," and holds that some "determinate action" must be taken, else "we forego all expectations of any considerable accession of capital from outside sources to develop our resources or increase our trade." This goes to the root of the matter. Outsiders lend their money to Virginia or any other State under the impression that ordinary prudence will dictate its return when due, and the payment of regular interest until then. But it will certainly not be forthcoming if its repayment depends on the local interpretation of what "honor" requires.

What curious interpretations of this word the South is capable of producing is shown in Mr. Ruffin's article. He says, in reply to the suggestion that it is dishonorable not to pay the debt, that the feeling appealed to by the Virginia bondholders (honor) is "not a moral quality at all," but "simply promptness to meet obligations as they mature"; in other words, "commercial honor." This, he admits, may help to "keep men up to the mark by an appeal to low motives," but is not "that noble virtue of integrity, combined with justice and generosity, which forms a part of the highest moral excellence." It may be interesting to the bondholders to know that, in Mr. Ruffin's opinion, if they had been capable of this exalted sentiment they would never have asked for a cent.

There is nothing very coherent as yet from the scene of war either in Europe or Asia. The correspondents have not yet reached the spot where the great events are taking place, or else are not allowed to describe them, and they are therefore giving us accounts of the manners and customs of the population, while the editors at home, however, possess such minute knowledge of the exact number and position of the Russian guns, and the disposition of the forces on both sides, that they are able to give both the Russian and Turkish commanders an occasional sharp rap on the knuckles for negligence or want of enterprise. The only news from the Danube during the week of the slightest value is that the Russian troops have ceased moving, and have therefore got into the positions which they will hold until they cross the river, and this they will probably do as soon as their supplies are up. In Asia, Mukhtar Pasha still appears to be "correcting his errors" by retreating, the position at Bardess, where he was to fight desperately, having been apparently rendered untenable by the appearance of the Russians at Olti, on his left flank, seventy miles from Erzerum; and, as he is also threatened from the south by the Russian right wing, he appears to have fallen back again nearer to Erzerum, between which and Kars communication has ceased, showing that the Russians are on the road, and not necessarily that Kars is closely invested, though it doubtless is. It becomes more and more likely that Mukhtar will not give battle anywhere, as his army is probably going to pieces under the retreat or the inefficiency of the supplies. The difficulties the Russians have to contend with are apparently mainly due to the nature of the country, the opposition of the Turks being very feeble. The reported recapture of Ardahan turns out to be untrue, as might have been expected, and most of the "terrible battles" ending in Turkish victories, which are heard of from Constantinople, like the awful breaking of the bridge at Reni by the Turkish

monitors just as the Russians were crossing the river, ought to be laid aside for future examination.

The anticipations in which so many persons have indulged as to the vigor of Turkish resistance have been based in the main on the fine fighting qualities of the Turkish rank and file. That these exist is true, but it ought not to have been necessary to remind people so often that in our day success in war depends mainly on discipline and organization; that is, on the capacity and self-abnegation of the officers, the efficiency of the commissariat and the medical and transportation service. In the Turkish army these things can hardly be said to exist. There is, therefore, no possibility of effective manœuvring. Turkish troops, in short, cannot march *and* fight. They can defend fortifications, as in this officers are comparatively little needed; but an empire cannot be saved by holding fortresses unless there is also a force capable of giving battle in the open field. The extent of the delusion on these points set afloat by the Turco-philos during the last four or five months is gradually becoming manifest. The last telegrams from Constantinople show that the result of Mukhtar Pasha's manœuvring is something like a *débâcle* at Constantinople. Everybody is frightened; the "Parliament" is breaking up and going home; the "constitution" is a nullity; the various governmental departments are breaking down under the corruption of the officials. It is, too, now gravely acknowledged "that the hopes that the capture of Sugkum-Kaleh would lead to an insurrection in the Caucasus have disappeared." There never was anybody in the Caucasus to revolt, and the notion that the handful of men put ashore from the Turkish ships could by themselves hold out against the Russians was, if ever entertained, chimerical.

Mr. Gladstone has attended an anti-Turkish demonstration at Birmingham, at which there was an enormous crowd, and he was received with great enthusiasm, and made another anti-Turkish speech. His popularity, which on this question is making him increasingly odious to the Tory pro-Turks, has doubtless started the rumor which has been telegraphed by the cable that he is to be the head of a new Radical party, which is to seek the disestablishment of the Church, the abolition of primogeniture and the right of entail, and the abolition of the House of Lords as a governing body. The reasons why this is an absurd story are too numerous and obvious for mention. Mr. Bright has also made a speech to a conference in London, composed in the main of delegates sent up by agricultural laborers from various parts of the kingdom to promote the extension of the franchise in the counties, which derived but little benefit from the Reform Bill of 1867. In the counties the suffrage is confined to persons who are rated at £12 for the poor-rates or pay £16 a year rent. This excludes the bulk of the population. According to Mr. Bright, there are 100 towns in the kingdom of 10,000 population which, not being boroughs, are represented solely by the county members, and thus all that portion of their inhabitants who do not pay what is for such towns a very high rental are without the franchise. The special changes which he thought the extension of the franchise in the counties would be likely to effect were in the legislation affecting the tenure and transfer of land, the preservation of game, and the better representation of the non-landholding class and the Dissenters in the county magistracy. The size of the meeting and the high quality—as regards intelligence—of the delegates sent up by the agricultural laborers made the occasion very remarkable, and Mr. Joseph Arch, who is the leader of this movement, took advantage of it to denounce all schemes for aiding the Turks. It is curious to see how widespread and persistent the belief is in England that Lord Beaconsfield would go to war to help the Turks if he could.

General Grant is having the experiences of the lion of the London season in their choicest shape. All the leaders of society from

the Queen down are paying him the most delicate and conspicuous attentions, and it is pleasant to think that in receiving them his sangfroid and reserve will stand him in better stead than they have ever done before. Of course this homage to him is very agreeable to his countrymen, but there are few who can avoid the reflection how much more agreeable it would have been if he were only known as a soldier, and if the splendor of his military fame had never been dimmed by his eight years of civil administration. It is to be hoped the lesson will not be lost on nominating conventions. Soldiers are but poor hands at constitutional politics under the best of circumstances.

The discussion of the relations of church and state in England is likely to receive a new impulse from the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Rev. Charles Ridsdale, who was charged with various ritualistic practices, and appealed to the Privy Council from an adverse decision of the Court of Arches. The tribunal consisted of ten judges, besides four bishops and an archbishop, and as the decision was unanimously agreed to, it may be regarded as the final one with regard to the points involved. Accordingly, no parochial clergyman of the English Church (bishops were not mentioned) can hereafter wear any other vesture than the surplice during the administration of the communion. With reference to facing the east, the decision was a compromise. The opinion was expressed that the clergyman should stand at the north side of the communion-table, facing the south; but not wishing to force a specific direction where none is to be found in the Rubrics, the judges limited their decision to the requirement that the clergyman must so stand that the communicants present may be able "to see the breaking of the bread and the performance of the other manual acts" necessary; in other words, he must not turn his back to them. The use of wafer-bread and the placing of a crucifix on the screen separating the chancel from the nave of the church are forbidden. The decision is an important one, inasmuch as it determines the position of the Established Church with regard to some matters which have been for a long time in dispute. The course of the extreme Ritualists may now be looked forward to with some interest, as upon it may depend the continuance of the present agitation for disestablishment.

There is no change in the situation in France. The Chambers are prorogued until the 16th instant, and the new ministry, which seems to have a somewhat Bonapartist complexion, is busily occupied in making preparations for the coming elections of the councils-general and the municipal councils by changing the prefects and the mayors. Our Paris correspondent this week puts on the late crisis somewhat the same interpretation as that which we ventured to put ourselves when the news first reached this country, and his letter will be found instructive reading, particularly the passage in which he points out the part that want of parliamentary training and skill on the part of the Left had in bringing about the overthrow of the Simon ministry. To make the parliamentary system work properly, and thus justify the criticisms which have been passed on Marshal MacMahon's course, the prime minister should be the chief of the majority, and command its obedience until such time as it decides that it would like a change. As a matter of fact, however, the majority in the Assembly did not acknowledge M. Simon as its leader and take its cue from him; its leader was M. Gambetta, and it sometimes supported M. Simon, and at other times not. It was useless under these circumstances to expect MacMahon to submit patiently to the dictation of the Chamber as to who his ministers should be. The British system, which Gambetta insists upon, while acknowledging the right of the majority to select the prime minister, exacts that it shall stick to him as long as it thinks him the man for the place.

THE PRESIDENT'S ONE-TERM PLEDGE AND CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

MR. HAYES'S pledge not to accept a second term of the Presidency has a very important bearing on the success of the efforts he is now making to reform the civil service. In so far as the improvement he is effecting or may effect consists in the simple prohibition of bad practices or the appointment of good men to fill vacant places, its permanence will, of course, depend on the hold it gets on the public mind and on the character of his successor. No improvement, however, will make any deep impression on the public mind which has anything capricious or fitful in its operation or seems the result of pure personal discretion. The good effect on public opinion of putting a good man in office in one place will always be neutralized by putting a bad man in office in another. People will say that after all there is no system or certainty in the matter, and when they hear that a very bad appointment, like George Butler's, for instance, was the result of "mistake" or "oversight," they will be apt to conclude that the good appointments are mere pieces of luck. Any use of the civil service, too, for other purposes than those of efficient administration—any use which gives the President the character of an earthly Providence, a righter of wrongs and rewarder of obscure virtue, like the Caliph, is sure to blunt the public interest in reform and spread a feeling of despair about it. As an illustration of this species of miscarriage we must mention the appointment of Mr. Frederick Douglass to a subordinate administrative office for which he had no special fitness or preparation, for a purely political end, namely, the satisfaction of the colored people that the President had their interests at heart. There have been other appointments of the same sort, such as Mr. Morrill's to the Collectorship at Portland, because he was sick, or poor, or a good fellow, just after he had made as Secretary of the Treasury an open attack on the public credit for electioneering purposes. They have probably all had some useful or benevolent end in view, but they all sacrifice a high interest to a subordinate, and a practical to a sentimental one. They fix people in the belief that President Hayes is not going to institute any reform that will outlast him; that we must rely on his personal character for whatever improvements in administration we are to witness during the next four years; that we shall have, as in Grant's case, to pardon mistakes in view of the general goodness of his intentions, and that at the close of his term we shall once more have to fight at the nominating convention with what hope and courage we can muster for a "truly good man" to take his place.

In the next place, mere arbitrary reform carried out by a President who is sure only to serve for four years keeps alive the hopes of the whole class of professional politicians, both Republican and Democratic. They not only know that improvement of this kind does not take hold of the public mind, but they know that it establishes nothing which it will be scandalous or shocking for the next President to overturn. If we concede to them that reform in the civil service means simply that the President shall, to the extent of his knowledge and ability, "put none but good men in office," and that a number of places, fixed by his discretion, may be used for sick or poor or badly-used politicians, they have no objection in the world to reform of the civil service. It was this kind of reform, and this only, we thought Mr. Tilden would carry out, and this, in our mind, constituted the strongest objection to him. At the South he would doubtless have done exactly what Mr. Hayes has done. If we should have a Democratic President next time—as is by no means improbable—he would hardly find his hands tied at all by any precedent that has been established thus far. He would be able to use the service for benevolent and party purposes to almost any needed extent as long as he refrained from making a clean and sudden sweep of all the offices. See how valuable, for instance, such precedents as Morrill's and Boutwell's appointments would be to a man like Tilden. Morrill gets a place because he is broken down in

health, and Boutwell, who is no lawyer at all, is made reviser of the United States Statutes because he is an old "worker" and office-holder whom his constituents had rejected, and although he has a pet plan for overturning the United States Constitution and converting the States into imitations of the French departments, ruled from Washington. It will thus be seen that as long as no systematic reform has been initiated, Mr. Hayes's promise not to serve for more than four years threatens us with the loss in 1880 of all that we have gained by his accession.

These considerations will be brought home forcibly to everybody who reflects on the matter by the steps taken to bring about Custom-house reform in this city under the late partial report of the Commission of Enquiry. The result of that report has been the enunciation by the President, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, of the principles on which he wishes the business of the New York Custom-house to be conducted, and a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to Collector Arthur, directing him to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. Now, what do the Commissioners find as to the condition of the New York Custom-house, in which 70 per cent. of the public revenue from import duties is collected? That the force is 20 per cent. too large—that is, that 800 men would do the work now done by 1,000; that the employes get to their work an hour after the prescribed time in the morning, and leave irregularly, when they ought, as in a well-managed counting-house, to be at their posts at nine and stay until four; that "the appointments have been made in great part under political pressure, from party considerations, and with insufficient regard to the fitness of the employes"; that a portion of the force now employed "are deficient in a proper attention to business, as well as in business qualifications and character"; "that a portion of them are employed more or less in private business, to the possible detriment in some cases of the interests of the service," and that "some fraudulently accept moneys for services rendered in their official capacity." They add that

"It appears from the testimony that under the present system the officers who are appointed through political influence are expected to make their offices contribute to the support of the party, and that the amount of the contributions asked from the men is fixed by a percentage on their respective salaries. Most of the officials thus assessed accede to the demand, and some of them repair their diminished salaries by exacting or accepting from the merchants unlawful gratuities. These party assessments seem to have been quietly permitted, if not openly sanctioned, and the improper acceptance of gratuities, as appears from the letter of the Collector (May 17), has continued for a quarter of a century to defy the law and demoralize the service."

It must be remembered, too, that the probably most corrupt and inefficient department of the Custom-house, the weighing, gauging, and measuring department, and the inspection of passengers' and emigrants' baggage, are not touched on here; these the Commission reserve for a future report.

Now, on whom does whatever of censure this report contains fall with most severity? Who is the man whose duty it was to see that the two hundred useless officials were not employed, or call the attention of his superiors to their existence? Whose duty was it to see that this regiment of officers were at their posts at the proper hour, attended to their duties while there, and went home at the proper hour? Who is it who should have discovered that some of them were giving to private business time and attention which they owed to the Government, and have stopped it? Who ought to have known that a part of the force "was deficient in business qualifications and integrity of character," and have tried at least to get rid of them, and have detected the practice of fraudulently accepting money for services rendered in their official capacity? Why, the Collector, of course. These are the things for which he draws his salary. He commands this regiment of civil servants, and it is his business, and sole business, to see that they are the right sort of men and do their duty. Such a report as this made about the condition of a public office would in any other civilized country, we are quite sure, lead to the prompt resignation or, failing that, peremptory dismissal of the head of it. He would no more stand up under it than the colonel of a regiment under the finding of a court-martial

that a large portion of his regiment were thievish and dirty and undisciplined, and that he had led them to the rear under fire at a smart run. And it cannot be said for the Collector that he was new to the place, and had not had sufficient time to discover abuses and correct them. Mr. Arthur has been in office more than five years, and even if it can be said that the system was too strong for him, and that he found the abuses flourishing when he was appointed, it cannot be said that during all these weary years those who have been laboring for their abolition, and seeking to call public attention to them, have ever, even in the gross and shameless days of Jayne and the "moiety men," received from him one word of encouragement or support, or the system one word of opposition or exposure. That an officer in his position is by no means powerless has been well illustrated by the example of Mr. James the postmaster. He too has had to contend with the influences which have made the Custom-house a national reproach, but he did not succumb to them. He carried out such reforms as he could, without waiting for a commission of enquiry, and when the Grant Administration came to an end it was found that his department left nothing for reformers to desire.

Now, when under these circumstances one finds the carrying out of civil-service reform in the Custom-house committed by a vague letter, half order, half advice, to the person most responsible for the abuses and most prominently identified with them, and who has passed his whole official life either in conniving at them or shutting his eyes to them, and who has found the old system suit him perfectly, or, at least, to be perfectly compatible with placid retention of office, who is, in short, himself "part of the thing to be reformed," we naturally ask whether the President really expects us to face his successor with precedents and expedients of this sort. We are not impatient. We know the difficulties of his position. We do not expect him to reform the civil service in one year or in four; but we do not think we ask too much when we ask that, whether the results aimed at be small or great, the method shall from the very first be the right one, and one through which the cause of reform can be saved hereafter, when the sympathy with it and interest in it which are now felt in the White House shall no longer exist.

THE CURE FOR SOUTHERN LAWLESSNESS.

THE Chisholm tragedy in Mississippi, and a murder, at first supposed to be of political origin, in Louisiana, are calling forth a fresh crop of comments and suggestions as to the condition of the South and the best mode of remedying it. Some Republican papers affect to consider these unfortunate occurrences the effects of the "President's policy," being apparently forgetful of the accounts they used to give the country of the condition of the South last summer and during the ten years before "the policy" was heard of. But the only cure that any of them has suggested thus far for the diseases of Southern society is scolding. They think that if Secretary Evarts will write Governor Stone of Mississippi a severe letter it will do good, particularly if it is followed up and supported by a sufficient number of seathing articles on Southern lawlessness. Of course it is impossible to offer any good reason why the Northern press should not express their horror and disgust over the ferocious disregard of human life by which many Southern States are disfigured. But while scolding, there are certain things which those who seek to civilize the South must not overlook. The outrages on the negroes, which have played such a prominent part in Northern politics during the last fifteen years, were not, as many Republican orators tried to persuade us, the result of white hatred of blacks. They were the result of the appearance of the negro in Southern society as a person. As long as he was property he enjoyed the security which has in nearly all the Southern States been always accorded to property. As soon as he rose to the rank of a man, he became exposed to that common law of Southern life which requires that every man shall be ready and willing to defend himself against violence with his own hand, and which compels every person who

in any way makes himself obnoxious to the community to become a fighting man or leave the State. The negro by his political performances made himself very obnoxious, and thus became exposed to the usual penalty, but in no greater degree than a white man in similar circumstances, and, being afraid to fight, he had to suffer every injury and insult reserved by the Southern social code for the physical coward. The idea of remedying this state of things by sending small parties of troops into the State at election-time was always absurd; we doubt, however, whether it was much more absurd than much of the comment called forth by the tragedy to which Chisholm and his children fell victims. Chisholm, it must be remembered, was, like those who killed him, a fighting man. He had doubtless, like the rest of them, had his street-fights, and threatenings, and waylayings, and had attended funerals of murdered men like Gully's, where all the mourners were so occupied with plans of vengeance that there was difficulty in getting any one to fill up the grave.

The disease, in short, is deep-seated. It is hard in the South-western States to find anybody who is not afflicted with it. Ministers, elders, and deacons all reserve a little corner in their moral constitution where they keep the devil standing guard over their "honor." It is not very long since a Mississippi Presbyterian minister shot in cold blood a man who had wounded the affections of his sister-in-law. We have heard in that State a very intelligent and respectable citizen mention, at the close of an improving conversation on oratory, that "he would lie in wait for and shoot" a man who should say certain things of him in a speech. We have seen a much-respected "colonel" in a country town there who had killed thirteen men without ever being condemned by a jury. It turned out that the estimable J. Madison Wells, of whose walk and conversation the "visiting statesmen" gave us such glowing accounts, had killed three men in his time; and it was characteristic that, fearing annoyance in his examination at the hands of David Dudley Field, he went to the committee-room with two revolvers and a bowie-knife. In fact, a sense of the propriety and lawfulness of killing people in certain contingencies is embedded so deeply in Southern education, character, and opinion that no newspaper articles, and especially no Northern newspaper articles, can reach it. The genuine Southerner looks on attacks on it from this source as the attacks of men of a different and inferior civilization. Northern indisposition to take life is not to him a sign of the supremacy of conscience over brute passion, but of the triumph of base timidity over self-respect.

This state of mind is one through which every civilized country has passed. It is one through which nearly all our frontier States have passed. It puts the South on a level with Corsica and Sicily and Naples and Turkey, or, in other words, with the most barbarous and ignorant and backward regions of the western world. What is most sad and shameful about it at the South is, however, that these habits of violence exist side by side with considerable intellectual cultivation, with a strong sense of legality, and with a keen appreciation of the blessings of order and security. The Sicilian or Greek who sticks you or shoots you if you annoy him is usually a half-savage peasant in a gaudy costume, who hardly knows what a court of justice is, and has no notion of law, and expects the saints to save him from the gendarmes. The Southern fighter is too often a man who has been brought up under the best legal, social, and religious traditions and ideas of our time, and who on most subjects shares the hopes and aims and holds the standards of the civilized world.

There is little use now in endeavoring to explain this remarkable failure of ideas to soften manners or tame the passions. It has been often done, and in ascribing the phenomenon mainly to slavery, with its accompanying isolated agricultural life, the explanation has, we think, been a success. What most concerns us now is the remedy, and in trying to discover this we must not suppose that the South can be rid of this barbarism by any new or patent process. The road to order, to respect for human life, and to readiness to leave controversies and wrongs to the courts, is an old and well-known one. It has come everywhere through

the growth of population, the influence of commerce and industry, the spread of education, and the diffusion of wealth. It has never come anywhere through "troops" simply, or through the objurgation of foreign critics or enemies. Northern opinion can doubtless do much to help the process of civilization in the lawless regions of the South, but its expression must be such as to help and not hinder the spread of Northern colonization at the South, the growth of commercial relations, and the creation of common social and political ideals. Whatever agency may be most useful for this purpose, one thing is certain, that the maintenance of the Republican party with the spirit which has characterized it and the leaders who have managed it during the last ten years, as suggested by the steady-minded and philosophical Mr. O. P. Morton in his late letter, is not among the number. A more potent instrument for the perpetuation of hate, violence, and disorder at the South, for making Southerners sullenly impervious to all the civilizing influences of the day, could hardly be contrived than the Republican party as engineered by Blaine, Morton, and the like, with its lists of apocryphal outrages, its insane vituperation of the strongest element in Southern society, its deep taint of personal corruption, its lawless use of the public service of the Government for partisan purposes, and its open hostility to all administrative reform. A real Republican party, which, while watching over the results of the war, seeing that none of its real gains were lost, seeing that the negroes were not deprived of real protection and of the means of rising through industry and education to social and political weight and influence, would at the same time win the South over to Northern methods of solving the various problems that beset great and free communities, and bring it into complete harmony with the best modern ideas, must not be led by jobbers, intriguers, speculators, and adventurers, without conscience or opinions or convictions or plans. It must have at its head men whose character is respected, and who are in full sympathy with the popular aspirations for the improvement of the Government in all its branches, who are competent, by knowledge and interest, to show how the improvement may be effected and to aid in carrying it out. We have no sort of doubt that the course pursued thus far by the President is well calculated to reorganize the Republican party in such fashion as sooner or later to secure for it a hearing at the South, and make its censures or remonstrances seem something better than the wails of a parcel of unprincipled intriguers over the loss of the handling of State funds. The South has put forward a few men like Gordon, Lamar, and Hill, and we think we may now add Hampton, whom sober-minded people at the North begin to place confidence in as men who really have at heart the security and prosperity of Americans of every race and party. The North must meet them with men whom it in its turn professes to respect and believe in. The present Republican leaders are not in this category. We cannot preach with effect even to the Mississippi cutthroats as long as these men occupy prominent places in the church.

MACMAHON'S COUP.

PARIS, May 17, 1877.

MY attention has been so engrossed for the last two years by the affairs of Europe and the gradual development of the Eastern Question, that I must confess to having paid slight attention to the petty incidents of our internal politics. I was among those who desired, after our misfortunes and the fall of the Empire, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in France, thinking that the country had been ill-prepared for republican institutions by long years of despotism and of corruption, and at the same time that the prestige of the old French royal family might be a force for a country which had suffered the loss of old provinces conquered by the monarchy. The monarchy was not established, less through the fault of an Assembly which was monarchical at heart, than of the eldest representative of the old dynasty. When the National Assembly made, in perfect freedom, a republican constitution, there was nothing for a good citizen to do but to wish success to the new institutions. It was not everybody's duty to be in office, to become a minister or an agent of the new government; it seemed

to me that it was everybody's duty to obey the new political law, and not to intrigue against the new order of things.

Such was, I believe, the state of mind of the great majority of the country. Unfortunately, the constitution did not provide, and could hardly provide, for all emergencies. The Senate, which represents the communes of France, or, it might be said with more truth, the departments, is in its majority conservative; though this majority is very small it is perfectly disciplined and organized, and its object is to support the executive power against the encroachments of the Lower Chamber, elected by universal suffrage. In this Chamber the majority is overwhelming; it hardly needs any organization, and its various groups, headed by such men as Thiers, Gambetta, and Louis Blanc, are always united on some questions. It is a great misfortune that this Chamber, though it did assume at first an attitude decidedly hostile to the person of the Marshal, did not conceal its intention to govern in opposition to the views of the Senate. The Republican party can hardly understand that it is in power and not out of power, and long habits of opposition have rendered it almost unmanageable. There was nothing for the Republicans to do but to enjoy quietly the new state of things. For the first time in the history of the country the republic was not born of sedition; it had a legal status, a good constitution; but this constitution is not sufficiently respected by the Republicans. Their ideal even now is always the old revolutionary ideal—a single Chamber, supreme in its will and armed with all the power of the law. The Chamber, which is elected by universal suffrage, does not look on the Senate as the House of Commons looks on the House of Lords; it does not look on the President as Congress does on the President of the Republic. The Senate is a mere nuisance and so is the head of the Executive, and our deputies are not yet used to seeing the Senate and the President exercise their constitutional prerogatives. The real leader of the Chambers is Gambetta, and, though Gambetta has often tried to be moderate, moderation is not his nature. There is more of Catiline in him, or of the Gracchi, than of Cicero. When the new Chamber met it was soon found that the minority was so small that two Government parties could not be found in it. The Marshal gave the Chamber fair play; he admitted to his councils first M. Marcère and after him M. Jules Simon. The republicans, instead of becoming more loyal to him, thought that MacMahon had merely yielded to necessity; they did not try to give to their own Cabinets the greatest possible longevity. Marcère first and then Jules Simon did not lead the majority; the majority continued to be led by Thiers and by Gambetta, who sometimes gave and sometimes refused their support to the Government. The Administration was, so to speak, in the air; Jules Simon paid his court in the morning to the Marshal, in the afternoon to Gambetta. The Cabinet, besides, was divided; there were in it the men who might be called the Marshal's men—the Minister of War, the Minister of the Navy, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and there were also the men who cared less for the views and feelings of the Marshal than for their friends in the Chamber of Deputies.

A conflict was inevitable; it was long put off. The Marshal, who is not a politician, has, nevertheless, a few well-defined ideas. The Republican press had shown, since the ascension of Jules Simon to power, more and more disregard for his feelings. Communists were writing articles, in all sorts of newspapers, which recalled the sad times of 1871. Rochefort was publishing a paper in which his articles were known by the initials X. Y. A campaign had begun against the French clergy. Jules Simon had dismissed an immense number of functionaries who were Conservatives, and had replaced them by men who had not even the good-will of the Marshal. Jules Simon himself made no progress whatever in his confidence; all his softness, his graces, were lost upon the stern old man. The military friends of the conqueror of Magenta assured him every day that the country was on the way to ruin; that, while France was in constant and imminent danger of war, while Europe was in arms, France was slowly getting decomposed.

Of course there was much exaggeration in these representations; to all appearances the country was quiet, prosperous, and happy; but the fact which could not be denied was the singular relations of the President, who is the head of the army, and the Republicans, considered as a party. The Republicans did not, like Mahomet, go to the mountain; they ignored the mountain, they said there was no such thing as the mountain. Yesterday they saw their mistake; a letter was sent by MacMahon which has had on public opinion almost the effect of a *coup d'état*. The Chamber of Deputies was discussing the repeal of a law, only two years old, on the press. This law had been passed especially with a view to preventing the attacks of the press on foreign sovereigns (and particularly the Emperor of Germany). It brought the offenders before the correctional tribunals

and not before a jury, in some specified cases. The Cabinet was not in favor of the repeal of this law, and it seems that both Jules Simon and the Minister of Justice had promised that they would oppose it in the Chamber. They both remained silent, however, and as the Government made no opposition to the partisans of Gambetta, Gambetta carried a vote of repeal by an overwhelming majority.

Marshal MacMahon, when he read the proceedings of the Chamber in the official paper, wrote a very peremptory letter to the President of the Council, and, in fact, dismissed him from his Council. Jules Simon understood it so and resigned, in a letter which I cannot help considering a very feeble document. The news immediately spread over the town and created as great a sensation almost as the 24th of May. The Marshal had taken the keys of the house into his own hands; to whom would he give them? Was his act a *coup d'état*? or was it only a *coup de tête*? Was he really tired of being ignored by his own ministers, and would he now begin to exercise the great power which always attaches in France to the chief of the executive? Hitherto he had only been a soldier; would he become a statesman? The first impression, I must confess, was one of uneasiness, almost of terror. Everybody felt that a period of agitation was beginning, that our comparative ease and rest was at an end. The new Cabinet could not govern in opposition to the hostile Gambettist majority, and, therefore, would be obliged to prorogue the Chamber, perhaps twice (the Constitution allows two successive prorogations, each of a month, but not more than two), and then to dissolve it. The Senate would probably consent to the dissolution, which can only be pronounced by the President with the approval of the higher Chamber; then would come an electoral contest of three months. We have, therefore, before us a period of three months at least, of six months probably, of political agitation; and, at the end of these long and uneasy months, what if the country returns a Chamber as hostile or more hostile to the President? The new Cabinet has been named and has been chosen from among the men who fell from power at the last general election; they naturally must hope that the country will reverse its verdict in a few months, otherwise they would not accept the task of forming an administration; but the country may not reverse its verdict.

It is idle to make conjectures; the events now progressing in Europe and general politics may contribute to change the wishes and aspirations of the country; there never was a time when it was more necessary that the Executive should be strong. As soon as General Cialdini heard of the fall of M. Jules Simon, he called on the Marshal, and used, it seems, almost threatening language. The Marshal might have referred him quietly to the Duc Decazes, who was still performing the duties of his office; he assured him that his Government had no intention to give any support to the Ultramontane policy, and a note to this effect was sent to the newspapers and even posted in the lobbies of the Assembly at Versailles. You must perceive by such details how parliamentary government is understood and carried on here. The situation, on the whole, may be summed up thus: the President, by virtue of his initiative, has called the Conservatives to power, and will, with their help, ask again for the sentiment of the country, and try a general election. If the country declares itself against the Conservatives there is every probability that he will resign; for he will not, in my opinion, ever make a military *coup d'état*.

Correspondence.

PHœNICIAN ANTIQUITIES IN ITALY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I enclose an extract from a very interesting letter lately received from Sig. Alessandro Castellani, which, as referring directly to the Kurium treasures purchased from General Cesnola for the Metropolitan Museum at New York, seems to me most worthy of publication in the *Nation*. The letter was not written with any such intention on the part of the writer, and thus may be taken as an index to his real enthusiasm for antique objects of beauty and archaeological interest in all parts of the world. Every one who met him during his visit to this country was charmed with his kindly manner and impressed with a sense of his highly cultivated taste and deep knowledge of the subjects to which his life has been devoted. His many American friends will be glad to find proof in this letter that the prophet is not without honor in his own country.

Hoping that the efforts which have been made to retain his collections in this country will be crowned with success,

I remain, yours very truly,

CHARLES C. PERKINS.

Boston, May 30, 1877.

"ROME, May 10, 1877,
83 VIA DE' POLI.

"I was sure that the new collection of Cyprian antiquities at the Metropolitan Museum would impress you profoundly. They are objects of the highest value, which all must admire. What will you say when I tell you that I had but just arrived at Rome with my mind full of the remembrance of those beautiful things when I received an invitation from Senator Fiorelli, the director of the Archæological Section, to visit a quantity of antique objects discovered last year in the necropolis of Preneste (Palestrina), and purchased by the Italian Government? I was requested to give my opinion upon this treasure-trove, and to arrange the whole in show-cases suitable for public exhibition at the Kircherian Museum. Think of my astonishment when I found that the collection consisted of Assyrian-Egyptian-Phœnician objects, exactly like those which I had unpacked in the museum of New York only a few weeks before. Among them are three silver bowls inlaid with gold, whose decorations are identical with those at New York, at the Louvre, at the Gregorian Museum in Rome (found in the famous Regolini Galassi tomb at Cervetri), and with those of the fragment in my own collection at Rome, which was found at Pæstum. These facts, so connected with each other, throw a great deal of light upon the origin of Greek and Etruscan art, and open a vast field for investigations of the utmost importance. Besides these bowls which I have mentioned (one of which has already been published and explained by Ernest Renan, and upon which, besides many inscriptions in hieroglyphics, the names of two artists (?) are inscribed in pure Phœnician) there is in this collection a great lustral vase of silver, of a somewhat compressed spheroidal shape, having six handles arranged about the lips like a crown. These handles represent serpents. The body of the vase is decorated with several zones of fighting animals, hunters, trees, etc., worked like the bowls of which I spoke above, in chiselled outlines, not engraved with the graver's tool (the burin), but, as we say, 'scamuffati' (scratched), and then slightly hammered out from underneath ('repoussé'). The technic (method of work) is the same as that of all the bowls of this style known. Besides these important pieces, there is a golden vase of exquisite shape, whose two handles are granulated sphinxes, turned towards the interior of the vase, as if they wished to guard its contents. I have never seen anything like this in any museum. It is unique. Other pieces of the very first quality are a gold pectoral, heavy and large, adorned with several rows of small granulated lions and sphinxes, and two long golden cylinders with wonderful meanders of pomegranates. I must also cite as objects of the greatest rarity a dagger with sheath, blade, and handle of silver, adorned with amber, and a sword with a silver sheath, ornamented with animals marching in Indian file, in 'repoussé' work, outlined with the chisel. The ivories, the bronzes, and certain glazed fictile vessels are also Oriental in style. To sum up, this treasure is most precious, and of the greatest importance as fixing certain types afterwards adopted by the Greeks and Etruscans."

THE BOSTON COLLECTORSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "Wendell Phillips is on his feet dealing heavy blows." Such was the telegram from Simmons in the Custom-house to Babcock in the White House, sent during the attempt to capture the Faneuil Hall meeting called to protest against Federal bayonets in State legislatures. "What was the cause of Mr. Blank's defeat for Congress last fall?" was asked to-day in the writer's hearing in one of the clubs. "His reform speech in Tremont Temple," was the reply; "of course, that set Simmons and the Custom-house against him." And should you ask why Boston for the first time for many years is now cursed with a partisan city government and mayor your informant, if really "inside politics," would probably answer you to the effect that "Simmons saw his chance to get even with the Silver-tops and the Bristow crowd by carrying over the Custom-house to the Democrats." If further evidence were needed to show the power of our Custom-house as a political engine, and the wholesome dread which it inspires as such, what could be more significant than the array of "endorsements" which the Collector now boldly publishes in pamphlet form, as who should say, with the Tammany "statesman," "What are you going to do about it?" It is

amusing to note how some of the more prominent are careful to lay great stress on the opinion of somebody else, like the lord-mayor in the play: "Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferred, but nothing urged in warrant from himself." The Collector has given us a list of those who *complied* with his request for an endorsement. If he remains in office, the next elections may give us a shrewd idea as to who *refus'd*, for the leopard will not change his spots, though a thin coating of reform whitewash may hide them for a time.

ANTI-BUTLERITE.

Boston, June 2, 1877.

KENTUCKY CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I desire to give you an account of an incident in connection with the civil service which lately occurred in this city. From it you will be able to judge for yourself of the progress which civil-service reform is making in this quarter.

The most desirable, if not the most important, Federal office in this city is the postmastership. For the past eight years the place has been held by a lady. In a few months her commission will expire, and it has been understood for some time that she would not apply for a reappointment, probably because she had been given to know that her chances of being kept in the office were not worth much. It is right to say, however, that the lady has filled the office with credit to herself and to the satisfaction of the community. Why she is not continued I cannot say, but it is known that she has not applied to have her commission renewed.

It need scarcely be said that the importance of the office, and the fact that there would be a vacancy, called forth a swarm of applicants. Most of them were soon distanced in the race, and shortly before the matter was decided the contestants with any show for success had been reduced to probably not more than three. One of these was a lady, the other our present assistant postmaster, the third an attaché of the department in some special capacity. The lady was victorious. A few days ago the telegraph brought the news that the President had appointed Mrs. Virginia Thompson to be Postmistress of Louisville. Most people were greatly surprised at this termination of the contest, as it was not generally known that the lady was even seeking the position.

But, it will be asked, to what circumstances and influences does she owe her good luck? She is the daughter of the celebrated Alexander Campbell, the founder of a somewhat flourishing religious sect here in the West known as "Campbellites." This is said to have given her the active support of every influential Campbellite in the country. Next, she is the widow of a once prominent and talented member of our bar, who lately died, leaving his wife quite without means and with a large family to provide for. This circumstance made it seem like a beautiful charity to give her the post-office, and hundreds were moved by their feelings to work very hard to get her the place. Of course we are all glad that she has found employment; but those of us who have been thinking about civil-service reform are a little sorry and disappointed that she was not started in a subordinate instead of in the topmost position. But besides being a "Campbellite" and a poor widow, she is also very interesting in herself, being a woman of much force of character, considerable intelligence, and attractive manners. When there is a woman in the case, we all know how potent such qualities are. She is endeared to a great many by still another reason. During the war she was what the Union people were in the habit of calling a "great rebel," and of course has been an intense Democrat ever since. Her two rivals for the postmastership are both Republicans; but her "war record" and party bent only make her the greater favorite with the bulk of our leading people. "Good society" hereabouts, you must know, has hardly yet fully got over the prejudice which regards a Republican as in some sort inherently inferior to a Democrat. However, the prejudice is not very strong or active now, and in a little while will quite die out. Still, of as much of it as remains Mrs. Thompson got the benefit. And in Washington, as the telegraph informs us, she had strong help too. She owes her appointment, it is said, to the powerful influence of Jere. Black, Jere. Black's daughter, and Mr. Garfield. The Blacks were old friends of her father, and Garfield is an ex-preacher of the "Campbellite" persuasion.

These, then, are the circumstances and influences which gave us our new postmistress. You will observe that no questions seem to have been asked by any one, from the President down, whether the lady is fit for the position, has ever had any experience in the Post-office department, or is the best qualified applicant for the place. Unless, however, we are all mistaken as to the meaning of civil-service reform, it is absolutely certain

that this appointment was not made according to any known rule or principle of that reform. So much for Mrs. Thompson's case. I forgot to say, however, that her petition was originally addressed to Mr. Tilden, her friends having begun their efforts to get her the post-office so long ago as when it was yet supposed or hoped that Mr. Tilden would be President.

A word now of the unsuccessful applicants. One of them, by name Capt. Brown, was a "Bristowite," and had been turned out of office by General Grant as a punishment for his disloyalty. President Hayes has since restored him to his old position. That is all very well, for he was an unobjectionable officer I am told, and ought never to have been put out. Other such restorations have occurred here, and they have come to be spoken of, not as civil-service reform, though it happens they were appointments that were improvements, but as "vindications of Bristow." Well, it would seem that Capt. Brown and his friends did not think there had been enough "vindication" in his case; so he and they went to work to get him the post-office. It is said that Mr. Bristow and General Harlan, who are the leading representatives of the Administration in this quarter, were strong backers of Capt. Brown. At all events, these gentlemen did not favor Mrs. Thompson, nor did they favor Capt. Brown's companion in misfortune, the other losing candidate. So it would seem that leading and influential men are not, after all, omnipotent with the President. Are we, then, to regard the success of Mrs. Thompson as a mark of independence in the President, as a triumph of merit and the popular wish over political influence and party fidelity? The sequel will show otherwise. All that can be said just here is that as between the two candidates named the President cannot fairly be blamed, from the civil-service reform point of view, for refusing the favorite of the politicians and following his own judgment. He can only be blamed for having chosen an inexperienced person when a perfectly qualified one was at hand.

But all has not yet been told. Mention has been made of a third applicant for the vacancy, and he is the real Hamlet of the play. This third "party" is our present assistant postmaster. The civil-service reformers took it for granted almost that this candidate would certainly get the place. They put faith in the sincerity of the President's views and promises with regard to appointments in the civil service, and they could not see how, with his principles, he was to escape promoting this official to the postmastership. This man has been twenty-two years in the postal service, and for more than thirteen our assistant postmaster. In fact, during the past eight years he has been the real head of the office. The nominal head is a lady, but she is only a figure-head. The real head has been and is her assistant, and a more efficient, faithful, and excellent official could not be found. Under his direction, our post-office has come to be one of the best managed in the country, and it has been kept commendably aloof from what you have aptly called "machine politics." Besides his perfect familiarity with his duties, he is also well qualified on the score of character, education, and intelligence. So well, indeed, is this gentleman thought of that I am satisfied if it were left to the business men of this city to say who of all men among us is best qualified to be our postmaster, and who of all the applicants can pretend to anything like a claim to the place, nine out of ten would name our assistant postmaster, and the remainder would be unable to give a valid reason for voting against him. Such, then, is the man whom our civil-service reform Administration has passed over, though he had earned the right to be promoted, and was entitled to the chief prize of his department as a reward for his long and faithful service. But it was given to a stranger, an outsider, a person totally inexperienced and without business training, and withal a woman.

Nor is this all, or the worst. Since a change has been made in the head of the office, our unfortunate assistant postmaster cannot even feel sure that he will be allowed to keep his present place. For all one can know, his superior may take it into her head to "rotate" him out of office. That we know is the Democratic way, and the lady is said to be a terrible Democrat—one of the sort not heretofore given to showing any quarter to Republicans. So it is not beyond the range of probability that his twenty-two years of faithful service may be suddenly brought to a close, some fine morning, by a notice that his services are no longer required, on the ground that he has held the place long enough, and should make way for a new man. And all this, be it remembered, at the hands of an Administration which assures the country that it ranks civil-service reform as the foremost political need of the times.

But I do not think that the President is wholly to blame for this most shabby trick. It is humiliating to have to characterize in this way the act of a great Government, but there is no help for it. A major part of the blame, I believe, lies at the door of the leading Republican politicians of this city. If they had favored the application of our assistant postmaster,

as they should have done, I believe the President would have instantly granted their request; but, for reasons best known to themselves, they exerted their influence for Capt. Brown. Now, as between this gentleman and Mrs. Thompson, the community much preferred the latter, and no doubt this fact was made plain to the President. So, since he could not commission the candidate of the politicians, which was right, and did not care to offend them by appointing a man whom they opposed, he probably concluded he would please most and offend fewest by giving the appointment to the lady applicant.

Meantime, the real friends of civil-service reform are discouraged and borne down with disappointment. They are beginning to lose faith in the will and power of the Administration. From all quarters there come reports of the baleful influence of spoils-seeking politicians. The old machine is broken, but a new one of exactly the same model is being rapidly set up and put in operation.

A. R. C.

LOUISVILLE, KY., May 31, 1877.

[We think this case only confirms the impression created by others, that the Postmaster-General forms the weak spot in the new Administration in the matter of civil-service reform, the meaning of which he has apparently still to learn; and that the President must be quick in substituting system for discretion in all departments, if he is to leave us better off than he found us.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE break, which began in 1869, in the original firm of Harper & Bros. ended last week in the death of the last surviving member, Mr. Fletcher Harper. He was the youngest of the four brothers (James, John, Joseph Wesley, and Fletcher), and was born in 1805. For sixty years the firm has been represented by one generation, and now that it has passed entirely into the hands of the next, it gives every promise of enduring for an equal period without forfeiting its high and peculiar rank among American publishers.—G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for immediate publication 'The Scripture Club of Valley Rest,' by John Habberton, author of 'Helen's Babies.'—Lippincott & Co. have in press the twelfth and last volume of the 'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams.'—The Paris *Temps* of May 19, in making a fresh appeal for subscriptions to the Michelet monument, gives the list up to date, which amounts, in sums of one franc and upwards to five thousand, to 20,090 francs, or in round numbers \$4,000. The list was to close on May 30.—Bibliophiles will find something to interest them in M. Charles Lefebvre's 'Livres payés en vente publique 1,000 francs et au-dessus, etc.,' or list, with prices annexed, of books that have brought \$200 and upwards at public sales since 1866; also in the announcement made in the last *Polybiblion* of a forthcoming work on French book-plates (*ex-libris*) by M. Bilio, a military superintendent, whose collection exceeds four thousand. Copiously illustrated with heliographic fac-similes, this would be a very charming volume.—Mr. August Belmont's collection of paintings, which has heretofore lacked the finishing satisfaction of a good catalogue, has been very carefully indexed by Mr. S. P. Avery, the occasion being the late opening of the gallery for the benefit of the family of J. Beaufain Irving.—Some enlarged pictures have been added to those of the Academy Catalogue for the pleasant pamphlet of 'Academy Notes' published by Putnam's Sons. The enterprise, requiring much perseverance and the uncertain collaboration of the *genus irritabile*, was conducted to success by Mr. E. Wood Perry.—Apropos of the Caxton anniversary celebration, to begin in London on the 11th instant, Mr. J. W. Bouton of this city will offer an edition of the new reproduction of the 'Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' the first book printed with a date in England.

—The telegraph has brought us news of the death and burial in England of Mr. Motley, the historian of the Dutch Republic. Born in 1814, he was a Bostonian in that emphatic sense which, for more than a generation, has lost much of its meaning, if it has not become altogether inapplicable. He grew up in a Boston which, in race, in social and political traditions, and in many of its prejudices, was an English provincial town, and which yet, by its geographical position, by the wide relations of its commerce and consequent large-mindedness, was more truly a metropolis than any other American city ever was or is ever likely to be. In the intensity of her municipal life, and the affectionate, almost passionate, love of her children, the Boston of that day may be compared with mediæval Florence. That Boston is as obsolete as the mastodon, though there are

Bostonians who do not seem yet to have found it out. It was not a bad place to be born in, and Mr. Motley may be credited with that advantage, though he actually first saw the light in the suburban town of Dorchester. His training and early associations were all Bostonian. Graduated at Harvard College in 1831, the same year with Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. T. G. Appleton, he followed the example set by Mr. Everett twenty years earlier and went to Göttingen for what could not be found at home. New England discovered Germany before Old England did, and to that good-fortune mainly owes the emancipation of its culture. At Göttingen he knew Bismarck, then a wild Pomeranian *Bursch*, and it is worth telling as a trait of the latter's character that when Motley, many years later, called on the then Prime Minister at Berlin, and was denied, no sooner was his card carried up than his old fellow-student ran bareheaded into the street to call him back. After leaving Göttingen Motley travelled on the Continent and in England. He was known as the Handsome American, and the beauty of his person, the grace of his manners, and his cleverness made him what is called nowadays a social success. American travellers had not yet vulgarized their country in Europe. He was afterwards, for a short time, Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg; and after his fame as an historian was established, he successively represented our Government at Vienna and London. He was elected Corresponding Member of the French Academy, and received honorary degrees from Oxford and Cambridge. He was eminently one of those Americans who have won honor for their country abroad—a service whose moral and even political importance is hardly yet understood at home.

—Mr. Motley first showed his literary ambition as a novelist. Not disheartened by one failure, he tried again, with no better result, though in the choice of his subject he had shown the same happy instinct which led to his great success as a historian, and which, if not a mark of genius, at least contributes largely to its good fortune in the world. Certainly, not to be contented with failure is a kind of genius in itself, and this quality Mr. Motley showed by striking out in a new direction. He selected for his topic the history of a people whose commercial success and republicanism had made them dangerous, whether as rivals or examples, and rendered it convenient to ignore their remarkable genius both for the arts of life and for the highest of all, that of stable, free government. It was a theme especially suited to an American—we might almost say to a New-Englander—and Mr. Motley's success in it was in proportion to his fitness. He did not spare any labor in research; he found hospitable access to all archives, and he gave to the world a work which had the charm of novelty and the interest of romance. The same want of imagination which caused his failure as a novel-writer is felt as a defect in his historical writing. He is as far as possible from being what is called a philosophic historian; he is always more or less of a partisan; and he unconsciously demands that men of the sixteenth century should be governed by motives and conscious of principles which belong to the nineteenth. But this turn of mind has also its advantages, and Mr. Motley may be said to have had the qualities of his defects. What is called philosophy in an historian is sometimes moral indifference, sometimes a cynicism which looks upon nothing as of much account. Mr. Motley's style is perhaps pitched on too high a key; his narrative is sometimes cumbersome, and his epithets of the well-worn kind to which we have been used from boyhood, and which are associated with that dreary female terrible to us in youth as the Historic Muse; but he has the enthusiasm of sincerity; he is capable of indignation; he loves freedom and hates tyranny; he is not ashamed of the sentiment formerly known as humanity. If he made no addition to historical science (for which he was unfitted by temperament), he at least widened the boundaries of historical knowledge. He belongs to the school of Robertson, but with more thoroughness of investigation, and more accessibility to modern lights. His books will hold their own with the best of their kind, and with Prescott, Ticknor, and Parkman he shares the singular honor of having laid a European nation under a lasting obligation to American scholarship.

—The ceremony of decorating soldiers' graves appears to have become as firmly established now at the North as at the South; and the mingling in the observances of last Wednesday of the survivors of both armies appears to mark the final disappearance of the old bitter sectional hatred. Perhaps the chief difference now between the day in the South, where it originated, and in the North, where it has been adopted, is that there is more spontaneity at the South and more ceremony at the North. Certainly at the North, as far as we have noticed, it is not those who suffered most deeply through the war who make up the body of the procession, but members of some one or another "organization," part military, part civil, part Masonic, who turn out, as a matter of course, as they might on Evacuation

Day or the Fourth of July. This, it seems to us throughout the North, will always be a necessary condition of the day, and as the "Grand Army of the Republic" follows the steps of the Veterans of the Mexican war, and the Veterans of the war of 1812, and gradually is thinned out by death, it seems more than likely that the commemorative ceremonies will grow less and less important, and the day fall prosaically but naturally into the ranks of legal holidays of which the very origin with the lapse of time becomes forgotten. This is, in fact, more or less the fate of all holidays, except possibly when (as in the case of Christmas) the day is connected with matters of religious faith and hope. And sad as it may be to reflect that in the course of time the memories of the war, with its heroism, its devotion, its self-sacrifice must inevitably fade away, it is pleasing, on the other hand, to reflect that with these memories perish also all the distrust, all the suspicion, all the deadly hate which for nearly half a century made North and South foreign countries to each other. And when, in the end, the events which were to all of us life and death and honor and duty shall have become mere dry historical facts, ticketed and labelled on the shelves of libraries, it is pleasing to think that the only memorial anniversary of the last deadly struggle between barbarism and civilization will be a holiday, whose origin was not in the heartless celebration of the military triumph which ended it, but a commemoration of the essential unity and affection which made us one people, even through our long estrangement, and brought us together again over the graves of the victims of our unhappy quarrel. That it was an unhappy and not a glorious quarrel, as some of the enthusiasts on both sides persuaded themselves, is probably now—as at the time of the first shot at Sumter—the feeling of the country at large. That the war was a deplorable necessity—a necessity for which North as well as South was in a measure to blame—was the feeling perhaps most commonly expressed last Wednesday. There would, indeed, be something out of place, not to say grotesque, in allowing such men as General Pryor to take part in the celebration, if the theory that the Southerners were all criminals, engaged during the rebellion in acts similar to highway robbery, arson, and murder, were held by any large number of people at the North. Under such circumstances, to allow rebels to make speeches over the graves of Union soldiers would be like allowing, let us say, Tweed or Sweeney to deliver addresses over the graves of Fisk and Watson at an anniversary of the overthrow of the Ring. But the confusion of ideas which saw no difference between a great popular rising like that at the South and the acts of common felons never had much hold upon the understanding of the country. Whatever hold it had seems now, to judge by the general acquiescence in the propriety of the present character of the celebration, to have passed away.

—"Civis," a Virginian who wants the public-school system done away with in his State, and has used the *Religious Herald* and *Southern Planter and Farmer* to promulgate his views, has "published by request" as a pamphlet four articles which appeared in the latter periodical, the last under date of May, 1876 ('The Public School in its Relations to the Negro,' Richmond). "Civis" thinks very well of the negroes as laborers, but very poorly of them as aspirants for "the highest functions of life," which he reserves for the whites alone. It grieves him to reflect that in the competition to which the public-school invites them, by its assumption of human equality, they will surely be exterminated. His philanthropic argument is too long for us to quote entire, but we do not remember to have met any more forcible reason than the following for not teaching black folks the alphabet:

"As I write, my head is dull and my eyes are heavy from loss of sleep caused by the sickness of an infant child; and yet the nurse, a negro girl of seventeen years, upon whom the heavy work has chiefly fallen, and whose sleep has been interrupted several times every night—during some nights many times—is as fresh to-day as when the doctor was summoned two weeks ago. I have known her to be aroused five or six times a night, and yet not to lose from these several interruptions combined a half-hour's sleep, for in thirty seconds after relieved of active duty she is soundly asleep again. This result, I am sure, is due to a low type of cerebral organization, to her mental inactivity, which really fits her for the duties of her place, but would be a supreme disqualification for the higher avocations of life. She is withal tenderly affectionate to her charge, cheerfully responds to all the calls made upon her, and I prefer her in her place to any white girl in the commonwealth. Would it be kind to her, would it be just to society, which must always demand just such duties as she performs, to tempt her to aspire to a higher position denied her by Him who made her as she is?"

—It is proposed to erect in this city for the use, primarily, of Mr. Theodore Thomas and his orchestra a permanent hall combining the features of a summer-garden and concert room, and so arranged as to be serviceable at all seasons of the year. The site selected is that bounded by Fourth and Madison Avenues and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets. The present building will be replaced by one of iron and glass, having the ground-floor divided by thoroughfares, faced by rows of shops, resembling

in this respect the London "arcades." The garden proper will be therefore on the second floor, and may faintly suggest the once famous "hanging gardens" of the East. Few persons have done more than Mr. Thomas to cultivate a taste for good music in this country, and it is to be hoped that the expectations of the projectors of the scheme may be fulfilled. The cost of the building is estimated at \$500,000. The plans, which have been prepared by Mr. Alfred H. Thorp, seem to be convenient enough except in one respect—that the arrangements for lighting from above through illuminated tiles are open to criticism. That some such garden as this is much needed in the city—and that, too, in the centre of the city—cannot be doubted. During the years that Thomas played at the Central Park Garden, although the place was far out of the way, and the garden was more like a bear-pit than a garden, thousands of people found there what they could find nowhere else—good music (to be listened to or not, at pleasure), a restaurant, either *al fresco* or under cover, and, above all, complete ease as regards locomotion. Since Thomas has ceased to play there the only substitute has been Gilmore's, which as a garden is a vast improvement, but as a musical entertainment is not all that could be desired. Gilmore is a painstaking and praiseworthy conductor of a very good military band, which might be made and formerly was made to play the kind of music adapted to its capacity; but for some reason or other Gilmore has apparently conceived it to be his mission to out-Thomas Thomas by playing highly classical music with a band adapted to music of the martial sort. Within certain limits, of course, a great deal may be done with any really good band, but when Gilmore undertakes to play Liszt's "Preludes," or a movement from the Fifth Symphony, it is time to ask whether he admits that there is any connection between means and end in music, or whether he would not be quite ready to give us Beethoven "rendered" by Levy on the cornet, with fife and drum accompaniment, or, in fact, to undertake to perform any musical *tour de force* which might suggest itself to his fertile imagination. Without cavilling, it would be fair, too, to suggest that however magnificent it may be to get some female singer who has a voice powerful enough to let people at the end of the garden know when she is at work in the middle, yet as music there is comparatively little pleasure in listening to it. What is really wanted is not Gilmore attempting things beyond his reach, nor Thomas in such an out-of-the-way place as his old garden. We see no reason why in a permanent hall on the site selected Gilmore and Thomas would not both find fields for the exercise of their talents—provided, that is, that Gilmore would engage beforehand to confine himself to what he is fitted to play. If his ambition urge him much further on the road he is now travelling, we shall be tempted before long to echo Dr. Johnson's reply to the argument put forward in extenuation of certain other "difficult" music—that all we have to say is that we wish to heaven it were impossible.

—Almost every English review that comes to hand contains an article on some phase of the present relations between Church and State in the mother country. The first number of the new *Nineteenth Century* contained one from a bishop of the Established Church, and the last number contains two of them—a "High-Church" article by the Rev. T. T. Carter, and a "Nonconformist" article by the Rev. J. G. Rogers. While the bishop anticipates that the excitement produced in the Church by the Public Worship Regulation Act and the proceedings under it will soon die away, Mr. Carter believes that the state has recently usurped fundamental prerogatives of the Church, and unjustifiably interfered, as never before, in spiritual matters; that the present crisis is therefore an unusually grave one, and that unless the state recedes from its present position the Church itself may be compelled to battle for disestablishment in order to preserve the purity of its religion. "A papal despotism," he is fearful, "is really again being established in England, only now in the hands of the civil power representing the popular mind of the day." Mr. Rogers considers the social aspects of the question of disestablishment, and evidently cares but little for the present difficulties of the Church except as they may pave the way toward disestablishment. To him Mr. Carter's mountain is a very small mole hill. And even less than any mole-hill does the difficulty appear to Mr. Thomas Hughes, who, in the *Contemporary Review* for May, writes an article which in some respects is more interesting than any of the others on the same general subject. He believes that he represents the views of a great number of Englishmen whose creed is very untheological in expression, but is nevertheless a very decided one. It is, in brief, that "the good news our Lord brought is the best the world will ever hear"; that this revelation will not be followed by any other revelation; and that the Gospel is "the great purifying, reforming, redeeming power in the world." On the other hand,

the Englishmen whom Mr. Hughes represents "have no belief at all" as to many matters "commonly insisted upon in England as part of Christianity." They have no time to spare for such subjects as the exact quality of the inspiration of Scripture, the origin of evil, the method of the atonement, etc., and "do not feel it needful that they should make up their minds about them." Many ecclesiastical subjects, again, they believe to be only "men's fables, mischievous and misleading." Mr. Hughes does not attempt to defend this belief, but states it only as a fact to be considered in the existing controversy. He then argues in favor of the Established Church, and, as an exhibition of bull-dog reasoning, but for nothing else, his article will repay reading. He ignores completely the existence of any Nonconforming class, and apparently has no conception of any arguments proceeding from that direction. He distrusts only the "High-Church" party, and, while admitting that its members may be conscientious, declares that "men who can make matters of conscience of such trivialities . . . are not fit to be trusted with the spiritual guidance of any portion of our people." This absence of any sort of sympathetic appreciation of the position of an opponent, so singularly marked in Mr. Hughes's article, is, we believe, to a certain extent characteristic of multitudes of "practical" Englishmen; and when this unimpressible conservatism is joined to the enormous practical difficulties in the way of disestablishment, it is easy to believe that even if the present crisis be the beginning of the end, the end is nevertheless a long way off.

—By the death of "Fernan Caballero," which occurred at Seville last Easter week, Spain has lost her best-known and most popular modern writer of fiction. She was born at Cadiz in 1798, her father being Bohl de Faber, for many years German consul at Cadiz, and well known for his admirable collection of old Spanish lyrics ('*Floresta di Rimas antiguas castellanas*'), as well as for his influence on the literary taste of his adopted countrymen. His daughter Cecilia had a Spanish mother, and was married to three Spanish husbands, the last being the Marquis de Arco Hermoso. She was devotedly attached to Andalusia, in which the greater part of her long life was spent, and which she has so perfectly illustrated in her stories. It requires genius of a very high order to popularize the local life of one nation among the others. This Fernan Caballero did, and some of her tales have been translated into every European language. Her service to Spanish literature was very great. She not only directed the attention of the literary classes to the popular life of the nation, but her sincere and carefully-executed pictures of Spanish interiors have produced such brilliant imitators as Antonio de Trueba. Some of her works, notably the '*Cuentos y Poesias populares andaluces*,' possess great value for the student of folk-lore, who will find in them a host of local traditions, household tales, proverbs, etc., difficult to obtain elsewhere. The story by which she is probably best known in this country is '*La Gaviota*' (The Sea-Gull), a charming picture of life in the South of Spain. It is pleasant to know that she was fully appreciated in Spain, and that her long life, often saddened by domestic sorrows, was crowded with friends and success. It is too soon, perhaps, to predict the permanent place in the world's literature which the future will assign her, but she will doubtless occupy a high rank among those writers who are distinguished for their insight into the hearts of the people, and for their conscientious and artistic reproduction of the national life.

—In Johan Ludvig Runeberg, who died April 6, contemporary Sweden has lost its greatest poet. He was born in Finland, then a province of Sweden, in 1804, and there he spent his whole life, the greater part of it as teacher of Greek in the gymnasium of the little seaport of Borgo. The vernacular Finnish, beyond that remarkable mythological epic, the '*Kalevala*,' possesses only a scanty literature, and the Swedish, in spite of the efforts of an ultra-patriotic school of writers and teachers, continues to be to a large extent the language of culture in the Finnish towns. But the Finnish mythology, the peculiar characteristics of the Finnish race, and the severe and sombre features of Finnish scenery have not been without their influence upon Swedish writers born in the Duchy—an influence easily distinguishable in the works of Runeberg. Many of his tender love-songs and other lyrics are in the rhymeless pentameter verse of the '*Kalevala*,' so familiar to American readers through the '*Hiawatha*' of Longfellow. In all his works his imagery is largely drawn from the gloomy lakes, the far-stretching forests, and the wild streams of his native region; while the history, the legends, and the customs of Finland furnish the sources of several of his most important productions. His literary career began with the publication, in 1830, of a volume of '*Servian Ballads*,' translated from the German. His earlier original poems show traces of the powerful influence of Tegnér, but he soon ceased to be imitative, although,

like Tegnér, who was also a professor of Greek, he was fond of clothing the material drawn from the romantic North in the metrical forms employed by the Greek poets whom he had so carefully studied. His idyls, '*The Elk-Hunters*,' '*Hanna*,' and '*Christmas Eve*,' are in hexameters; his '*Nadeschda*,' a Russian romance of the days of the Czarina Catherine II. and her favorite, Potemkin, and '*King Fjalar*,' an attempt to unite in one work the romantic traditions of the old North and the misty fables of the Ossianic cyclus, are written chiefly in unrhymed classic measures. His greatest contribution to literature is '*Fänrik Stals Sägner*' (The Stories of Ensign Stal), two series of lyrics, the first published in 1840 and the second in 1860, but forming an epical whole. They narrate incidents in the struggle of 1808-9, which resulted in the separation of Finland from Sweden and its annexation to the Russian Empire, and are of the widest range, embracing humorous scenes of camp-life, satirical portraits of the Swedish king and court, stories of bravery and treachery, pictures of battles, victories, defeats, of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Finnish youth, and of the woe of devastated Finnish homes. One of the lyrics, commencing—

"Our land, our land, our Fatherland!
O word of precious worth!
There's not a height by breezes fanned,
There's not a dale, there's not a strand,
More loved than these which gave us birth,
Than our dear father earth!"

has become the national song of Finland. The plan of the work, its spirit of ardent patriotism, its keen humor, the touching and tender melancholy of the graver episodes, and the warm local coloring make '*The Stories of Ensign Stal*' one of the most striking of modern poems. Runeberg was at one time editor of the Helsingfors *Morgenblad*, the leading journal of Finland, and he compiled the admirable hymnal now used by the Finnish church. His last important works were two dramas, one a classical tragedy, entitled '*The Kings of Salamis*,' the other a not very successful comedy, styled '*Can't*.' Physically he was a man of large and robust build, noted for his delight in country sports, and enjoying vigorous health until a sudden attack of apoplexy, occurring some ten years ago, weakened his frame and checked his intellectual productiveness. All of his longer poems have been translated into German and Russian. The best edition of his collected works in the original Swedish is that of Stockholm, 1871, in six volumes.

—If the civilized world could have chosen whether it would have Dr. Schliemann's "finds" at Hissarlik and Mycenæ, or the lost arms of the Venus of Melos, its first impulse, certainly, would have been to choose the latter. But, as now appears, it has them besides. Gen. Meredith Read, American chargé at Athens, writes to the State Department that the arms have indeed been found, and not thirty feet from the place where the statue itself was found in 1820, that they are exquisitely modelled, and that one holds a kind of disc or shield. •Mr. Read further alludes to it as the "*Venus Victrix*," but if our readers will turn back to vol. xv. of the *Nation*, p. 355, they will learn that the "disc or shield" is not inconsistent with a theory there advanced by Mr. W. J. Stillman, viz., that the so-called Venus is really a Minerva-Victory—the identical "*Wingless Victory*" that stood in the little temple of Nike Apteros, on the Acropolis at Athens, of which the vicissitudes are well known. The tradition concerning the manner in which the arms were lost at the time of the finding of the statue, as reported by Mr. Stillman, will, if Mr. Read has not been misled, have to be revised. The same must be said of the theory on which M. Ravaissin of the Louvre wasted so much time and erudition (see *Nation*, vol. xviii. p. 217), after he had discovered the artificial pose given to the Venus by the connoisseurs who first put together the two parts of its body. He held that it was demonstrable that the figure formed part of a group, of which Mars formed the other part, and that she was engaged in disarming him. Before we destroy our favorite reproductions of the goddess, in big and in little, it may be as well to wait and see whether we shall like her as well after she is complete as now in her mutilated grandeur. Fortunately, the "restorer" has not intervened between the original and our ideals, so that we can judge without prejudice.

BAKER'S TURKEY.*

COLONEL BAKER'S book cannot but be regarded as a very useful addition to the literature of the "Eastern Question." He has lived for three years in European Turkey as the owner and cultivator of a landed estate, and has travelled a good deal in Bulgaria and Rumelia. Except for the fact that

* '*Turkey*. By James Baker, M.A., Lieutenant Colonel Auxiliary Forces, formerly Eighth Hussars.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1877.

he does not appear to speak any of the local languages, he could hardly be better fitted for travel and observation in that part of the world. As an old cavalry officer and sportsman he has a good deal of sympathy with the manlier and better side of Turkish character, and is enough of a politician and farmer to take a keen interest in the social and administrative economy of the country, and to be able to offer, as he does in this book, a very clear and careful account of both. He explains, indeed, with sufficient fulness for the general reader, the whole mechanism of the Turkish Government in all its branches, the system of taxation, the machinery of justice and education, and the military organization and the land-tenures; and gives a great deal of interesting and, we think, novel information about Turkish agriculture and the attractions offered by the country to foreign colonists. Not the least valuable portion of the book is the brief historical sketches with which the author prefaces his accounts of the different races composing the population of the European portion of the Empire. These sketches are in places somewhat florid, but they are accurate, and are drawn from trustworthy, if easily accessible, sources.

What will, of course, most interest the public in Colonel Baker's book is his account of the relations of the Christian to the Mussulman population, and of the real condition and prospects of the former under Turkish rule. These questions he approaches as an avowed Turcophile and Russophobic. He likes the Turks, and believes in them, and looks on Russia with dislike and suspicion. The book accordingly treats the evils of Turkish government, of which he by no means denies the existence, on what we have ventured to call "the bad-man theory," of which we have had so many examples in our own political discussions—that is to say, he is satisfied that the Turks would soon govern well if "the bad men" (in this case the Russians) would behave themselves. In other words, he proposes to solve the problem by eliminating one of its principal elements. He is firmly convinced, and quotes a good deal of official evidence to show, that all, or nearly all, the insurrections and outbreaks which have occurred in Turkey of late years have been the result of Russian instigation, and he does not except the recent rising in Bulgaria; and he seeks to leave, and we are sure with perfect honesty, the impression on the reader's mind that if let alone by Russia the Turkish Christians would have nothing, or but little, to complain of. Unfortunately, however, on this point the facts which he produces, often with apparent unconsciousness of their bearing, do not support his theories. For instance, he is enforcing, on p. 57, the view that the insurrection of 1876 was got up by Russian agents, and that the principal actors in it were "ruffians gathered together in the hope of plunder." He then goes on to say:

"As an instance of the panic which reigned among the Ottoman authorities, I will cite one case which occurred. A telegram was received by one of the governing pashas (in 1876) from his superior to destroy eleven named villages which were said to be hotbeds of insurrection. The pasha was about to carry his orders into effect when some influential Bulgarians and Turks waited on him and represented their horror at the intended cruelty, stating that they knew the villages intimately, and that the inhabitants were most peaceful, industrious, and harmless, and did not harbor a thought of rebellion. They begged the pasha to accompany them to the villages and satisfy himself of the accuracy of their assertion. He immediately did so, and of course found that the statement was correct. He telegraphed to that effect to his superior, and received orders to spare the villages, and thus these poor people escaped. Would that it had been so in all cases!"

Now, what Colonel Baker and the Turcophiles would have us believe is that people have no real cause of complaint who, "peaceful, industrious, and harmless," are living under a government which, being thrown into a "panic" by the machinations of foreign agents, telegraphs to its military commander on the spot to destroy, without enquiry or delay, eleven of their villages and slaughter the inhabitants. Think, Christian Turcophiles, what the morals and the methods of administration must be of a government which even contemplates such atrocious wickedness *against its own subjects* on any foreign provocation whatever, much less orders it by telegraph, in cold blood, and before a foreign invader has set foot on the soil or war has been declared against it by any foreign power! Do you seriously believe that the subjects of such a Power find life and property secure, justice attainable, and all legitimate aspirations gratified, even in ordinary times, when this is the way in which it meets an emergency that would in any other civilized community simply call forth an increased vigilance on the part of the police? And would you, could you, were you of the number of the "peaceful, industrious, and harmless people" who were threatened, for no fault of theirs, with this frightful calamity, ever spend another peaceful day or night under the rule of the monsters who could even by their terrors be driven into such measures? Would you not take the field against them and fight them as long as you could carry a rifle, and hail with delight the assistance of almost any ally?

And what would you think of civilized men who apologized for them, and said they were not so much to blame as the naughty ones who frightened them, and that if let alone they would govern very respectably?

Hear Colonel Baker again on another Bulgarian grievance:

"It was stated that many of the Bulgarian girls were seized by the Turks and forcibly retained in their harems. This report is partly true and partly false. Many of the girls were undoubtedly taken to the harems, sometimes forcibly, and in many cases out of charity; but with very few exceptions these girls refuse to return to their homes. They find the luxury and comfort of the harem preferable to their hard life in a Bulgarian village" (p. 58).

Suppose, Turcophiles, that the Turks had burnt down your village and slaughtered most of your neighbors and friends because the Russians wickedly scared them, and that you saw a bevy of the young girls, including your own daughters, carried off by bashi-bazuks, and heard that they were all in Turkish harems, how would you like to be told that the report was "partly true and partly false"; that only a portion of the girls were taken forcibly, and that most of them, including your daughters, did not wish to return? Would you be satisfied, and agree to give the honest Turk more time to reform his Government and establish equal rights? Colonel Baker quotes a curious passage bearing on this matter from a report made to Sir Henry Bulwer by Consul-General Longworth in 1860, recounting conversations he had had with the Grand Vizier, who was on a tour of inspection in that year:

"There is another abuse which calls urgently for correction. I mean the forcible abduction of Christian girls by Mohammedans. It is not alluded to in the Widin petition, and, indeed, is a crime by no means common in Bulgaria, nor, as I believe, in any other province, except Northern Albania. Still it is one which should not be neglected by the Porte, for it is that, and that only, which has furnished the ground for the most serious of the charges advanced—that is, the forced conversion of Christians to Islamism. Much has been said in extenuation of this practice of abduction. It is an old custom of these wild districts, and was formerly held to evince manly spirit on the part of the ravisher. It is asserted also, and I believe it, that the girls are frequently consenting parties to their own abduction, and that the parents, by delaying to give them in marriage, with a view of appropriating their services as long as possible, indirectly bring this misfortune on themselves. But these palliatives, and others of the kind which may be urged, are, I think, beside the question, which is simply if seduction and violence have been employed in removing these girls from the roof and protection of their parents. But instead of putting it to this issue, it has been the rule to force the party to appear before the tribunal which rejects Christian evidence, and to dispose of the affair summarily by compelling her to declare herself a Christian or a Mohammedan" (p. 180).

The delay of the parents—poor people mostly—in marrying their girls, "with the view of appropriating their services as long as possible," being set down as a "palliative" of the abduction of the women by Turks, in an official report, is surely a curiosity; or would be if the whole Turkish apology were not a huge curiosity in itself.

Here is another of Colonel Baker's Bulgarian stories—the period being 1859—illustrative both of the administration of justice and of the relations of the Christian peasantry to the Turks. The district is governed by a local magistrate, or Mudir, and a Medjliss, or court, composed of Turks and one Bulgarian Christian. The Turks are leading landholders, who let their lands to the Christians in shares:

"The neighborhood, being mountainous, was infested by brigands, composed of Turks, Albanians, and Christians, and the boys who sat on the Medjliss were said to afford a ready asylum to these robbers, and sometimes to share in the plunder. Under such circumstances the amount of justice received by the Bulgarians may easily be imagined. By the metayer system, the landlord receives half the crop (after many deductions) as rent, and it is collected in kind. At Djumaa, the boys and aghas employed brigands to collect, not only their own share, but much besides, from the rayahs, and these Albanians in their turn plundered the villagers. The Poliak, or Albanian guard, in the service of one of the members of the Medjliss, was attached to a village called Logotash. They gathered together seven other evil spirits, and, going to a neighboring village, broke into the cottage of a Bulgarian farmer, and demanded plunder. The poor man, having nothing to give, was seized and held down while his body was seared with red-hot irons. This, of course, was not an every-day occurrence, and consequently made some sensation in the neighborhood; and the Turkish Registrar for Title-Deeds of Sofia, happening to be at Djumaa, at the time, heard of the barbarity, and to his credit called on the Mudir, and had the Poliak arrested and brought before the Medjliss.

"At first the Albanians asserted their innocence, but the evidence was overwhelming and the Registrar firm; so they gave up that tack, and made a clean breast of it, and declared that they acted under instructions from their master and other members of the Medjliss or court which was trying them.

"This made matters disagreeable, but the indignant Registrar still pressed the case to a higher court. So off to Constantinople went the principal bey, the master of the Poliak, who was a man of considerable property, and consequently of considerable influence, and made interest there with the higher powers. The result was that an order came that the case was not to be pressed against him, and the indignant Registrar went on his way, but not rejoicing" (p. 60).

This occurred eighteen years ago, but Colonel Baker says things have greatly improved since then, and that they have improved somewhat there

is no doubt. But when we remember that the Christians have been living under a régime of this kind for four hundred years, it will be readily seen that the improvement since 1859, under the reign of a corrupt and half-demented despot, engaged in playing ducks and drakes with money borrowed of credulous Englishmen, cannot be very great, and that we need no Russian tempters and intrigues to account for the widespread Christian disaffection. In fact we could, if space permitted, make up out of Colonel Baker's facts as formidable an indictment against the Turkish Government as we have ever seen. His failure to perceive their force, and his disposition to throw so much of the responsibility on Russia, we can only ascribe to one of those waves of prejudice on foreign questions by which the gentlemanly mind of England is so often overwhelmed. Here is one of his stories in which there is a volume of instruction in Turkish politics. He is at the town of Niausta, in Macedonia; he meets an old man, a Greek, who shows him the spot where he as a boy saw "all the male population of the place" decapitated by the Turks:

"The demoralizing effects of such horrors are not confined to the moment, but leave their track behind. This I witnessed on visiting the house of a Greek shortly after this old man's recital. A pretty child came into the room, a boy of about five years of age, and upon my taking him on my knee, and making the usual remark that he was a fine boy for his age, the father said, 'Georgy, tell the gentleman how many Turks you will kill when you are a man.' There was much behind that question!" (p. 82).

Yes, "there was much behind it," more than could ever be laid on the Russians, and more than centuries of the best Turkish rule could cure. No whiffing about Russian atrocities in Central Asia or in Circassia, or intolerance to the Uniate dissenters, can even stir the surface of the ocean of unconquerable hate by which every acre of the Sultan's territory is covered.

Kismet. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1877.)—There is something unusually clever and graceful in this little novel, which is decidedly superior to the ordinary specimens of American fiction. It strikes us as very unequal, but even in its feeblest portions it does not cease to be readable. This inequality is so great as almost to suggest that the book may be the work of two persons—one of whom has written the descriptive portions, the other of whom has written the "talk." There is a great deal both of description and of talk; too much of each, we think, in proportion to the amount of action and of narrative. The talk is often clever, sometimes witty; but it is inferior to the description, which is usually excellent and frequently charming. The weakness of the book is that the author has given herself too little of a story to tell, and that she has told that little inartistically. The tale is altogether feminine, whether it be by one person or two. We say this in spite of the pretty passage near the close about the Emperor Hadrian and the suicide of the beautiful Antinous, which appears rather to have been written by a young lady who had not a definite idea what she was saying than by a young man who had such an idea, and who was still determined to say it. 'Kismet' is the history of a voyage up the Nile, and of certain love-passages on dahabeahs and in Pharaonic tombs, between Miss Bell Hamlyn and Mr. Arthur Livingston. The dahabeahs and the tombs, the scenery and incidents of the usual Nile voyage, are very agreeably and vividly sketched; there is much reality and definiteness of detail about the author's pictures of the Egyptian landscape; but Miss Hamlyn's love-affair strikes us as lacking interest—it is too small a kernel for so large a husk. She is a young girl of nineteen, who gives such an impression of juvenility that the hero begins to call her "Bell" and "my dear child" immediately after he makes her acquaintance. This hero is that *rara avis*, the American young man of the world and gentleman of leisure, who finds his native country a disagreeable place to live in and spends his melancholy prime in foreign lands—the most beautiful and fascinating type in modern fiction. His calling the heroine "Bell" is perhaps rendered less remarkable by the fact that she immediately begins to talk to him of her stepmother as "Flossy." The small points, however, are the only ones in which the author misreports the manners of American young persons. Bell's manners are very well, but it strikes us that her morals are a trifle relaxed. She is "engaged" to a young man of superior character who has remained in Venice to study art while she travels in Egypt with her parents, and in spite of this circumstance she attaches herself to Mr. Arthur Livingston, whom she meets upon the Nile, with a violence which deprives her of a portion of the reader's esteem. Livingston loves her in return, though in a more frigid fashion. The affair is momentarily interrupted by his learning that she has already accepted the young man in Venice; but then the latter is dismissed, the lovers embrace again, and, with an intimation that it was their "destiny" to do so, the book closes. The story is too slight—the knot is never tied tight enough to make the reader care how it is loosened. The natural in-

terest of the matter would be the struggle in the heroine's mind between her two sentiments; but this interest fails through the reader's not realizing the first one. The young man in Venice remains absent, represented only by his letters to the young girl, which seem to bore her extremely. Between a young man who bores her and a young man who extremely interests her she cannot properly hesitate, and there is therefore no struggle and no drama. If the author, on the other hand, has meant that Ferris does not bore her, and that she more or less loves him, she falls quite too easily into the arms of Mr. Livingston. It is probable that the latter case has been the author's meaning; but if it has, she has let her faithless maiden off too easily. The reader could forgive Miss Hamlyn under stress, but his imagination would demand that she should pass through a little more tribulation. As it is, however, we see only one horn of her dilemma, a result produced by the disjointed, unbusiness-like way in which the story is told. There seems no reason, however, why the author should not do very much better. There is a good deal of excellent intention in the figures of the heroine and the "fastidious American" who wins her, and if the other people (the travelling companions of this pair) are very shadowy, their talk contains a number of good things. The trouble is that there is too much of it, and that half of it is referred to no one in particular. We had marked several clever passages for quotation, but our space fails. The book has not a little charm, but it would have more if, the descriptive portion remaining untouched, the story were more solid and the personal portraiture, often graceful, had been put more into form.

Our Birds of Prey; or, the Eagles, Hawks, and Owls of Canada. By Henry G. Vennor, F.G.S. (New York: R. Worthington; Montreal: Dawson Brothers. 1876. 1 vol., small 4to.)—This sumptuous volume, almost an *ouvrage de luxe*, is otherwise chiefly notable in that it is the first formal treatise on Canadian ornithology of any considerable pretensions, and the first American work on birds to the illustration of which the art of photography is systematically applied. While we recall the names of a number of Canadian workers in the field, their results have generally appeared in the form of papers in scientific periodicals, either in Canada or in England; the Advocate Le Moine's 'Oiseaux du Canada' (which, by the way, is curious in being possibly the first American book on American birds printed in French) is too amateurish to be classed as strictly ornithological; and, in fact, it may be said that no previous Canadian work upon the subject has been of much, if any, more than local interest, or has borne the relation which Mr. Vennor's volume is likely to sustain toward general ornithological literature. Yet it is not a systematic treatise, but a monographic sketch of a particular group of birds, acquiring its general interest for the student of American ornithology from the fact that there are no birds of prey peculiar to Canada, and that it is, consequently, as far as it goes, a contribution to the subject at large.

The treatise belongs distinctively to the class which may be considered intended to "awaken an interest" among those who know little or nothing of the subject. It is well written, and will doubtless appeal more strongly to the public than to experts in the science, though an appreciable percentage of the interesting matter it contains is new to ornithologists. The technicalities are mainly drawn from Cassin (1858), though later authorities, particularly Coues, are largely quoted. The real ballast of the book consists of the author's individual experiences, which appear to have been considerable, and which furnish the material for a good deal of fresh and very acceptable narrative. On such ground the reader may follow him with a degree of confidence with which his discussion of some technical points, and his handling of the subject in some of its general bearings, do not inspire us. The treatise is not free from misstatements, as, for instance, that on page 151, where the breeding of the hawk-owl in Maine is discredited, and where it is said that Coues's record to that effect is not substantiated; for the authority is Boardman, B. S. N. H. ix., 123 (1862), as fully given in Dresser & Sharpe, B. Eur. xii. (1872); or that on page 121, where it is denied that British America "is the home of the great gray owl"—a bird very rarely found anywhere except in British America; but the aggregate of error in the book strikes us as most commendably small. The most important technical points determined are the identifications of the *Fulco dawsoni* and *Strix dalhousii* of Hall, a full account of both these nominal species being given.

The photographic method of representing birds must be considered, we take it, still in the light of an experiment, and one, too, not likely to be very successful or very generally tried, if we may judge by the present result. These pictures are good specimens of the photographer's art, and serve the purpose as well as could be expected, considering the natural

limitations of the application of the process to the representation of birds. But the plates certainly come far short of good wood or stone engravings. Their appearance would have been more attractive had better-stuffed specimens been available for the purpose; but, as it is, they indicate that the Canadian taxidermists are no more skilful than we are in mounting hawks and owls—and this is a sufficiently disparaging remark. The warping of such plates might constitute an objection to their use with some who are very particular respecting the comeliness of a book.

"Warrington" *Pen-Portraits*: A Collection of Personal and Political Reminiscences from 1848 to 1876 from the writings of William S. Robinson, with Memoir, etc. (Boston: Edited and published by Mrs. W. S. Robinson. 1877.)—It is seldom that the hasty productions of journalism, however stirring the events that gave them birth, or however honorable to their author at the time they first saw the light, will bear the cold scrutiny of a subsequent decade. Even the brilliant paragraphs of Albany Fonblanque, when reproduced in book-form, were found to be husky to a later generation, and the stinging sarcasms of Canning and John Hookham Frere in the *Anti-Jacobin* require a good deal of preparation on the part of the reader to make their best points appreciable. Such being the common fate of those who have been journalists, and only journalists, we are not to expect that clippings from the letters, articles, and hasty reports made by the late Mr. Robinson, however neatly joined together, will enjoy an exceptional longevity. The extracts in Mrs. Robinson's compilation commence with the formation of the Free-Soil party in Massachusetts in 1848, and touch upon every notable political event and character from that time till 1876. When we have said that "Warrington" was a zealous and consistent anti-slavery man throughout, a hater of shams and false pretences, an industrious and pugnacious writer, wielding "a facile pen"—that is, capable of putting in shape a great deal of matter to be swallowed to-day and forgotten to-morrow, and able to do all this so as to leave a distinct trace of himself, although not controlling any public journal, we have said all that a perusal of this volume justifies, and probably all that "Warrington" aimed to be in the world of letters. Among the "Pen-Portraits," that of Governor Andrew only will be recognized as of real excellence. A great deal of space is given to Butler, but we apprehend that that personage will not achieve immortality through his biographer. A more careful, or perhaps we should say a less partial, editing of the "Warrington" papers would have omitted much that is now irrelevant to anything, much that is mere repetition, and some things that are calculated to make the judicious grieve—for instance, the coarse assault on Fessenden, Trumbull, and the other "treacherous Senators, bribed, partly by money and partly by the voluptuousness of revenge" to vote against conviction in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. "Bribery," he continues, "has for some time been a recognized political force in the legislatures of some States; it has now controlled the impeachment question and settled the occupancy of the White House for nine months." It is impossible to suppose that Mr. Robinson would have selected this article as one of any number upon which he desired to rest his fame.

Memoirs of an American Lady: with Sketches of Manners and Scenes in America as they existed previous to the Revolution. By Mrs. Anne Grant, author of 'Letters from the Mountains,' etc. With a Memoir of Mrs. Grant, by James Grant Wilson. (Albany: Joel Munsell. 1876. 8vo, pp. 374.)—A fit incident of the Centennial season was this republication of a book that delighted our parents, and is sure to delight their children. Mrs. Grant of Laggan, as she was called, spent several years of her childhood in this country, where her father was in the military service, returning to Scotland in 1770, at the age of fifteen. The "American lady" who is here described is Mrs. Schuyler of Albany, an aunt of Gen. Schuyler, a lady of great character and intelligence, in whose household the young Scotch girl was for some time on a very intimate footing. The book was originally published in 1808, nearly forty years after the writer left this country, and, as might be expected, there are some slips of memory, mostly in unimportant matters. As a whole, the volume shows a remarkable tenacity of memory, as well as a graceful and animated pen. The arrangement of the book is not upon any formal or rigid plan. The first forty-three chapters (out of sixty-six) are of a general nature, giving a lively sketch of society and manners among the Dutch families at Albany, and a somewhat detailed history of the Schuyler family—a history not very easy to follow, however, by reason of the author's weakness in regard to the use of pronouns and the paucity of dates. The rest of the volume describes the author's own experiences, chiefly at Oswego, where her father's regiment was stationed, and afterwards at Albany.

It is hard to say which are the best chapters of the book, where all are so good; yet the last seem the best, as narrating the author's own adventures, which are naturally more vivid in style than the general description of manners and customs which we find in the first chapters. But even in these chapters there is abundance of entertaining matter—the description of the system of slavery that prevailed in New York at this time, the accounts of the Indians, the social intercourse of the young people, and the adventurous life of the young men. Among other things we have an elaborate description (p. 79) of the "odd and childish" amusement of sliding down hill; Mrs. Grant confesses that "in a more retired place and on a smaller scale" she had herself tried the experiment, but could never discover "what magical attraction it could possibly have." Her descriptions of scenery are of high merit; it was largely these that made the reputation of her first publication, 'Letters from the Mountains'; and in the present volume there is ample illustration of her power—from the journey through the wild forests to Oswego, to the famous description of the breaking up of the ice in the Hudson. But, after all, she is at her best in depicting character, which she often does in a few forcible words, rather by the life of the persons than by any formal analysis. Sir William Johnson, Lord Howe, and Cadwallader Colden are marked instances among public men, but the lesser personages introduced are also distinct and well-defined characters.

Neither "Aunt Schuyler" nor her Scotch protégée could appreciate or enjoy the change of society that gradually attended the advance of the Revolutionary movement. The New-Englanders, who began to throng into the Hudson River territory, were an abomination in their eyes. Mrs. Schuyler herself was a devoted loyalist, and did not live to see the new government triumphant. Mrs. Grant was in her advanced years as ardent a lover of kings as her friend Sir Walter Scott; and no doubt her experience in the incipient stages of the American Revolution served to intensify the feeling. Whether it is that the Indians have deteriorated since the days of King Hendrick, or that in the age of Rousseau the members of civilized communities saw only the good traits of the children of nature, it is certain that nobody—not even their best friends—speak of these people nowadays as was common a century ago. Of Mrs. Schuyler it is here said (p. 95) that she, "like every other person possessed of a liberality or benevolence of mind whom chance had brought acquainted with them, was exceedingly partial to those high-souled and generous natives." Must we not put some of the blame for this change—whether in their character or our feelings—upon the treatment of the Indians by our Government?

The book is illustrated by an attractive portrait of the author, and one or two other pictures. The publisher has added some valuable notes.

Theoretical Naval Architecture. A Treatise on the Calculations involved in Naval Designs. By Samuel J. P. Thearle. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)—The author has faithfully undertaken to supply the want of a text-book for students and a hand-book for practical naval constructors which shall be within the reach of those most needing such a book. With no attempt to popularize the subject, and little superfluous matter, the book should be useful to the class for which it is written. The working formulæ and rules are clearly stated, with sufficient explanation to give a correct notion of the principles on which they are based.

*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Andrews (J. B.), <i>Vocabulaire Français-Mentonais</i> , swd.	(Nico) 50
Baird (Prof. S. F.), <i>Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1876</i>	(Harper & Bro.) \$2 00
Bowles (Emily), <i>In the Camargue: a Tale</i> , swd.	(A. K. Loring) 50
Chadwick (Rev. J. W.), <i>Thomas Paine</i> , swd.	(Charles M. Green) 1 25
Collier (W. F.), <i>Willis's Historical Reader</i>	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 25
Cooke (J. E.), <i>Canolles: a Tale</i>	(E. P. Smith & Co.) 50
Gladden (Rev. W.), <i>Review of Joseph Cook's Theory of the Atonement</i> , swd.	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 50
Gospel Invitation.	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 50
Greene (Prof. G. W.), <i>Short History of Rhode Island</i>	(J. I. & R. A. Reid) 50
Hakluyt (R.), <i>Discourse concerning Western Planting</i>	(A. Williams & Co.) 3 00
Harder (L.), <i>A Family Feud</i>	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Harry: a Poem.	(Macmillan & Co.) 30
Hoffman (W.), <i>Camp, Court, and Siege</i>	(Harper & Bros.) 75
Hurst (Rev. J. F.), <i>Our Theological Century</i>	(A. P. F. Randolph & Co.) 50
Lamb (Mrs. M. J.), <i>History of the City of New York</i> . Parts XL, XLII, swd.	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 75
McIntosh (K.), <i>Notes on the Constitutional History of the United States</i> . (James Harry) 50	
O'Connor (C.), <i>The Constitutions</i> , swd.	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 50
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Thearle (S. J. P.), <i>Theoretical Naval Architecture</i> . 2 vols.	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 4 00
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1877.

The Week.

THE most important financial event of the week has been the sale of \$25,000,000 4 per cent thirty-year bonds by the United States Treasury to a syndicate of bankers, including most of the members of the syndicate which had charge of the sale of the 4½ per cent bonds. The 4 per cents were sold at par in gold less the commission of ½ of 1 per cent, and with the sale was given the privilege of unlimited subscriptions on the same terms for the next six months. The Treasury imposed the condition that the public should have the chance to take these bonds at par in gold for 30 days. Before the sale of the 4 per cents the old syndicate subscribed for \$25,000,000 of 4½ per cents, which makes the total amount of these bonds sold \$200,000,000, or \$100,000,000 less than authorized. By reserving this \$100,000,000 the Treasury has a fund to use for resumption purposes, or, if not needed, the bonds can be issued as 4 per cents, which would make the entire amount of 4 per cents authorized \$300,000,000. Of the \$25,000,000 4 per cents sold, the proceeds of \$5,000,000 are to be devoted to preparing for resumption in 1879, and of the \$25,000,000 of 4½ per cents sold, \$10,000,000 are to be so applied; so that out of the proceeds of the sale of \$50,000,000 bonds \$15,000,000 is to be used for the improvement of the currency and \$35,000,000 for the reduction of the interest on the 6 per cent funded debt. It is understood to be Mr. Sherman's policy to accumulate \$5,000,000 per month for the purposes of resumption, either by holding the gold or, under his construction of the law, by selling the gold for legal-tender notes, and then either (1) holding them as a special fund, or (2) crediting them to the sinking fund, or (3) cancelling them as new national bank-notes are issued, \$80 of the former to \$100 of the latter. Mr. Sherman may not have done the best possible thing, but in giving us \$5,000,000 contraction per month he has done better than any of his predecessors.

Whether the 4 per cent bonds will sell readily is a question. They run thirty years, and in this respect are the best bonds yet issued. It cannot be expected that they will at present sell at par in gold in Europe, and should the war there become general their chance of a market on that side the water would for a time wholly disappear. The remonetization of the old silver dollar would prevent their sale either here or in Europe, unless the price of silver should advance so that the 412½ dollar would be the equal of the gold dollar in which all the bonds should be paid if good faith is to be kept. Legally, however, all the bonds of the Government could be paid in 412½-grain silver dollars, if that coin should be remonetized. At the close of the week a 412½-grain silver dollar would have been worth 90½ cents gold, and a paper dollar 95¼ cents, so that now a bond payable principal and interest in greenbacks would be a better bond than one payable in silver.

In the Wall-Street markets there has been a further heavy decline in the coal stocks, which have reached the lowest prices known for many years. Delaware and Hudson has fallen to 26¼, and Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western to nearly 30. These two companies, which were regarded as among the best, are now suffering from the strength of the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the weakness of the Reading. Reading has succeeded by reason of its weakness in postponing a considerable part of its fixed charges and is at liberty to produce coal at a lower cost. The Pennsylvania Coal Company is strong in a large cash surplus, and is able to stand production at low prices longer than any other company. This week it sells 200,000 tons at auction, and the announcement of this sale was the immediate cause of the break in the other stocks.

We have referred elsewhere to Mr. Sherman's Blood-Relation order, which is said to be working general devastation in the Department at Washington. It is, we suppose, to be traced to two things—the desire of Mr. Sherman to supply places for hungry dependents, and the desire of the Administration to do something which shall look like an effective repudiation of the nepotism practised by Grant. It appears to have escaped attention that the nepotism which was always laid to Grant's charge, and which is said by one terrified correspondent to have so filled the bureaus with relatives that they are now absolutely "controlled" by powerful tribes or clans, is already in theory amply provided against. No head of any important department of the Government can be commissioned without the consent of the Senate, that body being the constitutional adviser of the President with regard to appointments. The President may well say that it is not his business to decide questions in which his interests or feelings are involved, and that he will leave the responsibility with the confirming body. If it be said in reply that this is putting too great a strain on the Senate, we should say that this only showed the Senate to be unfit for its work, and that the system of "constitutional advice" with regard to appointments had broken down—as every one knows it has. But during the Grant régime no one ever was crazy enough to propose to root out nepotism by preventing members of families already connected with the service from entering it. It is for the advantage of the service to have families look to it as affording an honorable career for "blood relations," and there is no doubt that families which devote themselves generation after generation to such a career end by having a sort of family aptitude for political work, which is a possession of great value to the public. If Mr. Hayes really wants to see the full absurdity of Mr. Sherman's order let him apply it to some other branches of the public service, where long training and a secure tenure and promotion for merit are established parts of the system. Let him, for instance, ask himself how it would do to turn out all the "blood relations" in the Army or Navy, at West Point, on the Coast Survey, and in the Weather Bureau.

The Supreme Court at Washington has rendered a decision in an eight-hour-law case which seems to take the last vestige of life out of the act. The statute provides that "eight hours shall constitute a day's work" for "all laborers, workmen, and mechanics" employed by the United States. The court decides that this is merely "a direction by Congress to the officers and agents of the United States, establishing the principle to be observed in the labor of those engaged in its service"; that it prescribes the length of time which, in the absence of a special agreement, is to constitute a day's work; that it does not fix the price to be paid for the labor; that it does not prevent the employer and laborer from agreeing with each other as to the length of time that shall constitute a day's work. The court even goes to the length of declaring the act as in the nature of "a direction from a principal to his agent," "in which a third party has no interest." The opinion is refreshing reading, for it is based on a recognition of the fact that the value of labor is governed by demand and supply, and cannot be regulated by act of Congress.

The MacVeagh-Butler correspondence concerning the alleged bargain of the President's Louisiana Commission with Packard's adherents has been closed by a short note from Mr. MacVeagh, in which he points out that the merits of the controversy have been disposed of by the entire failure of Butler to produce any evidence to substantiate his charges; these seem to have been pure inventions, guardedly put forward as being founded on common rumor. Butler has, of course, appeared in it throughout in his natural colors, and we should hardly think his abuse of a gentleman who happened to be drawn into a dispute

with him worth noticing at all were it not for the queer views taken of it by some of our contemporaries. The greater part of the press have not only published all the general's Billingsgate in full, but have gloated over it as if it were a fine specimen of controversial skill, and as if it must be peculiarly distressing to Mr. MacVeagh to have a thoroughly disreputable political hack, whose mendacious habits have been exposed over and over again, making "charges" and insinuations about him. They speak of Butler's letter as a "stinger" and a "scorcher," and many of them rather intimate that Ben has "come out ahead." This only shows how very large a part of the public have no conception what the feelings of a gentleman are. The social stratum in which such attacks as Ben's "sting" and "scorch" are not those in which men like Mr. MacVeagh are to be found.

Judge Billings's decision in the Jumel-Johnson Louisiana Auditorship case has attracted a good deal of attention, as it was decided adversely to the petitioner, who is a Republican; but it seems really to have no party bearings. The petitioner brought his action in the Circuit Court under the Act of Congress of May 31, 1870, providing that in case of any one "defeated or deprived of his election to any office" by reason of the denial, on the ground of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, of the right to vote, his right to the office shall not be "impaired by such denial," and he may bring any appropriate action to recover possession. The petitioner Jumel was Republican candidate for auditor last November, and ran against the defendant, and was returned by the Returning Board after it had corrected the "errors" in the returns caused by the denial of the right to vote on account of race, color, etc., to some 10,000 persons. He was duly commissioned, and entered upon and enjoyed the possession of the office for about four months, when he was forcibly ejected, as he alleges, "by a government established by domestic violence, insurrection, and revolution." He thereupon brought his action under the act above cited on the ground that this ouster was accomplished on the "claim or pretence" that the votes which were cast in the parishes in which the denial of the right to vote was effected should be counted against him. Judge Billings decided that the petition must be dismissed. In his opinion he shows that Jumel was not "defeated or deprived" of an election, but had been, on the contrary, declared duly elected, and actually held the office for four months. What he has been finally deprived of is not an election, but an office. The opinion concludes with the following passage, which we commend to the attention of those who may still cherish a lingering hope that Returning-Board machinery is of any real protection to the negro:

"The object of the statute was to secure an election free from all possible exclusion on any of the specified grounds. It secured this object by giving to this court jurisdiction to correct through this form of action such exclusion effected by the machinery or practices attending the election. When, as the petitioner alleges, all this has been accomplished, and the very result arrived at by the statute has been worked out and declared, the statute gives no jurisdiction over a cause merely to enable a party to physically retain or regain an office to which he had a title established by an election, and from which he has subsequently been ejected. In this case the question by virtue of which the court could take jurisdiction (and by the terms of the statute it must be unmixed with any other question) is not presented. According to the allegations of the petition the election had been completed for four months when the ouster took place, and his loss of office is as independent of any denial of the right to vote as if he had been ejected by a government set up by a foreign invasion, claiming authority by the right of conquest."

If Governor Robinson has any sense of humor he must have been amused at the character of the speech with which he was welcomed on Monday by Tammany Hall. There was absolutely no attempt to conceal the fact that the reception was a move in the fight now raging between the Mayor and the Aldermen, or rather between the Mayor and Tammany Hall, represented by John Kelly. Mr. Clinton, who delivered the address, began not "doubtfully and far away," but with a pointed reference to one of the "great principles which constitute the basis of a republican form of government," viz.—the principle "that nominations to office on the part of our Mayor should be subject to the approval or rejection of the Board

of Aldermen." The attention of the thoughtful and scholarly audience being thus gained, he went on to point out that it was the departure from this principle which "in the short period of two years resulted in the most disastrous consequences to the city—in the imposition of burdens too grievous to be borne—burdens the desolating effects of which will extend far beyond the present generation"; leaving the Governor to infer that the Aldermen, by refusing to confirm anybody but Mr. Purroy as Police Commissioner, had saved New York from a sort of sack at the hands of Mayor Ely. The Governor is, we suppose, a man of too much sense to be deluded into supposing that this "demonstration" came simply from overflowing gratitude on the part of Tammany for the defeat of the "Omnibus Bill," but a great deal of gratitude from the public is certainly due him for his honorable and faithful service at Albany. The circumstance referred to by Mr. Dorsheimer—that there is no law to be found on the statute-book this year affecting the charter of the city—is, indeed, a novel and refreshing piece of news.

The settlement of the city with Sweeny has been made the subject of a good deal of criticism, most of it based on a misconception of the facts of the case. There was a great deal of difficulty in making out a case against Sweeny, for many reasons. In the first place, none of the money which was stolen from the city by the Ring was paid directly to this man—it all went to his brother, James M. Sweeny; and though it is morally certain that this brother was a mere middleman, and that the money ultimately passed into the hands of Sweeny himself, the fact is not easy to prove in court. Again, there was no criminal suit against Sweeny, and, from certain points of view, the civil suit against him, in which, had he made his appearance in the city, he would have been arrested and held a prisoner in default of several millions bail, was rather an obstacle in the way of any recovery than a help. Had Sweeny returned he would, of course, have been arrested, and, as the bail required was utterly out of the question, he would have been lodged in jail, while the city would have proceeded to possess itself of such property as it could prove a title to. But taking the brightest possible view of the case, the amount which would have been realized over and above encumbrances would not have been \$250,000 (as was ascertained by a careful examination conducted under the direction of the counsel for the city), and whether this could have been recovered or not was a very doubtful question, owing to the fact that Sweeny was not a member of the Auditing Board through which the frauds were committed, and that all his illicit gains passed through the hands of his brother. For all these reasons the Attorney-General gave Sweeny some months ago leave to return to this country without liability to arrest. His object was, no doubt, to establish in this way, through Sweeny's own evidence, his complicity in the frauds, which otherwise it would have been difficult to prove at all. Sweeny's offer to compromise, therefore, for \$150,000 in cash and \$250,000 in notes properly secured, is really an offer of more than the city could expect to recover by a direct suit, and the settlement is probably as good a one as could have been made. For the general impression that it was not, Judge Westbrook, who took the occasion to apply a coat of whitewash to the character of Sweeny, is probably responsible; but this exoneration is no part of the settlement. Many newspapers have apparently supposed that the exoneration is adverse to the interests of the city. As a matter of fact, though entirely unnecessary, it is rather the other way; for had the settlement been treated as coming from Sweeny himself, it would have been open to other members of the Ring (as has been actually attempted in another case already) to set it up as a bar to claims against them. Being a settlement of claims against James M. Sweeny's estate, nothing of this sort can be done.

General Grant's reception in London continues to form a considerable portion of the news we get from England, and appears in some of our papers in an hysterical form. Kate Field and Olive

Logan have taken a hand in its preparation, and there is no telling how many other "lady journalists" may yet take it up. There has been great peace and quiet in "journalistic circles" for a long time—a quiet not unmarked by dulness—and considerable interchange of "amenities." The good old days, in fact, when every morning gave us unfavorable criticisms from one editor at least on the life and activities of some of the others, have apparently passed away. The only recent reminiscence of that entertaining period has been some attacks of Gail Hamilton on a number of editors in the interest of her relative, Mr. Blaine. The letters seem to have created much excitement among some of the males, who think them quite "spicy" and wonder what she will say next, and rival editors even think of hiring "lady writers" of their own to attack somebody. There is more or less trouble brewing about despatches from the seat of war, but we trust it will not prove serious. The papers which have correspondents there take dark views of those which have not, and cruelly ascribe their lack of news to poverty, while insinuations that startling despatches from the very centre of the war are written in New York or taken bodily out of the encyclopædia, find more or less currency and "embitter sentiments." There have been attempts at directing the military operations on the Danube, and even in Asia, from New York, and both the Russian and Turkish commanders have been severely rebuked for various errors and mistakes; but it has mostly been given up, we are glad to see, probably owing to remonstrances from the belligerent headquarters. It is said, with great force, that experience has abundantly proved that officers in the field ought to be exempt from civilian interference and bear the responsibility of their own acts.

The chief if not the sole seat of active warfare during the week has been Montenegro and the adjacent territory. The most desperate fighting has been with Suleiman Pasha's forces advancing to succor the besieged posts of Piva, Garansko, and, above all, Niesies, and as his way has lain through the famous Duga Pass—which may fairly be described as a Turkish cemetery—the losses on both sides have been tremendous. The Montenegrins made a most gallant stand at Kristac, north of the pass, where the fighting is reported to have lasted for fifty-five hours, but they would appear to have been obliged to fall back. There would be good reason for their doing so if only to ward off invasion of the Principality on three sides. The lull on the Danube enables the Turks to make (for them) extraordinary combinations, and to assail Montenegro on the north from the direction of Sienitz, on the east by way of Spuz, and on the south from Antivari; and all these movements are actually in progress while the struggle over Niesies goes on in Herzegovina. When we read that the Montenegrins lost only seven hundred at Kristac, we must remember that this falls on a fighting population of only 25,000, and that boys over twelve take their place in the ranks, and that the sustenance of the army in times like these has to be raised by the women from one of the stoniest of soils. Prince Nikita undoubtedly meant what he said at the close of the late armistice, when he hoped that Christian Europe would take care of the women and children of the Principality, who would doubtless in this struggle be left desolate. More gallant men never took the field, and perhaps one of the most pitiful signs of the times is that among the soldiering adventurous class in England, it is not they, but the crime-stained Turk, whom they have so often routed, whom volunteers go out to aid. And yet this defence of the Duga Pass—and this is not the first or the sixth—will always remain one of the great things of military history. The Montenegrins alone of all European peoples and races have shown how the Turk should be dealt with, and how the "Eastern Question" might long ago have been solved, or, rather, prevented from arising.

In Asia much may be taking place, but little transpires. The Russians are reported to have retired from Olti to Pennek, but their cavalry, on the other hand, is said to have reached Ispir, more than half way to Baiburt. This would secure a short cut to Trebizond without reference to Erzerum. At Koprikoi, neverthe-

less, some twenty miles east of the latter city, Mukhtar Pasha appears to be waiting for developments, which, as communication between the Russian centre and left wing has been established, cannot be long deferred. Now that Toprak-Kaleh has been given up, the left wing has a clear road to Delibaba, and it is as likely as not that it will reach Erzerum itself without fighting.

The financial pressure at Constantinople has become so strong that the Parliament has given a first reading to the authorization of a forced loan of ten per cent. to which everybody will be liable. Of course this will make confusion worse confounded and enormously increase the opportunities for official extortion and speculation, which have already done so much to bring the empire to its ruin. It is questionable, however, owing to the rapid progress of events in Asia, whether the Government at Constantinople will not sue for peace before there is time to collect it. The extraordinary frankness of the official admissions as to the desperate state of Mukhtar Pasha's affairs gave rise to the rumor a week ago that the Turks were purposely blackening the condition of their affairs in order to work on public opinion in England. If there is any truth in this, the scheme may be said to have failed, as the anti-Turk sentiment in England gains ground, and both Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury have made very pacific speeches at the Merchant Tailors' dinner in London, in which the latter did not hesitate to speak of the fear prevailing in some quarters about Russian aggression as "a nightmare."

There are a good many reports flying about as to the nature of the answer that Count Shuvaloff has made, or has been directed to make, to Lord Derby's intimation that England will not permit the occupation of Constantinople or any interference with the Suez Canal. Most of them agree that it was of a conciliatory character. As regards the Suez Canal, there is no doubt that Russia would not seek to meddle with it even if she had the power to do so; but as regards Constantinople, the Russian military men fairly enough say that it would never do to assure the honest Turk beforehand that, no matter what happened, his capital should not be touched. The pro-Turk press in England labor in the meantime with frantic vehemence for strong measures against Russian aggression. The *Daily Telegraph*, whose foam is probably manufactured in the interest of the Turkish bondholders, is for immediate war, while the *Pall Mall Gazette*, usually calm on all subjects, is half-crazy over the danger to which all Europe is exposed if Russia is allowed to go on, and calls for the occupation of Egypt by England. The anti-Turks are still confident that Russia will keep her promises and carry out her programme as first laid down—that is, will, after bringing the Turk to his knees, call the other Powers in to settle what pledges he shall give for his future good behavior.

The French Left are behaving with great moderation, and showing great advance in the political art. A considerable proportion of them held a meeting on Friday, to decide on the course to be pursued when the Chambers meet on the 16th. It was arranged that Gambetta was to open the proceedings by questioning the Ministry with regard to their future policy, but was to refrain, in doing so, from attacking MacMahon himself; that the address in reply to the President's message was to be moderate in form, but decided in substance, and that if any overtures were made to the majority with a view to a modification of the Ministry they were to be met half way, but that Fourton's retirement would have to be insisted on. The approval of the budget was to be left to the Budget Committee. The fact that Gambetta and Thiers are said to have been in favor of handling MacMahon severely in Gambetta's speech, but were overruled by the majority, is a curious sign of the times. It is plain that MacMahon has got a strong hold on the country—has, in short, become a kind of French "old man," and as long as he lets off fine saws and apothegms now and then, will be allowed to do a great many high-handed things, and will always have the benefit of the rule—"he has made mistakes, and who has not? but," etc.

THE GREAT REFORM NEAR AT HAND.

PROBABLY nothing did so much to cause the failure of General Grant's administration—apart from his own want of judgment in the selection of his friends—as the fear of breaking up the Republican party. It was this undoubtedly, combined with a certain bluntness of the moral perceptions, which led him so early in his first term not only to abandon the attempts at civil-service reform with which he began his political career, but to become himself a vigorous and active promoter of civil-service abuses. What the managers, who began to “run him” from the very first, told him was, that though civil-service reform might be a good thing in theory, party government was a practical business in which we had to take the world as we found it, and that if he meant that the Republican party should retain its hold on power he must use the offices as they had been used before it came into power, and as they would have to be used as long as democracy was democracy; that it might be that this was an evil, but it was not half as great an evil as the ruin of the party would be. Accordingly, he became before his second term the boldest prostitute of the Government service to party uses that we have had since Jackson. Such an end to a “reformer,” in the short space of four years, was probably never seen before.

Nevertheless he did not work the mischief that he might naturally have been expected to work, and the reason was that things in the political order run, on the whole, the same course as in the moral order—that is, good does not in the one any more than in the other always result from evil, and nothing worth saving can be saved by trickery, perversion, and malversation. Offices did not save the Republican party. After fiddling with them for eight years, to the neglect of every other source of safety, the party had not only to submit to defeat in some of its oldest strongholds at the North, but to obtain the Presidency through the Southern Returning Boards. The moral of it all is that a great party cannot be kept up in a thinking business community by the distribution of places. A few selfish or scheming brawlers or malcontents may now and then, and here and there, be disarmed or silenced, but the solid opinion of the industrious and taxpaying population on which parties have to rely for success cannot be reached in that way, though the final retribution may be slightly postponed. The very arts to which the intriguers resort for victory end by disgusting enough voters to give the majority to the enemy.

Unless we are greatly mistaken Mr. Hayes finds himself to-day confronted with the very problem which met General Grant in 1869. The excitement and éclat of his first uses of power are over. He has surrounded himself with advisers of his own choosing, and he has carried out a certain view of his legal duty at the South with singular success, and he is waiting to see what the result will be, in the first place, as regards the restoration of order and prosperity at the South, and, in the next, as regards the feeling of the party which elected him at the North. The moment has come, in short, in which the native hue of virtuous resolution is “sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.” There are plenty to tell him, in that curious Washington isolation into which Presidents so soon find themselves thrust, that whatever the abstract merit of his Southern policy, its practical effects are likely to be very bad; that there is widespread discontent with it in the ranks of “the great party,” and that unless something is done it will be badly defeated at the next State election, and worse still at the following ones, and he will leave the White House with the reputation of having destroyed the noble organization which saved the Union and put him in the Presidential chair; and that the only thing to be done now is to conciliate and restore “harmony” by a judicious use of patronage. In trying to account for the influence of this kind of talk on the Presidential mind—for it has its influence on the minds of all Presidents—it must be remembered that the friends of reform are apt to stay at home and read the newspapers, vote, and attend to their private affairs, while those who are interested in the perpetra-

tion of abuses and the perpetuation of the “machine” are great travellers and interviewers and letter-writers, and have a prodigious gift of political prophecy. It is they who frequent Washington, and haunt the White House, and write remonstrances to the President about the effects of this and that act on “the party,” and who put him up to the various little devices by which a well-disposed post-office or appraisership may be made to save the results of the war, and postpone indefinitely the accession of the wicked to power.

If President Hayes hesitates at this juncture he is lost. All that the use of patronage can do for the party has been done. That mode of salvation was fully tried under Grant, and it was not successful. Four years more of it will certainly destroy whatever of vitality there was left in the organization. The way to meet whatever discontent has been excited among the bigoted, or ignorant, or narrow-minded, or scheming, by the restoration of two Southern States to the custody of the only portion of the population which is able to carry on a government, is to appeal to what is now the strongest political sentiment in the country, and that is the desire for purity of administration, or, in other words, for the conduct of the Government in all its branches by honest men on business principles. This is a field which no Administration has yet tried to cultivate. President Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, solemnly pledged himself to cultivate it. He did not say, for instance, that he would see that the civil service was used as an eleemosynary institution to comfort the widows and the fatherless, because he was aware that this is no more the business of the Government than of railroads or banks; or to provide a refuge for unsuccessful persons or bankrupts, because he knew that it would be dishonest to use the money of taxpayers for any such purpose without their consent; or to provide a living for Congressmen or Senators who have lost their seats, because the loss of their seats is a distinct and formal indication, which he would not be at liberty to disregard, that their proper place is private life; or as a mark of esteem for or gratitude to his own friends, because this would be the use of a public trust to serve personal ends; or as a means of soothing the ambition or procuring the support of particular classes of voters by giving them “representation” in it, knowing well that it is not and ought not to be a representative body at all, and that neither Irish, German, African, nor Malay descent can give one man a better claim to a place in it than another. What he did say was that he would make “a thorough, radical, and complete” reform in it, and by this he meant that he would see that the employees of the Government were selected by the same rules and motives, and held office by the same tenure as those—to use the language of the Custom-house Commission—of “a prudent merchant.” He has as yet been only three months in office, and he has done a good deal in the time, but the moment has now come when the kind of appointments he makes must indicate the kind of system he means to introduce. We do not ask for the sudden or hasty promulgation of rules, but, pending this production of the rules, we are entitled to see appointments which will give us a fair idea of the kind of results the rules will bring about.

We do not think, for instance, that what is going on in the Treasury is calculated to give people a just idea of the reform which Mr. Hayes has promised us. The efforts that Mr. Sherman is there making to see that the offices are fairly divided, as far as they will go, among American families—not more than one to each family—has, of course, thrown no light on the nature of the coming change. A “prudent merchant” who, finding his counting-house badly manned, should begin the work of reorganization by expelling all clerks who had brothers, uncles, or cousins in his service, without reference to their experience, character, or capacity, would alarm both his family and his creditors. That such freaks are possible with impunity in the public service is due to the fact that the taxpayers' purse has no bottom to it; but Mr. Hayes is solemnly pledged to see to it that they are not allowed to go on long, and that the radical reform on business principles shall soon begin.

THE PRESENT RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN AND THAT OF 1853-4.

THE impatience which the public of this and other countries have begun to exhibit with regard to the operations on the Danube, is a striking illustration of the success of the press and the telegraph in giving war a spectacular character. As soon after the declaration of war as the special correspondents have reached the ground active operations are expected to begin, and delay is treated as a sign of fraudulent intent, or of some sort of humbug on the part of the belligerents, as, in short, a failure of the actors to appear and go on with the piece after the curtain has risen. In the present case the blame of the delay is thrown entirely on Russia as the attacking party, and it is freely said that she is probably appalled by the magnitude of the job she will have on hand after she crosses the Danube, and wishes, in childlike fashion, to put it off as long as possible. But there are half a dozen strategic reasons for delay. To cross the river with success in the teeth of the present Turkish preparations it is absolutely necessary that the whole force should be present, because no one supposes it can be crossed without making more than one formidable-looking feint to cover the real passage, and effective feints can only be made with masses of troops. To get the whole army down to the Danube on foot and reserve the railroad for the supplies has been a serious undertaking, and the accumulation of supplies is doubtless enormous, for the Russian staff will most certainly "force the fighting" when once it begins, and the Turks will certainly not trouble them with much marching or countermarching. Russia knows well the political as well as sanitary dangers of a protracted campaign, and has learnt with the other military nations the great strategic secret which played so large a part in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars—that the capture of fortresses is a secondary consideration for an invader, and that his success depends on his catching and crushing the army in the field; and that, this done, the garrisons are sure to come out and make their submission. She knows, moreover, that it is not difficult and requires no great expenditure of force to keep Turkish garrisons shut up, because the Turkish army is really not organized and disciplined to fight in the open field. The regimental officers are almost worthless; the greater part of the army is said not to have been brigaded to this day, and it has neither a transportation nor hospital service. The Russians will probably, therefore, be able to shut it up behind its earthworks with comparatively few men, and have free course through the rest of the country, and in moving through the country they will have the bulk of the population on their side. One of the singular misfortunes of the honest Turk is that the people who live under him hate him and are not willing to give him time to "reform," a circumstance for which the Turcophiles account by alleging that the Christians are "put up to it" by Russian agents. An attempt, too, has been made of late by the Turcophiles to make it appear that the Russians rendered themselves odious in Bulgaria and in Rumania during the last war by destroying villages, burning crops, and ill-treating the peasantry. This is, for the most part, fiction. An army actively engaged must of necessity make its hand heavy on the districts through which it passes, but the Russians were not guilty of any enormities in 1853-4; they committed no ravages in the Principalities, and left with the good-will and regret of the inhabitants. The people of the town of Giurgevo accompanied them *en masse* in their retreat, dreading the kind of deliverance they would receive when the Turks crossed the river. Policy, if not benevolence, of course, prescribed good treatment of the people living along the line of communication.

It is forgotten, in speaking of the slowness of the operations now pending, that the Russians crossed the Pruth in 1853 on the 2d of July, and that there was not a shot fired on the Danube until the affair of Oltenitza towards the end of November, and that during the whole of that period the Russian force in the Principalities was small and ill-provided, and was protected from a bold stroke on the part of Omer Pasha by the very reason which has prevented the

Turks from making any aggressive movement of late—their inability to move in the open field. In Asia the Turks showed more enterprise and took the offensive, but not until the 31st of October, when they carried the Russian Fort Nicholas by a *coup de main*, and surprised a small supply-train; two successes which caused prodigious boasting at Constantinople. The rejoicing did not last long, however, for on the 26th of November the Turks under Abdi Pasha were utterly routed near Achalzich, and six days later General Bebutoff fell upon Achmet Pasha at Gumry, drove him away in disorder, and stripped him of his artillery. Abdi Pasha fled into Kars in confusion and destitution, and was superseded by Achmet, fresh from his defeat at Gumry, and this closed the campaign. The famous siege of Kars did not begin until September of the following year. On the 5th of August, 1854, however, the Turks tried their luck again, under Zarif Pasha, in the open field against General Bebutoff at Kuruk-dere, and received a terrible thrashing, leaving between five and six thousand men dead and wounded on the field, and two thousand prisoners and eighteen guns in the enemy's hands. Muravieff soon after began his advance on Kars, and Colonel Lake of the British service and a German officer named Schwartzenberg undertook to harass him with three thousand bashibazuks and fifteen hundred regular cavalry. The whole force broke and fled at the first shot, and turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of Lake and Schwartzenberg to come back and try again. At the same time General Susloff, coming up by way of Bayazid, swept six thousand Turks before him from the latter place, with no difficulties but such as cattle-drivers are familiar with. The defence of Kars which followed was fine, but, like that of Silistria, it was due to the indomitable pluck and energy of half a dozen foreign officers, who practically deposed the Turkish commanders and showed the men how to fight. Except the affair at Oltenitza, in November, 1853, where Omer Pasha threw two Turkish battalions across the river, and made them entrench themselves, as a means of trying the mettle of his troops, and that of Csitate outside Kalafat, in January, 1854, where an affair of outposts grew unexpectedly into a combat of considerable fury, and ended without practical result, the Turks did not achieve by themselves the smallest success.

The extent to which expectations of a formidable resistance on their part in the present war have been based on the experience of the campaigns of 1853-4, shows how little the public ever knew or now remembers of the Turkish share in that famous struggle. There was nothing in it to justify the belief that the Russians have entered on a formidable undertaking. The Turks have been this year warier than they were in 1853, and have not taken the offensive in Asia. Mukhtar Pasha evidently recalls the fate of Abdi Pasha and Achmet Pasha, and is determined to keep out of harm's way and take up as many "new positions" as may be necessary for the purpose. But when we remember how resolutely the Turk has persisted in being a soldier, how stoutly he has resisted all attempts to make him anything else, how military in form and practice he has kept his government, and how lavishly he has of late been spending borrowed money on his armaments, and then see what a despicable soldier he is, how little he retains of the fire and audacity through which he made his first conquests, and how easily European troops dispose of him, one is amazed by the attempts to cover up his tyranny with a glamour of martial fame. There is nothing in him to extenuate his vices, no moral cause to show why any civilized power which desires to chastise him should not do so. And yet there is only one people in Europe, and that but a handful, who have no cause to blush when his name is mentioned—the gallant Montenegrins, who for three hundred years have been making it a business to fight him, and have never cared in what odds he came, provided they could get a chance at him. The manner in which at one time or another he has cowed, defied, or imposed upon the rest of the Christian world, the selfish subterfuges and shallow sophistries by which his vices have been excused or covered up, and the effrontery with which of late he has been presented to the world as a "reformer," who only needed time

to put his custom-house in order and expel all "the bad men" from office, will hereafter be looked on as one of the most discreditable chapters in the history of this century.

THE NATURALIZATION TREATY WITH GERMANY.

I.

BERLIN, May 20, 1877.

THE original term of ten years for which the Convention of 1868 with the North German Confederation was concluded expires next year, and it will thenceforward exist only on sufferance. It may be terminated by either party after twelve months' notice. Dr. Friedrich Kapp, who went to America long before the treaty was made, and returned without seeking in any way its protection, has published a series of articles in favor of denouncing it at the earliest possible moment. He holds that the Foreign Office showed a criminal desire to satisfy the United States; that the German negotiator was overreached by the astute American envoy at every point; and that the Convention is a long list of concessions by Germany for which no equivalent was obtained. Dr. Kapp is a clear and vigorous writer—one of the few Germans who can write a good essay in the English style. He has argued his view with great ingenuity; and his articles have been perhaps not the less enjoyable because they were spiced with such a keen personal dislike of Mr. Bancroft. But he represents in this matter no party whatever, much less the views of the Government. Germany will not denounce the treaty at present, at least; and it will continue in force unless Mr. Butler or Mr. Cox convince our own Government that the interests of our German citizens would be better served by no treaty at all than by one which, like most human compacts, contains mutual concessions. It may, however, be found advantageous for both nations in the early future to make certain modifications in the instrument which shall render it more useful to honest men and less useful to rascals.

The Naturalization Treaty is one of the most signal triumphs of Mr. Bancroft's long and useful public career. It was his good fortune, however, to escape from the diplomatic service about the time that cases began to arise under it; and to leave to his successor the arduous work of ascertaining the rules by which it was to be interpreted and applied. What a difficult and delicate task this has been, what an outlay of time, money, and labor our German adopted citizens annually cost, will never be understood until the diplomatic records are all thrown open. If Mr. Bancroft did not err when at the end of his mission he summed up with just pride the beneficent results of the Treaty, and stated that under its protection from 10,000 to 15,000 naturalized Germans returned each year in safety to visit the Fatherland—if these figures be no exaggeration, the number of one hundred or upwards who do come into conflict with the authorities here, and whose cases vex the officials of the Legation, may seem relatively insignificant. This insignificance is nevertheless not so apparent to one who reflects that of this hundred a large proportion reveal fraud, moral or legal, in some degree and at some point. And until it can be shown that the remainder of Mr. Bancroft's multitude are innocent of any abuse of the Treaty, that in renouncing their German allegiance they have honestly accepted that of the United States, and that in person and fortune they are loyally identified with their new country—unless these things can be clearly shown, the inference is irresistible that this vast re-emigration is not wholly legitimate, but that we have to assume a great deal of fraud, no less real because never brought officially to the knowledge of either Government. Although the German authorities may treat as having resumed German allegiance every truant who returns and settles here with the evident intention of remaining, they seldom exercise the right except when military interests require. If the individual be within the military age, or have sons who live with him in Germany until they reach that age, the War Office claims the practical forfeiture of American citizenship under the Treaty. But other persons are seldom troubled. In them the Government has only a fiscal interest; and the alien pays the same taxes as the native. There is accordingly no punishment for a large class of those Germans who cling to their American citizenship after they have permanently abandoned their American domicile, and who owe a complete, or at least render a complete, allegiance to no state, except through the operation of the German military system. To the United States, however, it is clear that this abuse of their political hospitality is made neither more nor less grave by the penalty which German law may happen to provide.

These abuses have now become so numerous and so common that they may be described as forming a system. Young men leave Germany shortly before their eighteenth year, spend five years in the United States, take out

their citizen papers, procure a passport from Washington, and sail in the next steamer for their native land. Thus, one case has been discovered of a facile patriot who landed in New York on the 2d of September, 1869, was naturalized on the 2d of September, 1874, applied for his passport on the same day, received it, and sailed on the 4th of September. Another was in such a hurry to adopt American allegiance that he counted as part of his five years the day that his ship spent in quarantine. Some of these adventurers stay abroad a little longer in order to cover with their absence the second military period—that of service in the reserve; but the common course is to return as soon as possible after naturalization, and to resume permanent business at once in their old homes. Very often the emigrants leave their families in Germany, and yet when they return claim for their sons, who have never been in America, the rights of American citizens. In nearly all such cases the presumption is justified that the process of naturalization was misused. Fortunately, however, the Legation, after the expiration of the two years' residence secured to these persons, can do nothing for them; nor, except to demagogues, is it evident why anything ought to be done for them. They want many qualities of the perfect citizen as described by all publicists with whom I am acquainted. In many cases, too, there is not only substantial but also technical fraud. The vigilance of the Legation here and of the consuls has captured a great number of citizen papers which were fraudulently issued, most of them, it appears, by the Court of Common Pleas of New York. This court and the Superior Court of the same city are the worst offenders. One naïve creature who had on his papers the seal of the latter tribunal confessed that he was in America only three years, and had been "naturalized to vote." Even if the courts are not privy to such practices it is supreme folly in these matters to accept simple oaths without any sort of investigation. Now and then, on the other hand, there are blunders committed by the courts which cause innocent persons a vast deal of annoyance. This was the case with an immigrant having the savory name of Knoblauch. On applying for naturalization he requested that his name be translated into English, but the ignorance or carelessness of the clerk made him Mr. Gallie instead of Mr. Garlic. In due time the adopted citizen returned to Germany and went into business in his native town under his old name, Knoblauch. He was of course seized for military service, and when he presented his certificate of American citizenship the official blandly replied that in their dictionaries Gallie did not translate Knoblauch. The Legation was obliged to procure a copy of the records of the court before it could satisfy the German authorities that the man was the victim of a clerical blunder.

In general, it may be said that the German authorities carry out the Treaty in a liberal and enlightened spirit. If they are seldom willing by the exercise of clemency to sacrifice a recruit whose American nationality has been fairly forfeited, but few cases come to light, on the other hand, in which the spirit, as well as the letter of the Treaty, is not respected. When the zeal of some local official carries him too far the intervention of the Foreign Office is reasonably prompt and successful. In the great majority of cases which are appealed to the Legation, and are the subject of correspondence with the Foreign Office, no candid person would find any grievance either in law or in equity. In practice, moreover, two concessions of great value have been obtained through the tact, persistence, and firmness of Mr. Bancroft Davis, and have been formally published in the *Reichs-Anzeiger* as rules for the government of the local authorities. The first forbade the police to take away the papers of a suspected person pending an investigation—a piece of justice which does not seem very astounding, and yet, before it was adopted, persons who might be required at any moment to identify themselves had absolutely no control over the only papers which made identification possible. The second concession was a still more important one. In the early years of the Treaty the tactics of the War Office toward the returned emigrant were those of the domestic cat toward the unsuspecting mouse. At the end of his two years of grace—a term which the victim might thoughtlessly overlook—the authorities pounced upon him without a word of warning, and placed him in the army. Nothing in the Treaty, perhaps, but certainly everything in equity forbade such summary treatment. Accordingly, Mr. Davis procured from Prince Bismarck the adoption of the principle contended for by our Government—that the person whose two years have elapsed still has the right to elect which citizenship he will retain; and if the American, the right to sufficient time in which to leave Germany. The length of time in each case is fixed by the German authorities according to the domestic relations, the business interests to be adjusted, etc.; and though hardships are now and then inevitable, the new rule is obviously a vast improvement on the arbitrary practice that before prevailed.

§ Nearly if not quite 3,000,000 copies of these reports have been printed (including that of 1876, now under way). Could the cost of folding them (that is, preparing for mailing) and the cost of transporting them through the mail be ascertained, this total would be increased by many thousands of dollars. Postage has been paid upon but a very small proportion of them.

sufficiently prominent to be represented on a scale of *four miles to an inch*, or a distance of six or eight miles, or further, with a glass.

Upon this it may be remarked :

Objects present different aspects from different points of view, and it is a remarkable gift to be able to divine from one view of an object all its different appearances.

Objects which from below appear prominent may from above be indistinguishable from the background.

A scale of four miles to one inch requires 256 square miles of drawing to represent the top of a paving-stone four inches square—sharp sight at eight miles required.

The ability to draw to scale or “accurately sketch” distant objects as much in detail and as well as near objects, even on a much less magnificent scale than the above, necessitates peculiar microtelemetric and telescopic ocular as well as optical arrangements, which would render the “experienced topographer” an invaluable aid to astronomers resolving nebulae or seeking the man in the moon.

“N. N.” then charges as a fault common to Engineer officers that “Lieut. Marshall is an advocate of the meander system.” Meanders in their proper place are good, and Engineer officers with other men advocate all means by which the sum of human knowledge may be increased, however humble they may be. Meandering or traverse surveying is universally used for filling in certain topographical details ; in surveying routes of communication, trails, defiles, streams, streets of cities, in land surveys, etc., and it would be as difficult to replace traverse lines by triangles as triangles by traverses. A traverse, indeed, is always at the base of all triangulations, since a base-line is actually measured and its azimuth determined. A meander line is nothing more or less than a series of measured bases and azimuths.

His criticisms upon the Engineer maps are unjust, in so far as they tend, even if not so intended, to build up the popular idea that the Engineers use only traverse lines for securing the data for their maps, whereas the purely traverse maps form but a very small part of their work. It would be as just to take a copper coin and blame a people as headstrong and ignorant for purchasing bread with such. “Why is this not gold? Copper is the poorest coin ever devised.” Maps are the Engineers’ coin ; all are stamped or have reports concerning them giving the circumstances of their composition, from which legends their exact value may be seen or inferred by experts familiar with such coins. There is no attempt to pass off silver or copper for gold, but all are useful and necessary, and each, from the most elaborate gold coin of the Lake Survey to the simplest copper piece meander, answers the purpose for which it was thrown into circulation.

W. L. MARSHALL.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., June 2, 1877.

TWO DAYS’ VOTING IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : In view of Mr. T. W. Higginson’s argument about the bearing of the South Carolina election upon the question of woman suffrage, it may be of interest to you to know what were the actual duties required of a voter in that State on and about election-time. Therefore I offer to relate some actual events as by me observed in Edgefield County and at Edgefield Court-House on November 8th and 9th of last year.

But to make plain the necessity for some of the things done it will be of service to relate briefly the manner of previous elections since the war. At the first elections after the war, the whites and blacks met at the polls in a new relation, and under circumstances especially calculated to make any approach of the one by the other embarrassing and dangerous. The whites were humiliated by their late defeat, and felt uneasy and doubtful about what ought to be done. The negroes were elated and eager to test what extent of liberty their freedom embraced, most of them having a notion it was to be idle and to live as their former masters had lived. Therefore in the first election very many whites did not vote at all, some believing it to be best not to acknowledge, by voting with them, that it could be lawful for the negroes to vote ; others from humiliation, and from various reasons ; and the elections easily went for the negroes, under the management of a few soldiers and army followers—not of the best sort—who saw in the condition of things a field for their talents. Through these adventurers the forty-acres-and-a-mule promise was first made to the negroes.

Time, however, made the whites become more accustomed to the negro as a voter and citizen ; and bad government, high taxes, and continually growing evidences of the permanence of the new régime made them see the need of putting aside sensitiveness, and at each succeeding election the

white vote was better represented. But still there was never a full acknowledgment of the situation on their part, nor a decided concert of action, so that there was really never an organized opposition. The continually recurring local outbreaks show that there were neither leaders nor a plan. In Edgefield a thorough system of fraud had been established and carried out at each election by the negro leaders, as follows : The voters were never registered, although it was frequently urged by the whites. Neither was a man confined by law to a particular polling place. The negro leaders, being in charge of all arrangements, would put two boxes at the county-seat—one in the court-house, the other in an adjoining building—and would then order that the secret Union League clubs must each send a large delegation of negroes to the village, who should make a crowd to fill both rooms in which the boxes were placed. This crowd was directed to stay and keep these rooms full as long as possible—allowing themselves time enough in the afternoon to go home and vote at their respective county boxes. One of their leaders has since boasted of having voted squads of negroes over and over again in the crowd. The whites, until late in the afternoon, could never reach the boxes except by passing in this packed roomful of negroes, which was so disagreeable that many went home without trying it.

Now, at the last election the situation had become plain to every one, and it was seen that as long as this arrangement succeeded no salutary election laws could be enforced. Therefore a change in the result of the election must come from the energy of the opposition. The country was in no settled state. The Ellenton, Hamburg, and Ned Tennant riots were only the conspicuous ones of a vast number of difficulties betwixt the two races. The negroes sullenly obeyed every order through the Union League with the accuracy that superstition prompts, and it was their purpose to fill the balloting rooms as usual at the village ; and the whites were more resolved to have the boxes watched, and to have the space about them free from crowding. Clubs had been organized throughout the county, and fifteen members were sent from each club to vote at the village and watch the negroes from their respective sections, to prevent them from repeating, and to see that the boxes were not crowded in by them to the exclusion of the whites. To be sure of doing this peaceably it was necessary to be in the rooms before they were filled by the negroes. For this purpose, and to be ready to counteract any move the negro leaders might take, these delegations went to the court-house on Monday, the 8th—on horseback, and under a heavy, misty cloud, and over very muddy roads—most of them expecting to sleep upon the ground that night within the village limits. The negro leaders had been watchful, and knew of the design of the whites to be first in the court-house. On the 9th, therefore, they arranged for a magic-lantern show, and allowed the use of the court-house as a place for it, with the view of filling the room with negroes and have them remain all night. But the whites, understanding the trick, good-naturedly resolved to attend the show, and filled the room long before the hour it was to begin. The hour passed, but no showman came. The whites being now in possession of the room, it was thought best to remain all night—particularly since a drizzling rain was now falling, and the crowd could scarcely find a better place to sleep.

An hour before dawn, on Tuesday morning, a crowd of probably one thousand negroes came together in the rain, and were almost at the court-house door before they were discovered. They crowded upon the steps and close to the door, but found the room already full. Thus with the court-room full of whites, under the light of a single candle, and a crowd on the outside in a fast-falling rain, both sides waited for the morning. At six o’clock the officers of election ordered the room entirely cleared, and the voting commenced with allowing twelve at a time to enter. The whites refused to leave the room except on condition that twelve voters should enter it at once. Instead of putting the other box in the usual adjacent building, the managers announced, about 6 o’clock, that the location of it would be changed, and would not tell where it would be put, under the pretence that they had not decided. Immediately about two hundred men mounted their horses and said wherever it was located they intended to be present, and were determined it should not be left in possession of the negroes. Finally the box was taken to a negro school-house in the outskirts of the town, evidently by prearrangement, for a crowd of negroes were there. The whites rode close to the doors of the building and demanded that only a specified number of voters should go in at once. The negroes were much dissatisfied with this, but acquiescence or an open encounter was the only alternative. Soldiers were sent for, but were refused by the commandant of the garrison until about nine o’clock. About that time the negroes grew more clamorous to be admitted *en masse* into the school-house, and the crowd having increased to one thousand or twelve hundred against

probably two hundred and fifty whites, who were keeping them out, the United States marshal, being unable to keep order, requested a company of soldiers. The soldiers came and stopped on the summit of the slope on which the school-house stood, and then the negroes were urged to crowd into the building with the assurance that the soldiers would help if they could not succeed alone. Then came the most critical moment of the day. Amid a deafening noise the horses of the few whites were crowded on all sides, and confusion and excitement were at the highest pitch when, a negro striking at a man's horse with a stick, struck the rider. Immediately a pistol was drawn, then another, and quicker than it can be told many pistols were in the air on both sides, ready to fire. Now the lieutenant on duty came with a squadron of four men, and climbed in the back window of the building and came out with a citizen, who demanded that all arms should be put up. Upon his promising to keep the room clear of all but a few voters at a time order was soon restored, the negroes were bayoneted back, and soon the voting was going regularly on, the voters being admitted at once. When night came, about 200 had not yet voted at this box, so large had been the crowd of negroes attracted by the presence of the soldiers.

On Tuesday night many of the voters had been up the night before, or slept in blankets on a stone floor in the court-house, had been in the saddle all day, and in many instances with one meal—some being even without breakfast or dinner—so watchful had they been about the boxes. Under these conditions certainly no greater burden could have been put upon the respectable voters of the place than to have been obliged to take the respectable women to the polls, and no greater element of confusion could have been added than to have had the negro women voting. And if the respectable women had declared themselves able to go to the polls alone, then that guarded discretion that held a rein upon every man, for the sake of the women at home, would have been less binding, and I fear anarchy would have prevailed.

D. A. T.

Notes.

THE sixth volume of Prof. Spencer F. Baird's 'Annual Record of Science and Industry' (Harpers) contains slightly fewer pages than that for 1875 but much more reading matter. The introductory summary of progress in the various branches of scientific investigation is printed in a finer type, and for the first time gives in each case the name of the writer, whose authority is at once recognizable and recognized. The bibliography is more extensive by one-half than last year's. In a word, this admirable work shows the intention of editor and publishers to give the public the fullest measure, and to abate nothing of the high standard which they have set before them.—The Cincinnati Women's Centennial Executive Committee, at its final meeting in January, initiated a movement which has resulted in the formation of the Women's Art Museum Association of Cincinnati; and steps have been taken to solicit subscriptions in a systematic manner, with a view to establishing an Art Museum and training schools in connection with it, and so fostering the "application of the principles of art to industrial pursuits."—The American Association for the Advancement of Science will hold its twenty-sixth meeting at Nashville, Tenn., beginning August 29. The Secretary of the local committee is Dr. J. B. Lindsley.—The American Social Science Association will hold its general meeting at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., beginning Sept. 4. The President, Mr. David A. Wells, will deliver the annual address. The most noticeable feature of the programme is the prominence given to the Southern question, on which papers will be read by Mr. Peter Hamilton, of Mobile, Ala., Mr. J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, and Gen. T. M. Logan, of Richmond. Besides the general session, there will be a conference of charities, and meetings of the educational sections in the jurisprudence and health departments.—Mr. S. F. Emmons's paper on the "Volcanoes of the U. S. Pacific Coast," read before the American Geographical Society in March, has been printed in the Society's *Bulletin* No. 4, and separately. It concludes with an account of the ascent of Mt. Rainier by Messrs. Emmons and Wilson in the fall of 1870. This account had been already written and privately delivered at the time of the controversy on the subject in these columns last year.—A raised map of New Hampshire, which has been a year and a half in preparation by Professor Hitchcock and his assistants, has just been placed in the Capitol at Concord. It is nearly fifteen feet in length, and was constructed on contour lines of 500 feet.—On a canvas of about five feet by four, Mrs. S. M. Fossett, of Washington, is painting the Electoral Commission in session. It contains some two hundred portraits, and if successful (or even if not) will doubtless fall into the engraver's hands for popular

reproduction.—Ginn & Heath, Boston, announce an abridgment of Yonge's 'English-Greek Lexicon'; the 'Odes of Horace, in English Verse,' by Prof. Caskie Harrison, of the University of the South; and an 'Introduction to Greek Prose Composition,' by A. Sidgwick, of Rugby.—The *Revue Géographique* becomes a fortnightly on the 10th of October.

—A correspondent writes us from Providence:

"In the interesting notice of Fernan Caballero that appeared in the *Nation* of the 7th June there are some slight inaccuracies, which permit me to rectify. The Marquis de Arco Hermoso was the first, and not the last, husband of the gifted Spanish authoress, and she married him in early youth; her second husband was Don Antonio Arron, for some time Spanish Consul in Australia. No mention is made in any Spanish journal I have seen of a third marriage, nor is such a fact alluded to in the biographical notice that precedes the review of her works in Gustave Hubbard's 'Littérature Contemporaine en Espagne.' With respect to her age the *Imparcial* of Madrid states that she had not quite accomplished her seventy-seventh year. Any account of her works can hardly be considered accurate without a reference to her Ultramontane and anti-republican tendencies, which are strikingly evident throughout her literary productions. In the words of a distinguished Italian writer, 'she could not pardon anything that had been done in the world since the days of the Inquisition'; she labored with ardor to poetize ignorant faith, to render liberty odious and progress despicable; she despised the Spain of modern times, where she saw nothing but vanity, misery, and corruption, and was apt to portray life not as it is but as she wished it to be. These peculiarities rendered her, however, highly acceptable to the Court of Spain, and a suite of apartments in the Alcazar of Seville was placed at her disposal. Prosper Mérimée called Fernan Caballero the Spanish Sterne; Gustave Hubbard, in the work already alluded to, speaks of her rather as a feminine Chateaubriand, preaching in Spanish the restoration of despotism and the Inquisition, flattering the prejudices of an idle, effeminate society, the enemy of action and desirous of preserving its ancient faith. 'She is,' he says, 'for romance in Spain what Balzac was for theology and Donoso Cortes for politics, the representative and defender of the past.' Of late years no work has appeared from the pen of Fernan Caballero, but the London *Athenæum* lately announced that a new volume of her tales and miscellaneous pieces is in press and will soon be published at Madrid. It will be welcomed with interest and some curiosity as the latest contribution from a writer whose merits cannot be denied, and whose fame is not confined to the language or country of her birth."

We were in error in naming the Marquis de Arco-Hermoso as the third husband of Cecilia Bohl; he was, however, her second husband. Our statement that she was thrice married is confirmed, since we wrote, by the obituary in *Polybiblion* for May, which asserts that she married, when very young, an artillery officer, who died soon afterwards. *Polybiblion* further agrees with us in assigning "about 1798-99" as the date of her birth; and with our correspondent in pronouncing her works "eminently Catholic and moral"—from that journal's standpoint. It finds an analogy between her genius and that of Töpffer and Frederika Bremer.

—Some months ago a good deal of attention was given by the newspapers to the subject of the best means of providing a night's shelter for homeless people. A Committee of the State Charities Aid Association was appointed to look into the matter, and last January made a report through its chairman, Dr. R. H. Derby, which is incorporated in the fifth annual report of the Association. The evils which the society attempted to cope with, arising from the nightly crowding of the twenty-seven station-houses of the city with homeless vagrants of every class, from the deserting laborer out of employment to the common tramp or "revolver," are matters of common notoriety. A careful enquiry showed that these evils were inseparable from the system of relief in force; that the certainty of a shelter and food really put a premium upon vagrancy, while the filth, disorder, and immorality of the larger part of those applying for relief continually tended to the degradation and corruption of the deserving poor forced by absolute want to associate with them. A number of private citizens took up the subject, agreed upon the steps necessary to prevent the abuse, applied to the Commissioners of Police, and obtained from them an order directing the arrest of all habitual vagrants applying for lodgings at the station-houses, and their arraignment before a magistrate on a charge of vagrancy. It was also arranged that whenever a proper charitable lodging-house should be ready, unfortunate persons of good character applying for a night's lodging should be provided with a ticket and sent to the care of the manager. The immediate effect of the adoption of this order was to reduce the number of applicants for shelter from 597 to 207, while the arrests for vagrancy rose from four per day to twenty. At the same time a Night-Refuge Association was formed where shelter is given to destitute and homeless persons of good character, who are made to furnish a certificate of this by doing such work as is required of them. Now, in any other city in the world this would seem to be, as far as it goes, a perfect remedy for the evils; but unfortunately in New York there is behind every other obstacle in the way of reform the great stumbling-block of inefficient execution of the laws. Already the tramps have begun to find out a way to "get round" the police order just referred to. By means best known to themselves, when arrested on a charge of vagrancy and sent to the "Island,"

they in a very short time secure their release and reappear in their old haunts, "revolving," chalking doors, and turning up at night as of old with their little parcels of cold meat and bread, demanding a night's lodging at the expense of the city. Who is to blame for this of course no one knows. Clearly it is not the police, nor the committing magistrate, nor the charitable people who have set the law in motion. Whether the Commissioners of Charities and Corrections know anything about it does not appear.

—The yearly exhibition of the Academy of Design closed on the 2d inst., after a season of unexampled prosperity at the ticket-office, but of less striking success so far as the sales of pictures went. It is true that many of the works exhibited belonged to private persons who had consented to lend them at the solicitation of the artists. Of the works of art submitted for sale by their authors about sixty met with purchasers, obtaining in all a sum approximating fifteen thousand dollars, against eighteen thousand received on sales last year. Not a tenth of the works contributed were sold, and a majority of those remaining will be removed to Chicago for the exhibition to be opened there about the close of August. The Academy's visitors numbered sixty thousand, but such of these as were picture-buyers had been purchasing largely at the auctions, which have this season been of uncommon frequency and importance. The exhibition now closed was, in the most important possible respect, an improvement on all former displays at the Academy. It brought to light a class of works sent home by American art-students abroad such as were never seen in similar force and of equal quality before. The Academy, in pursuance of a special pledge to these non-members, displayed their contributions to the best advantage, withdrawing the works of Academicians for the purpose to less conspicuous positions—a system which naturally aroused some grumbling at home. It is most important, by the by, that this grumbling should not take effect in any diminution of hospitality to young strangers in the future; the Academy has learned this year how to make an attractive and profitable exhibition, and that is by displaying the fresh impulses and new life of American art, even if it be at the expense of the old Academic school, which, with its prosaic portrait-work and stencilled landscapes, can hardly pretend to be of sufficient importance in America to keep an exhibition afloat.

—The hanging this year was, as we have intimated, favorable to our young and brilliant apprentices, now mostly abroad; a sufficient number, however, of their works were placed obscurely to awaken some resentment against the picture-hanging committee, who were thus fixed heroically between two fires, the friends of the travelling artists attacking them hotly on one side, while the Academicians bombarded them massively on the other with arguments of tradition, decorum, and old authority. It is against our wish to add much to the discussion, but we cannot repress our wonder that Mr. Sartain's head (163), quite obviously the best piece of flesh-painting in the exhibition, should have been placed next a white pilaster in the corridor, and that Mr. Knight's admirable scenes of life at Poissy, lent by Mr. Drexel, should have been elevated where nothing but their rather dry color was evident, and where their admirable dramatic detail was quite out of sight. A few contributions to the 1877 season will not easily be forgotten. Mr. Shirlaw's "Bavarian Sheep-Shearers" was an admirable piece of grouping, composition, and animal painting, almost as good in genre as a Knauss, and almost as broadly brushed and lighted as a Muncasy; it exhibited, in parenthesis, a remarkable contribution to natural history, in the deathlike supineness of the sheep under the shears, a kind of magnetic *coma* well enough known to shepherds, but less familiar, we fancy, to the cockney spectators of the picture. Mr. Page contributed a singular caprice, a ghostly-looking maiden standing in front of the Venus of Milo, and stretching forth a pair of transparent bare arms which she had seemingly just "materialized" as the "lost" limbs of that world-famous cripple. A piece of sculpture by Mr. Hartley represented the subject of the deeply-loved "butter head" of the Centennial fair; it was a greatly better work, though, and delineated with grace and skill the "Iolanthe" of that pretty dramatic idyl, 'King René's Daughter.' Another work of sculpture was of conspicuously good quality—a bust in bronze of Le Clear, the portraitist, by O'Donovan; both in expression and in easy versatility of texture the bronze was entirely satisfactory. Other efforts of portraiture by new practitioners attracted general attention, and threw into shade the clay-cold efforts of certain fashionable craftsmen who are rapidly outliving their usefulness. Mr. Duveneck, author of the rich Turkish study whose magnetism was only inferior to that of Mr. Shirlaw's picture, showed a noble-looking half-length of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner. Mr. Millet sent a likeness of Mark Twain, covered, unhappily, with vulgarity as with

a garment. Mr. Le Clear had a waxen head of Mr. Parke Godwin; there was a faded-looking bust picture of Walt Whitman, and Miss Lea sent one of her pastel-like portraits representing General Dix—a confused effort to catch the vague play of vanishing tints characteristic of Gainsborough, and inferior to the same artist's rustic study of her sister, in a neighboring frame. The late Mr. Beaufain Irving was represented by a crowded scene, not very happy, exhibiting King Henry, followed by Will Somers in cap and bells, encountering Wolsey in a drinking-bout at Hampton Court. It goes to show that home art is not underpaid when we learn that this stiff assemblage of manikins, not equal to the groups of Fichel or of Pécrus, was bought for \$5,000 by Mrs. Astor, and that most of Mr. Irving's interiors with two or three figures were charged for at the rate of about three thousand. Mr. Eastman Johnson sent two considerable works, one a deplorably flat jest, the other a composition covered with shadow in the bad style of the "Kentucky Home," and studded with perpendicular figures at regular distances as on a chess-board. Mr. Johnson has his ups and downs with singular regularity; sometimes, as in the "Corn-Huskers," he produces a masterpiece almost worthy of Decamps, or, as in "Catching a Bee," a poem at least equal to Millais; then his woolly veil draws down upon his work like a blight, and he labors, as this year, with perseverance unlightened by charm.

—*Scribner's Magazine* generally makes up in variety for whatever it lacks in virility, and in the twenty-six "pieces" of one kind and another in the current number Dr. Holland evinces the same masterly knowledge of his public that he does in the construction of the peculiar fiction and verse he purveys for it. To avoid at least having your curiosity aroused by the table of contents of the present number, it would be necessary to be interested neither in your own nor in foreign countries; nor in the Bartholdi statue; nor in travelling; nor in poetry or music; nor in natural history, hygiene, or the immortality of the soul; nor in the Prime Minister of England, nor in horses, nor in Ivan Turgeneff, nor in the "World's Work," nor, least likely of all, in "Culture and Progress." Mr. Charles De Kay has a descriptive article on the statue of "Liberty enlightening the World," as it is called—though probably, as Liberty is to hold a flaming torch, *illumination*, and not enlightenment, is what is meant. The hand and torch have been enlightening Madison Square for some time, and when the whole is erected at the entrance of the harbor it will be no mean addition to the statuary of the city, while we trust its close proximity to the Custom-House will enforce upon the attention of those in authority at Washington the necessity of a revision, in the spirit of thorough enlightenment, of the laws relating to duties of imports. The poetry of the number begins with a poem by Celia Thaxter, not in her best vein, which is always that of the sea pure and simple, and not of the sea looked at as a moral agent, and comprises, among other verses, some lines by Mrs. Piatt, called "Child's Faith." The illustrated article on "Croton Water" will probably convey to most readers a good deal of information on a subject with which it is gratuitously assumed that everybody is already familiar, but as to which such disagreeable incidents as the appearance of "nostoc" last summer, and the occasional sudden diminution of the supply, remind us from time to time of our profound ignorance. This article, however, deals rather with the works, their construction and superintendence, than with the water, and might well be followed by another on the Croton itself.

—We suppose our readers are hardly as well aware as they should be that Harvard University has just held an examination for women in this city. Such examinations have taken place in Boston for several years, but the matter was not noticed here till May, 1876. Since that time, however, in consequence of the efforts of the Local Committee, it has been very extensively discussed, and eighteen ladies presented themselves, of whom three attended all the thirteen sessions; others have divided the Preliminary course. This being the first year, no Advanced examination was held. The circular for 1877 states that the examinations for women are not identical with the entrance examinations of Harvard, or with any examination for resident students of the University, but are intended, the Preliminary, as a test of elementary education of a liberal order, and, the Advanced, as a test of special culture in one or more of five designated departments. The examination is wholly in writing, except that each candidate reads to the attending professor in the languages in which she is examined. The papers are returned to Cambridge for examination by the respective professors. Successful candidates will receive an honorary certificate. In another column will be found the advertisement for 1878.

—Our countryman, Mr. James Bruyn Andrews, whose Mentonese Grammar appeared and was noticed by us in 1875, has now published at Nice a

companion work of about the same dimensions, a French-Mentonese Vocabulary. As the dialect has found in Mr. Andrews its first literary exponent, he was obliged to invent a suitable orthography with no printed models to guide him. The few difficulties thus encountered and the rules adopted are pointed out in his modest preface. The result is a certain want of uniformity between the orthography of the Grammar and that of the Vocabulary. In by far the majority of instances the common origin of the French word and its Mentonese equivalent determines a common gender, e.g. (masc.) *beurre buro*, butter; *oracle oracolo*, oracle; (fem.) *paume parma*, palm; but occasionally they differ, e.g., (fem.) *courroie* (masc.) *scoresin*, thong; (fem.) *lucarne* (masc.) *lujernan*, sky-light; and substantives ending in *o* corresponding to French *eur* (Ital. *ore*) are optionally masculine or feminine, with some exceptions. Mr. Andrews's list, to which he invites additions and corrections, embraces some six thousand words. We notice that while the word for book (*libre*) has a place, the word for volume is wanting, either on account of an oversight or of the actual poverty of a dialect without a literature.

—We have received from J. J. Weber, Leipzig (New York: L. W. Schmidt), the second volume of Stöhr's 'Deutsches Akademisches Jahrbuch,' of which the first volume appeared in 1875. The chief improvements and points of difference are the following: The introductory essay on the origin and spread of academies and universities has been omitted, and so, too, have the descriptions, subjoined to each town, for which one might have been directly referred to the gazetteer. There is a tentative bibliography of the higher education, covering sixteen pages of fine print; a regular list of works relating to each institution (*Literatur*); a statistical account of the study-year 1875-6 in each; a facsimile (woodcut) of the seal of each—a very interesting series; and an appendix rich in statistics and particularly valuable for its list of scientific societies in the German Empire, and another of the important libraries, not only of the Empire, but also of Austro-Hungary and Switzerland. As for the personal index, so useful to all who have occasion to verify the name, chair, or university of German scholars, and who constantly feel the deficiencies of 'Men of the Time,' it here occupies 46 pages as against 64 last year, through typographical compression. On the whole, this volume of the 'Jahrbuch' must be regarded as almost a new work, so extensive have been the alterations and additions; but it supplements rather than displaces the first volume, and this is as it should be. The cheap and handy little 'Deutscher Universitäts-Kalender' of Drs. Ascherson and Seelmann (Berlin) reaches its eleventh edition with the summer semester of 1877. The second part, procurable for about fifty cents, has, besides the advantage of compactness, that of being brought down to a little later date than the 'Jahrbuch.' It preserves the gazetteer feature discarded by the latter, and has other information especially sought after by students. There is a rather fuller statement of the professor's field, and the number of his students in each branch is noted. Finally, in a great number, perhaps the majority, of instances, the professor's birthday is given—a matter of some curiosity to foreigners, but to students and fellow-professors indispensable if they would conform to German usage in celebrating this important occasion. There is no *index nominum* to this little brochure, and for the most part only surnames are employed.

—The first number of the *Deutsche Revue* in some respects fully bears out the promises of the prospectus. It presents a formidable array of "authorities" and an amazing variety of topics of "truly national" interest. "Politics," "Political Economy," "Commerce," "Agriculture," "Law," "History," "Geography," "Philosophy," "Medicine," "Natural Sciences," "Art," and "Literature" are all treated of in this number, and will form the permanent subjects of bi-weekly "reports" by regular contributors. In addition, there are to be in each number occasional contributions by masters in their respective branches, while a *feuilleton* is to be a regular feature of instructive entertainment. This programme, it will be seen, leaves nothing to be desired on the score of comprehensiveness, but the difficulties of its execution are plainly apparent on turning over the sixty-four pages of the specimen number of the *Deutsche Revue*. But a few pages being allotted to each subject, it would be vain to look for anything like exhaustive treatment. Thus, the political review limits itself to an enquiry into the probable causes of Prince Bismarck's temporary retirement from office. In spite of the eminent name of Bluntschli attached to this article, it is far inferior to an eloquent plea, by H. B. Oppenheim, for Berlin as the natural seat of the German Reichsgericht. The fact of its having been written after the vote of the Reichstag had decided for Leipzig does not detract from the interest of this article. Prof. Seitz

of Munich, in his sanitary report, gives some particulars of the labors of the German Cholera Commission appointed in 1873, which seem to confirm the correctness of Pettenkofer's theory regarding the local causes of that disease. Under "History" Dr. Harry Bresslau sums up the result of late investigations into the truthfulness of the memoirs of the Prussian minister, Heinrich Theodor von Schön. Until recently his account of the events of 1807-13 has been taken as an authentic source of history by such writers as Varnhagen, Arndt, Schlosser, Pertz, Gervinus, and Häusser, but is now pronounced by Dr. Bresslau a deliberate falsification of history. Most of the other articles, such as "Commerce," by Dr. Landgraf; "Agriculture," by Professor Birnbaum; "Geography," by Professor Kirchhoff (of Halle), are of a retrospective and introductory character. Professor Laspeyres has some valuable remarks on "The Transition of Germany from an Agricultural State to an Industrial State," in which, however, he pays a poor compliment to the intelligence of the readers of the *Deutsche Revue* by deploring the necessity of employing figures in his article, pretty much in the manner in which one might broach the subject to the young ladies of a boarding-school. Professor M. Carrière, the philosophical "reporter," creates an unpleasant surprise by indulging in some unnecessary self-glorification; and "Carus Sterne" (Dr. Ernst Krause), to whom *all* the natural sciences are entrusted, in very bad taste likens the naturalists of to-day to dandies prying with their *monocles* into the boudoir of Dame Isis, etc. In fact, while it would be premature to judge of the value of the new periodical from the contents of the specimen number, it must be said that the absence of a correcting hand is frequently felt. The presence of the editor, indeed, directly manifests itself only by the bombastic introduction to "Politics," in which it is promised that public affairs will be discussed with the frankness of the chorus of the tragedies of antiquity. We notice several typographical inaccuracies, but hardly know whether to characterize as such a Kolumbus, which may possibly be a product of that "truly national" spirit which sometimes asserts itself even in German orthography.

RECENT MINOR POETRY.

WHY is it that printer's ink is so apt to take all the apparent value out of many a poem which has won applause in manuscript? To emerge from the portfolio into print is an act as dangerous as when the petted amateur actor first shows himself on the public stage. He cannot exactly see why it is that his jokes grow thin, his pathos brings no tears; and a similar shifting of values is the only thing to explain the constant succession of volumes of private verse in which the most genial critic can find little food for actual praise. In some cases, as in 'Poems by Clement Biddle' (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Baker), the volume appears with great luxury of type and paper, and is also adorned with photographs, covering in the present case a wide geographical range, from the author's house at "Airdrie" in Pennsylvania to Oban in Scotland and the Col de Balme in Switzerland. Some of these photographs one may well receive with pleasure, but the gratitude perhaps pauses at the family donkey, twice portrayed (on pages 40-1), even when the portrayal is accompanied by verses in the "Hiawatha" measure, as thus:

"Westward o'er the salt sea billow,
On a day that is forgotten,
In a month that's unremembered,
Just about the summer season,
From John Bull's land came out Jenny,
Came the white-nosed donkey Jenny.
(She was soon to be a mother.)
She was suffering from the cruel
Treatment of a costermonger.
When a friend her woes averted" (p. 49).

Ten sumptuous octavo pages, with two photographs and a woodcut, are devoted to the tale of Jenny, and of Neddy, her offspring; and there are other poems in the book, some of them more serious. The author says in his preface: "Many of the following poems have been sufficiently appreciated; others are equally deserving." This statement we see no reason to doubt.

'Colony Ballads,' by George L. Raymond (New York: Hurd & Houghton), is a volume further described by its author as "an attempt to represent something of the spirit and the circumstances attending the separation of the British colonies of middle North America from their mother country." The intention is praiseworthy; of the execution the reader can judge from the two opening stanzas, as well as from any others. The subject is "Our first Break with the British, 1765":

"Great Britain's lords in council,
As all things bore report,
Had planned, like royal verities,
New modes to fit the colonies
To further serve the court.

"If, brought to form one body,
The colonies now ally,
What comes, to pall their freedom all,
Will prove, so Franklin thought, too small—
'We join,' he wrote, 'or die.'"

'Art-Life, and other Poems,' by Benjamin Hathaway (Boston : Carter), is a volume of less pretensions, containing poems that must in private have given sincere pleasure ; it is only that they are quite unable to endure the glare of print. They were written, it would seem, on some fertile Western prairie, and have a little of the monotony of that even surface. The best among them are those which have least to do with that "Art-life" which gives a title to the book ; and the "Winter-lays," written before the hearth-fire, with the sheep-bells tinkling outside the door, have the most genuine quality of all.

What is there in the subject of Silence that makes it necessary for poets to break silence thereupon ? Would it not be better to do homage by example instead of precept ? "Who hath not listened," says Thoreau, speaking paradoxically of Silence, "to her infinite din ?" But here are two poems, "Silence," by S. Miller Hageman (Dodd, Mead & Co.), and "Silent Love" (Philadelphia : Robert H. Ball), which may be supposed to aim to make some noise for themselves, or they would not be printed. In fact, the last-named has made some noise already, or this would not be announced as the first American from the fourth London edition. It is a smooth, pleasing, inoffensive lay, except as regards the star-girt Cupid on the cover, whose antics find no counterpart within. But the other tribute to Silence is very different, being a series of detached thoughts, exhibiting a good deal of fragmentary power, but exceedingly unequal in execution, and covering the whole range from pathos to bathos.

There are lines in this volume which would make the casual reader pause and look for something further, as this striking image :

"What is History ? Half-blown Silence lifting leaf by leaf its bud " ;

Or this picture of a dying face :

"Shades of faintness coming o'er me, as Death's iron gates unroll,
With the famine in my face, but with the harvest in my soul."

But one soon grows discouraged over an author who can write—

"Wisps a waif of mellow music from a long-forgotten harp " ;

Or can describe the falling leaves upon the doorstep as

"Little tracts from heaven, left there by the angel of the air."

Yet it is impossible to deny that there is promise in this collection if the author has really the strength to mature.

Those who took delight in 'Mrs. Jerminham's Journal,' which the English papers pronounced "a nearly perfect gem," may find similar enjoyment in 'Harry,' by the same author (Macmillan and Scribner). It opens in the same insipid, not to say twaddling, manner with its predecessor, but touches far deeper chords, and has some real power in its movement, though with a constant tendency, even in the midst of thrilling scenes, to revert to the namby-pamby. It is a story of an erring man redeemed by a wife's devotion, and is dedicated to Menella Smedley, an English poetess whose really remarkable poems have never, we believe, been reprinted in the United States. Even this preface bears a taint of the sort of petty affectation to which the author is so inclined. It is offered "as a tiny token of boundless love and admiration." Now, the book is not at all tiny, as books go nowadays, and this undue epithet has an effect of silliness.

It is rarely that criticism has to deal with a book more whimsical and perplexing than one which the Shenandoah Valley now sends us—"Idothea ; or, The Divine Image : a Poem," by Joseph Salyards (Newmarket, Va. : Henkel, Calvert & Co.) It was printed, as well as published, at the place just named ; a dingy little volume of three hundred pages, "chockful to the brim," as Claud Halero says, "with song, sonnet, and elegy." The author is a man of some learning, and knows not only Latin and Greek, but French, German, and Italian. The three subjects treated in his book are "The Beauty of Truth," "Good and Evil," and "Yonder !" He writes with evident earnestness, in every variety of metre, and with all manner of dramatic and lyrical interludes ; but what it is all about, or what sort of impression he expects any one to draw from it as a whole, we are utterly powerless to imagine. He has free translations from Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and the German Kotzebue ; he has colloquies between "Orra" and "Dalni" ; songs to celebrate Mary, Tillie, Estaline, Texana, Aldine, and "Gentle Sallie Gray." Then, under the

head of "Good and Evil. Idyl VII. Kalonimata," we have this chant in regard to another Sallie (p. 193) :

"Starry mansions, cycladean,
Take my dearest. It is best.
Would I close the Emyrean ?
Would I keep her from the Blest ?
She, so musically bright,
Moulded, not of clay, but light,
Here amused, detained too long,
Wintry world of ruth and wrong.
Oh ! the bliss to whisper—"Sallie !"
Name to me for ever dear ;
She, the rosiest of the valley ;
I but whisper'd ;—she was near !"

Or take this as a piece of narrative :

"In Maine there lived a Solomon—
His patronymic, Singleton ;
He was his mother's dumpy doll,
And hence she called him SONNIE SOL.
Her usual tone was tonic A,
When Solomon was near, at play ;
But if he could nowhere be seen
She shrieked the twelve and seventeen—
A handsome youth without a heart,
Mamma's result of woman's art" (p. 176).

But, after all, this is not so very unlike some passages in Mr. Buchanan's 'St. Abe and his Seven Wives,' which is understood to have its admirers. And if we confine ourselves to the first part of the book we can easily find passages of simple, serious, and well-uttered thought ; as, for instance, the following. Truth is here speaking :

"I touched his spirit, and Columbus saw
The law of contrast, and believed the law ;
While thousands lined the Andalusian strand,
'That priest of ocean saw his sails expand ;
Erect, serene, in view of man and God,
His trust unte-d and his path untrod,
One glad conception, luminous and warm,
Beamed in his eye and swelled his manly form ;
He sees, and seeing, stands resolved to find
The morning promise of his truthful mind ;
Shores, regions, hills, opposed to those in view :
His trust was tested and the law was true" (p. 21.)

This recalls the careful, old-fashioned verse of Rogers, with occasionally a reminiscence of the elder Darwin, and there is much more in the same strain ; it is mainly the latter half of the volume that is disastrous. We take the author to be a cultivated man, possibly a teacher, of recluse habits and with absolutely no sense of the ludicrous, but with a sincere purpose to do good by his work.

Miss Ellen Frothingham is certainly one of the best among American translators ; and it is not easy to see why her version of Grillparzer's 'Sappho' (Osgood) is not as good as the original ; it being exceedingly smooth and polished, and, moreover, showing great fidelity, so far as we have compared. 'Sappho' is not a great drama, but has proved a good acting play, and has held possession of the German stage since Schröder first appeared in it, April 21, 1818. Grillparzer was not twenty-six when he wrote the work, and this excuses a little crudeness both of emotion and of historic conception. It is hardly to be attributed to him as a fault that he did not anticipate the later criticism which has greatly modified and elevated the historic character of Sappho. The action of this play is consistent with itself ; and though the loves of Phaon and Melitta have no historic foundation, they have pathos and probability. The whole play began, according to the author himself, in his translating that famous "Hymn to Venus" which has probably inspired more critical enthusiasm than any single lyrical poem in the literature of the world. We cannot, however, agree with Miss Frothingham that Grillparzer's version of this is "an almost literal translation of Sappho's own lines." The "Hymn to Venus" can be, and has been, far more literally translated into English, and this while preserving something of the Sapphic metre which the German poet has abandoned.

'The Sons of Godwin,' by William Leighton, Jr. (Lippincott), is entitled to more praise than it has generally received, having been very much overshadowed by Tennyson's drama on the same subject, namely, 'Harold.' The American dramatic poem is a grave, serious, thoughtful piece of workmanship, not wanting in vigor of treatment and characterization, but a little deficient in dramatic variety, the one humorous scene being a total failure, and the general movement only too steady and unrelieved. The versification, too, is rather level and monotonous, though more carefully finished than is usual. It is strange that Tennyson's example seems as yet to have done so little for blank-verse after all. To most minor poets it simply means poetic phraseology cut into certain lengths, and no attempt is made to relieve it, as Tennyson has done, by varying the accent and diversifying the cadence.

Miss Woolson, who is one of our very most promising writers of short stories, and is peculiarly given to the study of types of character, has now turned her studies to account in a new field, and has achieved a daring

and even a successful poem. It is called 'Two Women' (Appleton). Two representatives of the most widely-divergent types, the Puritan and the passionate, find themselves on the same railway in Kentucky going southward, unknown to each other, to nurse a wounded Union officer who has unfortunately loved them both. Gradually the discovery is made; still they must be together, they cannot separate, they arrive together at the farmhouse where he lies, and find him dead. The situations are really original and powerful; the characters have the sharpness of delineation so characteristic of Miss Woolson, and the successive steps are so skillfully handled that it almost seems as if she could write an acting play. The blank-verse, too, has rhythm and resources, though it is very unequal; and the little dramatic poem has on the whole marked merits, though it may be questioned whether it was well to follow up the ultimate career of the two women, or to conduct either to her wedding-day. The death of the soldier-lover was the climax, but few authors have the grace to stop at the climax; nor do even critics attain always to that high grade of merit.

THE MIND AND THE BRAIN.*

WE name the three recent books below in the order of their merit. Dr. Ferrier's work is purely scientific—that is to say, it only aims at ascertaining what exact phenomenal function each particular part of the brain possesses. Although the author shows a very unusual degree of psychological culture for a physiological writer, he indulges in no metaphysical or anti-metaphysical digressions, nor does he push his psychological corollaries beyond those absolutely necessitated by the matter in hand. The total impression his work leaves is, therefore, one of a rather masterly sobriety and judiciousness, in spite of the fact that some of his conclusions are drawn from single experiments on animals, which did not live long enough for the primary effect of the operation to pass away. All inferences from cases like this necessarily need much corroboration before they can be dogmatically accepted.

Of Dr. Maudsley's book it is rather more difficult to speak fairly. Published originally some ten years ago as the first work of a very young man, it showed remarkable qualities, wide reading, fluent expression, a certain ethical fervor, and an intelligence quick to catch the newest shapes which the "spirit of the age" was impressing upon the thoughts of his generation. This latter aptitude, indeed, led the reader to wonder whether Dr. Maudsley had not borrowed more from Mr. Herbert Spencer than he was willing to confess. For the two cardinal theories of that gentleman's psychology—viz., the theory that the only meaning of rationality or rightness in mental life is "correspondence with the environment," and the theory that an acquired habit in the ancestor may become an innate aptitude in the descendant, also figured as cardinal principles in Dr. Maudsley's book. In this second edition poor Spencer is even less well treated than in the first. There he was not mentioned at all, if we recollect rightly; here he is said to be merely a coinheritor with Dr. Maudsley of the treasures of the past and a co-sharer in the tendencies of the present. The same "general culture" has produced the same ideas in the two minds. "In the season of roses," as Dr. Maudsley quotes from Goethe, "we see roses blooming everywhere." Whether Mr. Spencer will be satisfied with this sweet simile we know not. For our own part, in view of the fact that Maudsley's account of Aphasia is most suspiciously identical with that of a young German author, Wernicke, who is also not mentioned (although Dr. Maudsley is usually not chary of showing his erudition); and in view of the fact that many of these fresh views, newest births of time, do not teem in his pages—the only distinctly original passage of importance we have noticed in them being some remarks on attention on pp. 314–18,—in view of these facts we say we should rather hesitate to pronounce that Mr. Spencer had no grievance.

Another feature which disfigured the first edition was the tedious orchestral accompaniment of invective against the "metaphysical" and "theological" methods in the study of psychology. In the preface to this edition the writer tells us that within the past ten years the physiological method has made such headway that it stands no longer in need either of defence or advocacy; and that he has accordingly omitted and modified the aggressive and vehement passages. Would that he had! His modifications are absolutely insignificant, and the greater part of the work reads

like a denunciatory pamphlet by a half-educated person intoxicated by recent emancipation from the shackles of superstition.

The only way to prove that the physiological is better than the "metaphysical" method in psychology—whatever the latter may be—is to go to work with it and *produce results*. This is the inestimable merit of Dr. Ferrier's book, that even if his particular experimental conclusions are overturned, they will themselves have suggested the experiments that subvert them. Dr. Maudsley, standing at the threshold and railing, occupies in comparison a thoroughly impotent position. It is always a bad sign when a scientific man devotes too much attention to his adversary and too little to his subject. In psychology the *odium anti-theologicum* has led to far more mediocrity than the *odium theologicum*. And the general rhetorical flavor of the work we are reviewing, its diffuseness and sermonizing, its vagueness and generality, all no doubt flow from the same mental root of weakness in the author with his implacable dislike of the phantasmal Metaphysics which fill so large a place in his consciousness.

Mr. Luys has no dislike for metaphysics—quite the contrary; only they are the crude and unconscious metaphysics of materialism. His work is one of the international scientific series, and as such is destined to the honors of polyglot translation. How we pity the poor hack translator who has to go through 250 large pages filled with passages like this:

"The nervous element [when the incitation from an outward object falls upon it] is touched in its inmost sensibility, it *erects itself*, it *points (entre en arrêt)*, becomes *attentive*; and from this intimate conflict with the external vibration there results in it a new mode of existence, a specific commotion which, from the exterior world as a starting-point, reverberates as far as the sensorium. . . . Into this sensorium the incitation of the external world arrives in a new shape, quintessential, *spiritualized* by the metabolic action of the optic thalami. It is now only the distant, transformed echo of a movement which was purely physical when it first appeared in the organism. But here again for the incident impression to be incorporated in the sensorial network, it must meet with conditions of proper receptivity—the intimate sensibility of the network must be on the alert, must be startled, and possess a sort of erethism parallel to what it undergoes. In fact, the impregnation of the sensorium does not occur *in the cold*, as it were, without a local reaction, without an active participation of the startled nerve-element," etc., etc.

For one whom this sort of philosophizing contents, nothing is easier than to explain the problem of perception. The material thing lies outside the skin of the thinker; his thought of it, which copies it, inside. But between them lie the successive stagings of central nervous tissue, from spinal cord up to cerebral cortex; what, then, can be more obvious than that between the first and the last stages the *thing*, keeping always its semblance, has its substance distilled by these centres from a purely material into a purely spiritual mode of being? Each successive intermediate nervous position gives its little push to the transformation, while such words as *en quelque sorte, pour ainsi dire*, etc., lubricate the process, as it were, and make it run off without sticking and hitching, at least in the mind of the youthful reader. Lucretius, with his circumvolant "membranes" and "effigies," *simulacra rerum*, might possibly have been pleased with this explanation, but it sounds oddly enough in a nineteenth-century writer. In fine, it seems to us that in spite of the fact that Dr. Luys is an energetic and industrious contributor to the anatomy of the brain, he has, considering his opportunities, written the worst and vaguest book on its functions which we have ever toiled through.

The most important topic handled by Dr. Ferrier is that of the localization of specific motor and sensory images in determinate portions of the surface of the hemispheres. For some years past, irritation of circumscribed parts of this cortex has been known to give rise to movements of particular parts of the animal. But when these same centres were extirpated in dogs, etc., the parts previously moved were *not* paralyzed; and the obverse proof that they were true starting places of distinct motor innervation was thus lacking. Dr. Ferrier has used monkeys instead of dogs. In them he finds paralysis distinctly limited to particular groups of muscles after circumscribed cauterization of the cortex. And he, moreover, finds that certain other determinate convolutions, when extirpated, leave the animal deaf, blind, or with cutaneous anæsthesia, as the case may be. Now, how can these phenomena be interpreted, how can even a suggestion be made which will make us understand the difference that exists between the monkey and the dog without thorough psychological study? Dr. Ferrier's very plausible suggestion is this: The movements of locomotion, dodging, etc., which the dog performs after his cortex is partially destroyed, start from lower centres where they are automatically co-ordinated with other movements; conscious purpose either having nothing to do with their instigation, or only initiating the general group, but not supervising the particular muscles. In the monkey, on the contrary, as in man, we are to suppose that such innately co-ordinated responses to outward stimuli are extremely few—winking and starting are the commonest. All other

* 'The Functions of the Brain. By David Ferrier, M.D., F.R.S.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

'The Physiology of Mind. Being the first part of a third edition, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten, of 'The Physiology and Pathology of Mind.' By Henry Maudsley, M.D.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

'Le Cerveau et ses Fonctions. Par J. Luys.' Paris: Germer Baillière et Cie. 1876.

motions require, even in their details, voluntary initiative and supervision. Sounds, sights, positions of the body, etc., awaken determinate motor reactions in the monkey only when they are *understood* by him. Understood means interpreted in the light of past experience or education. The "blindness" which results in the monkey from cauterizing a certain convolution may, then, not mean insensibility to the mere feeling of light. It may mean only the inability to recognize *what* it is he sees; in other words, it may come from the undoing of his optic education, the destruction of his visual memory. If the object that excites his retina reminds him of nothing, suggests no idea, he will of course be as if he saw it not; for he will have no motive to act upon it. In other words, while the dog is to a great extent an unconscious automaton, monkeys, like men, habitually act from motives, properly so-called, or ideas. Destroying the convolutions destroys the storehouse of the ideas. Now, how are ideas to be understood or talked about without what introspection tells us of their formation from coalesced residua of motor and sensory feelings? In a word, brain-physiologists would be still groping in Cimmerian darkness without the torch which psychology proper puts into their hands. The entire recent growth of their science may, in fact, be said to be a mere hypothetical schematization in material terms of the laws which introspection long ago laid bare. Ideas and their associations in the mind, cells and their linking fibres in the brain—such are the elements. But, whereas we directly see their process of combination in the mind, we only guess in the brain what it *may* be from fancied analogies with the mental phenomena. The beautiful theories of the disease Aphasia which Ferrier and Maudsley alike give us could never have been conceived of without a preliminary psychologic analysis of language. In a word, if it be true, as Johannes Müller used to say, that *nemo psychologus nisi physiologus*, it is doubly true that, so far as the nerve-centres go, *nemo physiologus nisi psychologus*. Dr. Maudsley's bad temper about introspection is therefore not simply wrong, but monstrous. If we had space we could easily show from his own pages how his cerebral physiology is to a great extent a pure *a priori* attempt to make a diagram, as it were, out of fibres and cells, of phenomena whose existence is known to him only by subjective observation. Without this latter we should hardly be trying to-day to unravel anatomically and physiologically the brain; any more than, as a matter of fact, we are trying to unravel connective tissue. A bad psychology, too, will suggest an impossible physiology, as could easily be shown in the case of Dr. Maudsley's theories of the substratum of memory and concepts (pp. 281 and 513).

We earnestly advise every one who wants a smattering of science in this deeply interesting field to set about it in the only solid way. Procure two or three sheep's brains and dissect them, with the aid of one of the shorter manuals of human anatomy, such as Holden's. Then read the account of

the nervous centres in Carpenter's, Dalton's, Flint's, or Foster's Physiology. Finally, read Ferrier. This will give distinct ideas about facts to start with; after which the reader may indulge in Maudsley's pantheistic developments (for which we have the highest respect), in the admirable ethics of Dr. Carpenter's 'Mental Physiology,' and in "popular" writings in general, with some sense of when he is on terra firma and when he is not. The student who begins with popular literature never properly knows where he is.

Nogle nye Transportmidler for Saarede. (Christiania. 1877.)—This brochure describes in about twenty pages plans proposed by Dr. Christen Smith, of the Norwegian army, for the transportation of the wounded with such material as is to be found in certain wooded countries. Nineteen illustrations and an epitome in French at the foot of each page save the non-Scandinavian reader much trouble. It describes a litter very ingeniously constructed from a shelter-tent and cedar boughs; a shelter-tent hammock, reminding one of the original design of the officer's sash—that he might be carried in it when wounded; a hand-litter not so primitive as the other, but useful; and a design for fitting up a hay-wagon of that country with the litters. Of these the first two seem the most practical, and are the most ingenious in their simplicity.

* * Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Annual Register for 1876.....	(Livingtons)
Beard (Dr. G. M.), Scientific Basis of Delusions, swd.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) \$0 50
Chevalier (Capt. E.), La Marine française pendant la guerre de l'indépendance américaine, swd.....	(F. W. Christian)
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Habberton (J.), Scripture Club of Valley Rest.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Haldeman (Prof. S. S.), Outlines of Etymology.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Harte (Br.), Thankful Blossom, German trans., swd.....	(A. B. Auebach)
Kiepert (H.), Index to Atlas Antiquus, swd.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Martin (Mrs. C. B.), Mount Desert, 4th ed.....	(Loring, Short & Harmon)
McLaren (W. S. B.) and Beaumont (J.), Report to the Worshipful Clothworkers' Company.....	(Livingtons)
Northrop (B. G.), Lessons from European Schools and the American Centennial, swd.....	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)
Page (H. A.), Thomas de Quincey, 2 vols.....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 2 00
Petermann (A.), Russisch-Türkischer Kriegsschauplatz, 1877: map.....	(L. W. Schmidt)
Provinces of the Equator, Part I., Year 1871, swd.....	(Cairo)
Schubade: Leben und Thaten des Fritz Schabig, swd.....	(Milwaukee)
Sumner (Prof. W. G.), Lectures on the History of Protection in the U. S.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Sylvester (N. B.), Northern New York and the Adirondacks.....	(Wm. H. Young)
Tenney (Rev. E. C.), Coronation: a Tale.....	(Noyes, Snow & Co.) 1 50
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1877.

The Week.

IT cannot be said that the silver question is receiving satisfactory treatment in Washington, and as regards the four and a half and four per cent bonds it is a very delicate question. The bonds are issued under the Act of 1870, which makes them payable "in coin"; and gold and silver coin were at that date both legal tenders for any amount, though silver was not actually in circulation, and gold was the one standard thought of or spoken of. Silver was demonetized after a three years' careful discussion in 1873. It has since then fallen considerably in value, nearly ten per cent below gold, and four per cent below greenbacks, and has been practically thrown out of use as a legal tender in all European countries. This fall in value has, however, made it attractive to the inflationists, who are not troubled by its unsteadiness, and they demand that the act of 1873, which all subsequent events have fully justified, be repealed, and the public creditors, including the holders of the new bonds, be paid off in a depreciated currency in which they never expected to be paid, and a chance afforded, like that of 1862, for a general cheating of all creditors on existing contracts; and this nefarious scheme is backed up by a powerful agitation in the West.

Things being in this position, those who have taken the late loan, and are invited to take the present one, ask in what currency they are to be paid, and Mr. French, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, replies that the Act of 1873, declaring silver not to be a legal-tender, was an element in the sale of all bonds after that date by the Government or by individuals, and as it is impossible to say what bonds have changed hands since that date, all are payable in gold coin. From this opinion Secretary Sherman is said to have at first dissented, but to have confirmed it on receiving a vigorous warning from the Syndicate that, unless it stood, none of the four per cent bonds could be sold. But at this moment, with the silver craze gaining strength at the West, the President makes a statement which is communicated to the Associated Press, and is accepted as authentic by the organs of the craze, including the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and contains the following extraordinary passage:

"President Hayes, although in former years predisposed, like many other hard-money men, to adhere to the prevalent doctrine of finance writers in favor of a single gold standard, has materially changed his views during the progress of the general discussions regarding the wisdom and propriety of the Act of 1873, which demonetized the old legal-tender silver dollar. He is now in favor of its remonetization and of the re-adoption of the double standard of gold and silver—or, in other words, he favors a full return to the condition of things in relation to those subjects which existed previous to the legislation of 1873, being convinced that such a return to the former system will greatly promote the resumption of specie payments, an object that he regards as of the first importance."

This, it must be remembered, comes at a moment when we are offering a great loan to help us to resume payment in the coin which is now the money of the civilized world, and when Congressmen are preparing their currency views for the fall session.

The pressure from the Syndicate led to a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday and the issuing of a letter by Secretary Sherman on the same day, in which the Administration pledges itself to know only gold "coin" in meeting its obligations under the four per cents. Mr. Sherman also declares it inconceivable that any Administration can do otherwise, "whatever may be the system of coinage which the general policy of the nation may at any time adopt." This official disclaimer of intent to swindle the nation's creditors no doubt saves the loan, but it is certainly mortifying

that the need of such a disclaimer should have proceeded from the Administration itself, and that the question as to the proper interpretation of the word "coin" should have required to be settled in Cabinet meeting, or that it should have "demanded and received careful consideration" from even the Secretary himself.

Mr. Sherman's letter, in the phrase we have quoted, designedly throws a sop to those who are clamoring for the remonetization of silver. He appears to have arrived at the conclusion that the Ohio election can be carried and the silver agitators satisfied by conceding to them a recoinage of a limited amount of silver dollars, which shall be a legal tender only for such purposes as United States notes are now, and that both parties to the question can be harmonized on this compromise. He thought, in the first place, that the silver-mining interest would be satisfied if the token currency were made of silver. He must now be aware that to the introduction of a silver-token currency is chargeable all the dangers which now threaten the public credit and the currency by reason of silver. After the main or standard currency has been made gold, or, what is the same thing, redeemable gold-notes, it will be time enough to consider what uses silver can be put to. It will then be absolutely safe to have the token currency silver, and it is possible that the price of silver will by that time have grown so steady that the relative value of gold and silver can be determined. Silver now, and for more than a year past, has been more variable than almost any staple product of the country, and accordingly, as a measure, has been about as useful as a piece of rubber would be. It is, therefore, folly to hasten to readopt it as a measure. That the Secretary of the Treasury should give even a qualified support to a scheme which has such dangerous possibilities is in all respects most unfortunate.

The Washington despatches report an interview between Simmons, the Boston Collector, and the President, which we sincerely hope is fictitious or highly colored. Simmons has been bred and is a ward politician. He prepared himself for Butler's favor by doing for some years the dirty work of Republican politics in Boston. He got the Collectorship through Butler's manoeuvring, to the great scandal and disgust of all that was best in the party. He has used the Custom-house steadily for political purposes ever since, and did by his intrigues, and to gratify his hatred of the Boston "Silver-tops," contribute to the election of a Democratic mayor last year, thus throwing the city government back into the partisan slough from which Mayor Cobb's two terms had delivered it. He represents, in short, all that is worst in the system which we are looking to Mr. Hayes to reform. He now, it is reported, goes to Washington, tells the President that he too is a reformer; that he is as competent to "run" the Custom-house on the new plan as on the old, and that if the Boston Custom-house is to be taken out of politics he is the man to do it. That he is capable of this enormous impudence we find no difficulty in believing; he could not otherwise have been Butler's friend and protégé. What we have great difficulty in believing is that the President said to him—we quote the *Tribune's* report—"that as to the past he would hold no man responsible for a system of appointment which had been encouraged and practised by both parties and corrected by none," and "that honest, efficient, and capable officers now in the service, although they had rendered fealty to the old system of appointments and administration, would not be removed on that account, but that, on the contrary, as a rule, they would be retained, unless written charges were presented against them and proved; that the present officers who are honest and efficient, and who are willing to accept the conditions of a civil-service administration and to agree to execute them, will be retained as better fitted by their experience for the very work in hand."

We say we find difficulty in believing this, for much the same reason as that which would make us hesitate to believe that Mr. Pillsbury, the new State Superintendent of Prisons, had, in coming into office, made the following address to the warden of Sing Sing: "The object, sir, of a prison is the confinement of criminals within a certain area, so as to keep them out of mischief for a certain specified period, and be a terror to other evil-doers. This duty, I am glad to find, you have well fulfilled; there have been few or no escapes during your term of office. You owed, it is true, your appointment to political influence; when you received it you had no acquaintance with prisons or prison discipline, and when you got your own place you filled the subordinate ones, as far as lay in your power, with your brother politicians. I find also that under your administration there has been gross favoritism in the treatment of the prisoners; they have been allowed to loaf freely around the yard, to see their friends without rule or restriction, to procure liquor in abundance from the outside, and the keepers have been in the habit of playing cards with them, with your knowledge and connivance, besides carrying on outside business, and absenting themselves freely without leave. Moreover, the worst characters under your charge have been allowed unusual privileges whenever they could show that they were the protégés of influential politicians. For all this, however, you were not to blame. You only acted under a system which has prevailed in this State since 1846, and has been encouraged and practised by both parties, and corrected by neither. In future, however, these things must not be. The constitution has been changed, and I have been appointed to my present place in order to take the prisons out of politics, which I am resolved to do. With your familiarity with the prisons in politics, and the various abuses arising therefrom, you will be an excellent person to help me. Nobody has been more closely identified with these abuses than yourself. I would now ask whether you are willing to abandon the same and become a reformer and model disciplinarian. If so, you are just the kind of man we want. When rascality was permissible and in vogue you were a great rascal, and small blame to you! But now that honesty and efficiency are the rule, your past rascality is likely to make you an admirable promoter of the new régime. Your conversion will make a deep impression on the criminals, and inspire general confidence in the genuineness of my reforms."

Experience of human nature only sanctions the employment of wrong-doers for the work of reform in a single case—the conversion of thieves into detectives. The disregard of it displayed by talk of this kind is too palpable to need much comment. What we wish to call attention to more particularly is one of its remoter and less obvious bearings which we touched on a fortnight ago. Mr. Hayes is going out of office in four years—that is sure. What we seek at his hands, therefore, is not reform simply, *but reform that will outlive him*; reform which his successor, be he Democrat or Republican, will not venture to overthrow. Now, with what face could we ask a Democratic President, say Tilden or Hendricks, to accept or treat as genuine, custom-house reform which was carried out by persons like Messrs. Arthur and Simmons, or which was compatible with their retention in office? Would he not answer such a request, and fairly answer it, with scornful laughter? And suppose he made a clearance of the Custom-house in this city, and made Dick Schell or John Kelly Collector, and we objected that these gentlemen were partisan politicians and would revive the old abuses, how easily he might put us to silence by simply saying that Kelly and Schell were no worse politicians than their predecessors, and that if it was possible to convert Arthur or Simmons into a reformer, why should there be any difficulty with Democrats of the same stamp?

A "special agent of the depredation branch" of the Post-Office Department—in other words, one of the detectives used in this branch of the service—whose station was in the South, was assigned recently to duty which he considered too arduous because it required him to leave the State, and he thereupon wrote a letter to Mr. Key on

the subject, complaining that when appointed he supposed his duties would be limited to his own State, where he could be "most useful to the Administration and aid his party friends in building up an Administration party." Mr. Key in reply declares that the detective labors under a serious misapprehension; that he, Mr. Key, made no such agreement, and if he had he would not "deserve the position" of Postmaster-General; he points out that the duty of the "special agent" is that of "detecting thieves and rascals," and that he must in consequence often "leave the highways of travel," however inconvenient this may be to him, and even his own State, however dear. He must be ready, in fact, to toil "night and day, in rain, sunshine, and storm, to detect and arrest offenders." Besides this, Mr. Key adds that it is no part of this detective duty to "build up an Administration party"; that his business is to do the work of the Post-Office Department; and that he will take great pleasure in removing any detective on finding that he has time "to attend to party organization and party discipline." Another letter of Mr. Key's has been published, addressed to some clerks discharged by a newly-appointed Western postmaster. They had come to Washington with a complaint that the new postmaster had been discharging good and experienced men and appointing raw and inefficient men in their places; that he, by acts and words, showed that he was "not loyal to the Administration." Mr. Key took the case to the President, and after consultation reported to the aggrieved clerks, 1st, that enquiry showed the post-office to be efficiently managed; 2d, that the postmaster might oppose the Administration or not, as he pleased; 3d, that unless he neglected his duty and became a "busy politician" he would not be removed. All this shows that the President and Mr. Key are honestly desirous of reforming the civil service; but, as we have all along feared, it shows, too, that the "wicked partners" do not allow Mr. Key full liberty of action yet. It is hardly conceivable, after all that has been said on the subject, that a "special agent," insisting on his right to be allowed to stay at home and "build up an Administration party," would be retained in office a day, unless there were political difficulties in the way of his removal. Again, who is to say when an employee of the Government is or is not a "busy politician"? Is it to be ascertained by a commission, or are we to take the word of the officer himself, as in the case of Simmons and Arthur?

The reception given to the Democratic leaders last week at the Manhattan Club was marked by the appearance of Mr. Tilden, who made a speech in which, for the first time since the termination of the Presidential struggle, he announced his position. It does not differ widely from that taken by the other members of the party, whose avowed object and plan it is to keep but one idea before the people for the next four years—that the party has been cheated out of the election. The passionate devotion of Mr. Tilden and his followers to reform—reform in the currency; reform in the civil service; reform in the army; reform in the navy—which inspired the St. Louis platform, has all disappeared, and in its stead we have the single cry of fraud. The Democrats may be right in feeling sure of carrying the country in 1880 on this cry, but if they do so they will do it without the aid of the independent vote that supported them in the campaign. The independent vote cast on the Democratic side Mr. Tilden received almost entirely as a reformer, and because it was believed that his administration would be a reform administration. If he wishes to retain this support he must go on being a reformer, and must make speeches very unlike that at the Manhattan Club.

The fate of the constitutional amendment with regard to Minnesota's repudiated bonds is very curious. These bonds were issued in aid of railroads some twenty years ago, and with interest would amount now to some seven or eight millions. Immediately after the issue the panic of 1857 occurred, created great railroad depression, and made the bonds seem to the people of Minnesota less like a pub-

lie blessing and more like an ordinary debt. The State at once repudiated them, and in fact wiped them out so completely that without a popular vote the holders were absolutely helpless. Gradually Minnesota, from being a remote, thinly-settled, and agricultural community, has, by the extension of her railroad system, been made more accessible to general public opinion, while the growth of towns has developed that sense of the sanctity of public credit which seems only possible in trading communities. The dishonored position of the State has gradually forced itself on the attention of all its best people, and accordingly a strong sentiment has grown up in favor of some sort of settlement with the creditors. The latter recently effected a compromise with representatives of the State by which they were to receive about fifty cents on the dollar, provided the agreement was ratified by a popular vote. The press, the clergy, all the classes representing the capital, intelligence, and morality of the State, were in favor of the plan, yet it has just been voted down by three or four to one. An examination of the result shows that had the towns alone been concerned the measure would have been carried, but in the country it fared differently. The "honest farmer," for whose express benefit loans in aid of internal improvements are always made, felt that too much was being done for the "bloated capitalist," and voted against the proposition. The local newspapers affect to believe that this was because the honest fellow did not "understand" the question at issue; but it looks to us the other way. He has, as a granger, devoted years of thoughtful study to problems of the same kind, and the result seems to prove that he is a complete master of them.

The Woman's Suffrage Bill came up for its annual reading in the British House of Commons on the 6th inst., and met with another defeat. The number of its supporters, indeed, appears to be declining steadily, and some of its former friends now rise every year and withdraw their former adhesion to it. The rejection of the bill was moved by Mr. Hanbury, who acknowledged that he had on two former occasions voted for it, believing that the enfranchised women "would support the Church and the Conservative Party," but he saw he was mistaken. Mr. Courtney attempted to speak, we believe in favor of the bill, but was coughed and shouted down, the House being unwilling to hear anything more on the subject, and the debate was adjourned under the rules. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was visited by a deputation of ladies on the same subject, but acknowledged that, though he had at one time advocated the change, he too had lost faith in the cause, and thought that the great object of the franchise was to produce a good legislative body, and did not believe the extension of the suffrage to women would aid in this. The fact is that the movement sprung into sudden prominence in England partly under the influence of the reformatory effervescence produced by Mr. J. S. Mill, and partly under the desire of the Conservatives to secure influence by any dodges or promises which came first to hand. It is declining now, partly because the Liberals have, through the influence of events both in this country and at home, been considerably sobered about the suffrage, and partly because the Conservatives find they can get on very well without flattering the women; partly also because the friends of the cause, male and female, have made themselves, during the last few years, odiously conspicuous in the agitation of a most disgusting subject.

The French Chambers met on Saturday, the day to which they were prorogued, and the Senate received a message from Marshal MacMahon, in which he declared that he was driven into asking their consent to a dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, because no ministry could now maintain itself in the Chamber without alliance with and submission to the Radical party, and to this "he could no longer lend himself." He would have liked to postpone the dissolution a little longer, in order to allow time for necessary legislation, but was forced to go on by the inflammatory and disturbing appeals and addresses which three hundred deputies were issuing to the electors. He was confident France did not

"wish to see her institutions distorted by Radicalism," and did not wish, when the time for revising the constitution came in 1880, "to find everything prepared for the disorganization of the moral and material forces of the country." The Senate has the matter under consideration. In the Chamber of Deputies Messrs. Berthmont and Gambetta spoke on behalf of the Left, and M. Fourtou, the ministerial black sheep, on the part of the Government. During Gambetta's speech the Right indulged in scenes of terrible violence, and fears of bloodshed seem at one time to have been felt. Fourtou's story is the old one, that the Marshal is again "saving society." Gambetta predicted a majority of 400 in the next Chamber. On Tuesday the Chamber passed a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry by 363 to 153. It was received with open contempt. The encouraging feature in all this is that both parties are keeping within the law and are appealing to the country in the regular way, and the Marshal, unlike previous "saviours of society," is keeping within the constitution. The worst feature in his course is his employing Fourtou to doctor the prefects.

It is said, and with a good deal of probability, that MacMahon has not officially explained what is in his mind when he says that the Radicals are preparing the "disorganization of the moral and material forces of the country," and that what is troubling him is the attempts of Gambetta's friends to make changes in the system of taxation, the judicial system, and the military organization, which would in other countries be called reforms, but which, owing to the superstitious reverence the French have for the administrative machine bequeathed to them by the First Empire, frightens the old Conservatives out of their wits. Governments come and go, but no government has yet ventured to modify materially the institutions left by the elder Napoleon. The military organization has been recently changed, but nothing less than the awful reverses of 1870-1 could have brought this about. To touch the judicial system, or introduce direct taxation as Gambetta proposes to do, is looked on as little less than sacrilegious, and the man who proposes it must, it is thought, have designs on the framework of society.

Russia has put a loan of 100,000,000 roubles on the market at 70, and a syndicate of bankers is reported to have taken it all at a figure sufficiently below this to allow them a handsome margin. In other words, they are borrowing at about the rate we borrowed at during the bad days of the late war, and there is behind this a forced internal loan of about 200,000,000 roubles, which is now being levied. This would indicate a sorry financial outlook if the war were likely to last long, or result unfavorably, but all hope of pertinacious resistance on the part of the Turk is now given up by his best friends. Everything thus far goes to justify our prediction of last April, that we should see the end before October; and if the Eastern Question is settled in this way, to the extent of destroying the last pretence of the Porte to independent sovereignty, the Russian people will probably consider the war a very cheap enterprise.

As we go to press, the situation of the combatants on the Danube remains outwardly unchanged; but the visit of Prince Milan to the Czar at Ploiesti, and the military preparations going on in his absence, make it seem highly probable that Servia, like Rumania, will become a thoroughfare for the Russian army. In Armenia there has been some concentration and fighting around Kars, and the Russian advance has been resumed, the centre re-occupying Olti, and the left wing occupying Toprak-Kaleh. Mukhtar Pasha's headquarters are at Zevin, between these two converging lines, and the feeling at Erzerum is anything but assured. The Montenegrins have been so seriously crippled by Suleiman Pasha that they have left him free to revictual Niesies, and this having been done, it is announced that he will neither stay there nor attempt again the Duga Pass, but will push on into Montenegrin territory, now threatened with invasion on all sides, and certainly in great peril.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SILVER MOVEMENT.

ON the second of November last year, in summing up the comparative merits and demerits of the Presidential candidates, we remarked of Mr. Hayes that

"During his three years in Congress he voted for all the measures which gradually led the Republican party into the inflationist position of 1874, and against all the measures, including Mr. McCulloch's contraction policy, which would by this time have landed us in resumption. That he did so honestly we have no doubt, or that he did it as a good party-man who felt that the majority was 'about right' on this as on other matters, and who did not know much about it himself. He will not, therefore, be in a position to impress his financial ideas strongly on Congress, or the country, or foreign nations, or give anything like positiveness or clearness to the policy of the Treasury, or to meet a covert scheme of inflation like the Silver Bill with a master hand, although he may be counted on to veto any measure which is plainly and on its face inflationist, and which does not need to have its remoter results thought out."

We did not suppose when we wrote the foregoing that the "silver movement" would gain as much force as it has gained in the intervening six months, or that it would succeed so completely in taking the place of the greenback movement against which Mr. Hayes had to contend in his contest for the governorship with Allen, and still less that the promoters of the silver movement would so soon win Mr. Hayes over to their way of thinking, a fact of which recent news from Washington seems to leave little doubt. If he is correctly reported, he has recently expressed himself as hostile to the demonetization Act of 1873 as a "hasty measure," and desirous of the restoration of the state of things which existed before the passage of that Act—that is, of the restoration of the double standard. What we feared was not that he would go over to the silver party or head it, but that he might not possess the familiarity with the subject which would be necessary to enable him to meet and analyze their schemes with such force and vigor as to make the necessary impression on the public mind. It was quite plain to be seen from his votes in Congress that he had not given much attention or study to financial questions, and it was therefore to be feared that he might not be able to meet fallacies which were backed by a powerful body of persons with whom he was in general political sympathy, or which drew plausibility from some attractive but unsound analogy. For although there is on various secondary points of finance more or less difference of opinion among the masters, there are some things in it which are settled, and settled unshakably. To know what these are, however, and know it thoroughly, so as to have warm convictions about them, one needs, in spite of Logan's dictum, more than a fortnight's study, more even than a year's, unless one comes to the subject with a strong taste for it or deep interest in it. Most financial questions have an exceedingly plausible erroneous side, and one that nothing but much study of financial history, and much thinking out of remote results, will enable a man to escape from. What can be more plausible, for instance, at first sight than the notion that the promises to pay of a great government may be issued in unlimited quantities without injury, as long as the citizen is willing to use them as money, or that a promise to pay which is "based on the entire wealth of the nation" must be as good as gold?

We recur to the subject now not for the purpose of drawing attention to the accuracy of our anticipations, nor by way of criticism that is in any sense hostile, but for the purpose of emphasizing what we are about to say as to the gravity of this silver crisis, on the verge of which we now find ourselves. No one who has watched the course of the agitation at the West about the currency during the last few years can fail to see that the silver movement has taken the place of the greenback movement simply because it is, from the point of view of the greenback men, the next best thing. The greenback movement failed because it could not, in a shrewd commercial community, stand the test of prolonged discussion, and because the accumulation of funds at the banks refuted the argument that the country needed more currency. Moreover, nobody but the very wildest of inflationists could deny that if the Government

might issue too much paper, and the matter were left in the hands of Congress, the probabilities were that too much would sooner or later be issued. Those who opposed paper inflation and those who advocated it, however, had two very different objects in view. The former sought, above all things, to make the currency, no matter of what material it might be composed, a steady and unchanging standard of value, and in order to secure this were hostile to any currency which was not exchangeable at par for gold. The paper men, on the other hand, cared or thought little about the standard of value. What most concerned them in money was that it should be easily procured, or, in other words, should be "cheap money," which would help to make debts lighter and less difficult to pay, and thus give the borrowing classes some advantage, even if only temporary, in dealing with the lending classes. The more astute promoters of the movement were men embarked in large non-remunerative enterprises, saddled with heavy liabilities, and they saw, of course, in a sudden increase of the currency, a chance not only of paying their debts but of getting rid of their commodities on a rising market. About the great function of money—the measuring of the relation in value of one commodity to another—probably few of them ever troubled their heads. They thought this would take care of itself in time, and would somehow "come out right in the end," when we had all cleared off our encumbrances and made a fresh start.

Now, the greenback movement having been foiled, its friends naturally turn to silver as the next cheapest money to unlimited greenbacks. It is even cheaper than the greenbacks now afloat, and would, if legal tender, go further in the payment of an existing debt; and this being the case, its unsteadiness, and therefore defectiveness as a standard of value, does not trouble them. Moreover, it has the great advantage of being impervious to many of the attacks made on the paper money. It cannot be said of it that it may be issued in indefinite quantities. Silver has intrinsic value; and though it may be produced largely, it cannot be produced illimitably, so that the amount of it afloat could not be made to depend on an act of Congress. Therefore much of the ridicule heaped on the greenbacks could not be turned against it. Moreover, it is not very long since it was a legal tender, and this in good monetary times, so that the hard-money men could not decry it by recounting all its previous history. Lastly, it was, like the greenback, capable of being surrounded by a certain sentimental interest. The silver coin, if not a "battle-born and blood-stained" piece, is "the dollar of our fathers," so that a patriotic American weeping over a new quarter, as a reminder of the generations which had passed away, would not be a wholly absurd spectacle. The arguments against it drawn from its recent remarkable fluctuations and its demonetization by the leading nations of the world, produce no impression in view of the capital fact that, being now of less value than greenbacks, it gives the debtor one or two points of advantage against his creditor, and is, therefore, cheaper money. In fact, there is a thread of knavery running through the whole movement, though doubtless concealed from many of its promoters by the fact that they do not think of money as a standard of value, but as a means of paying debts, and by the fact that silver was a legal tender until very lately.

The danger of the movement just lies in the fact that, like the greenback movement, it is not likely to meet at the outset a very vigorous opposition. Men who have lived much in politics, and have not given much attention to the scientific side of finance, are always apt to suppose at the outset that currency questions are questions of majorities, and that any kind of currency is good that the people wish for, or "the party" might find it to its advantage to adopt. Accordingly, when a craze like the greenback movement or the silver movement begins, the consequences of which are just as well known to financiers as the results of certain combinations to chemists, the first impulse of the ordinary politician is to go into it with all his might, and flout the experience of the civilized world. The better class, who know more and think more, will not descend to this, but begin to concoct some compro-

mise which will not do as much mischief as the whole measure, or some device which will postpone the subject to a more convenient or saner season. It was very much in this way the greenback folly was stayed, but at that time the President was on the right side, and was very firm.

It will be very unfortunate if we have to meet this new form of the craze not only without help from the same quarter, but with the President's influence thrown on the wrong side, and it will be the more unfortunate because we seem to be on the verge of resumption. After much tumbling, and tossing, and groping we are apparently on the point of being able to pay greenbacks in gold on demand. The confusion likely to be caused in business by the introduction of a third legal tender, and a second kind of depreciated currency, and the shock that would be given to the public credit abroad if Congress, when it meets in the fall, were to threaten the national creditors, at the President's instigation or with his sanction, with the payment in inferior money, might once more postpone resumption indefinitely, and perhaps give rise to a new and more determined opposition to any resumption at all. For these reasons we hope sincerely he will not commit himself on this subject in talk without careful consideration, and not commit himself at all without being able to put his reasons on paper in a fashion which will command respect and attention. Mr. Sherman, who is famous for his financial compromises, is willing to satisfy the silver men by giving them as much silver as they please on demand for greenbacks, but is not willing to have silver a legal tender for any amount. But in supposing that they will come in in large numbers to exchange a dollar worth ninety-five cents for one that is only worth ninety-one we are sure he greatly over-estimates their passion for hard money, and that if he expects to contract the greenback currency in any such way he will be greatly disappointed. We are sure, too, that all currency legislation, management, or manipulation, or discussion which has any other object in view, or is based on any other consideration than the supply to the public of a steady measure of value, is sure to produce confusion and disaster, and that no attempt to dodge or deny the necessity of this supply can have more than a temporary and apparent success.

THE CLERGY IN FRENCH POLITICS.

THE trouble into which France is once more plunged is probably due more directly to the state of mind of the Catholic clergy than to anything else, though, of course, when one says this one must bear in mind the peculiar condition of French society and the antecedents of French politicians. The French Radicals, and especially the Radical press, have faults of temper and aim which it would be useless to try to palliate, but the French clergy, far from trying to soothe these savage beasts and win them over to gentleness and order and respect for, if not belief in, religion, have no hesitation in seizing opportunities of irritating them. The hostility of the Radicals to the Church is not at all religious; they are for the most part sceptics of the Voltairean type, and by no means oppose the old faith with a new faith of their own. They are not at all concerned about the truth of Catholic doctrine, and would be as much bored by the Protestant service as by the mass, and, in fact, have considerably more difficulty in comprehending a devout Methodist than a devout Catholic. Their reason for hating the Church is its constant and steady alliance with arbitrary power before and since the Revolution. The clergy have supported every régime with a warmth strictly proportioned to its love of repression and coercion and its hostility to everything which, in Radical eyes, goes under the name of progress; and of course this support has been made all the more obnoxious and the clergy all the more suspected of arbitrary sympathies since the defiance launched against modern political ideas in the Papal Syllabus. Accusations against the Church which, before the appearance of this document, could only be supported by implication or quotations from doctors of disputed authority, could now be made good by the testimony of the infallible earthly head of the Church himself.

Recently the acrimonious feeling between the two parties has been intensified by what may be called the Catholic revival which has been going on for a few years, and of which the most prominent outward indications are the pilgrimages to Rome on a great scale, of which we have lately heard so much. This revival does not, like the Protestant ones, take the form of wide-spread conviction and confession of sin, and insatiable passion for public worship, but of greatly increased devotion to, and admiration of, the Pope; and the clergy have been careful, so far as it lay within their power, to give it this direction. Accordingly, when a Catholic in our time feels unusually pious, although it would be uncharitable and unwarrantable to say that no change for the better takes place in his walk and conversation, it is nevertheless true that the most striking mark of his improved spiritual condition is a desire to go to Rome and see the Pope, and get his blessing, and display sympathy for him by giving him some money. It is needless to say that neither those who go nor those who stay at home and send their offerings approach the subject of the Pope's condition and wants in a very judicial frame of mind. They learn from him, and from those who answer for him, that he is shut up in his palace by infidels and usurpers, that he is restrained in the exercise of his pastoral functions by legislation directed against his servants and assistants, and has been robbed of territory to which his title was just as good as that of the Queen of England to her throne. Under these circumstances fervid Catholic piety easily and not unnaturally takes the form of bitter hostility to the Pope's enemies, and eager desire to have him put in possession of his own again; and as he himself did not scruple to employ Swiss mercenaries as well as Catholic volunteers to slaughter the bodies of those who sought to spoil his possessions, the revivalists and the clergy are naturally ready to seize any chance that offers itself of effecting his deliverance by force. It is easy to see why they look to France for this deliverance more readily than to any other quarter. It was France, and a French Republic too, which delivered him in 1849, and of the three Catholic Powers of Europe which profess any respect for him France is the only one which has a strong material force at her disposal. The various weighty political and social considerations which for her make complete abstinence from strife more necessary than ever before in her history, and which make Italian affairs the most dangerous for her to meddle with, of course make little impression on bishops and pilgrims. Probably four-fifths of them are in a state of mind in which the rout of the combined German and Italian forces by a sudden appearance of a party of angelic warriors on their flank seems a not wildly improbable contingency.

The bishops have now for some time been cherishing, and letting it be known that they cherished, the expectation that France might prove the Pope's deliverer, and they of course do not flatter themselves that she could be got to play any such rôle through the Radicals, while they have plenty of reason for supposing that it would not be wholly impossible under the Conservatives. The growing and perhaps often unconscious frankness with which, with this idea in their minds, they have been throwing the weight of their influence against both Radical politicians and measures, brought about the state of things which threw MacMahon into his recent deplorable panic. The French Radical press, especially in the provinces, does not produce a very high order of literature and is not capable of a very lofty discussion, and the way of meeting clerical hostility to which it most easily resorted was to turn the Catholic creed and ritual into ridicule, and ridicule of this kind can hardly help being blasphemous and indecent. In all Catholic countries, too, religion is so generally accepted as the one and only basis of morality, the sole protection of property and marriage, that assaults of this kind on the dominant faith are supposed to emanate from enemies of human society, and give all simple-minded persons who own anything, and have, as they nearly all have, some tender or sacred association with the ceremonies and teachings of the Church, a shuddering foretaste of revolutionary horrors.

When one remembers that clerical activity and the close alliance of the Government with the clerical party were among the most

prominent signs of the two great attacks on constitutional government in 1830 and 1851, the alarm of the French Liberals at present is not unnatural. But when one reads the account of such scenes as occurred in the French Chamber last week, and considers what a check is given to orderly political progress by the unchaining of such fratricidal fury as displayed itself in the debate, and how many years of peace and quiet it will take to restore the lost calm and good feeling after even one such burst of passion, one wonders whether the French clergy have really learnt nothing from the past, and whether they really consider the Pope's temporal surroundings the fundamental fact in modern religious life. Of course it may be said that they do not differ essentially from the Catholic clergy elsewhere; that what gives them greater powers of mischief in France than in Germany and Italy is the fact that they find it easier to secure politicians ready to adopt their ideas and carry out their policy. But this does not account for or palliate their persistence in the rôle of political firebrands, and their apparent willingness to kindle the flames of war, both civil and foreign, in order to give the Head of the Church certain external advantages, the necessity of which to the complete fulfilment of her mission on earth they would scornfully deny. Moreover, their readiness to confine themselves to the position of modest and unobtrusive religious teachers in countries like England and the United States, in which they know they can accomplish nothing by political activity, naturally increases the exasperation of Frenchmen who see the repose of their country troubled, and the prospect of the lasting foundation of free government clouded, by ecclesiastical broils and intrigues, and deepens his belief that the Church is the curse of modern politics.

THE NATURALIZATION TREATY WITH GERMANY.

II.

BERLIN, May 20, 1877.

I PASS now to a number of disputed points which have not been settled, and which will have to be considered whenever a revision of the Treaty is attempted. It is well known, for instance, that the Treaty does not apply to emigrants who are enrolled in the active army. They may be seized on their return to Germany, in spite of naturalization, and punished as deserters. But to what class of subjects and to what term of military service does this provision extend—only to the first three years' duty under the flag, or likewise to the next period in the reserve? The contention is over the latter class; the status of the "reservists" under the Treaty has never been established. The Germans maintain that in their usage the reserves are part of the permanent army, though required to perform only a limited amount of service each year, and that in respect to expatriation the same rule should be applied to them. *Pro forma* the State Department rejects this interpretation, but, as no serious practical cases have arisen, the dispute has never come to a crisis. Another difficulty, exceedingly intricate and grave, is presented by the case of Alsace-Lorraine, the annexed provinces. Does or does not the convention extend to them; and, if not, is it desirable that it should? In considering the first of these questions, which is one of public law, it must be remembered that we have no naturalization treaty with the German Empire. We have one with the former North German Confederation—in other words, with the states composing the same—and we have one each with the Kingdom of Bavaria, the Kingdom of Würtemberg, the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse. But Alsace-Lorraine belong neither to the North German Confederation, nor to Bavaria, nor to Würtemberg, nor to Baden, nor to Hesse, but to the German Empire; and if by the constitution of the Empire the treaty with the previous Confederation was extended over the annexed territory, it is hard to see why it was not also extended over the South German States. This, I know, is the view of some publicists. Be that as it may, however, the German Government intimated to Mr. Bancroft, after the war, a willingness to make the extension to the two provinces by an additional article. This was refused by Mr. Fish, unless a single treaty for all Germany should be substituted for the five which exist. This counter-proposition was likewise rejected, and the question is still in suspense; but in the principal case which has arisen in Lorraine the German authorities have practically treated the Convention as being there in force.

This case is so complicated and peculiar that it is worth a paragraph. In 1852 a man whom I shall call Riley, a native of Lorraine and

a French subject, emigrated to America, and in 1858 he was naturalized as an American citizen. In 1861, on the outbreak of the civil war, in which he foresaw the possible need of his services, Riley's American patriotism swiftly cooled, and with his infant son, born in Cincinnati, he returned to Lorraine. There he has since continuously resided. In 1871 he was annexed geographically, at least, to Germany; and since at the "option" he failed to assert French preferences or to assert his nationality in any way, he was regarded as a German. He himself encouraged this view, by accepting after the war not only the general indemnification granted to all persons whose property was damaged by military operations, but also a further special form of remuneration reserved for German subjects alone. He even suffered himself to be elected to municipal office. Nevertheless, when, this spring, young Riley, the son, was enrolled for military services the father presented his papers as an American citizen, and claimed the benefits of the treaty. He also appealed to the Legation for protection. His case, of course, presents no equity, and he richly deserves his fate; but the State Department is, nevertheless, obliged to decide whether or no it regards the German use of the Treaty as justifiable.

It is singular that this case also contains another feature which is matter of dispute between the two contracting powers. It raised the question of the status of the minor sons of naturalized American citizens, although, as in so many other instances, a fruitless contention was not invited by any real grievance calling for intervention. But the general question at what age a young man who lives in Germany with his naturalized father must elect between German and American allegiance is still an open one. The Germans say at twenty, when military service under their law begins; Mr. Pierrepont, when Attorney-General, said at twenty-one, when under American law a youth reaches his majority. Mr. Pierrepont's decision is admirable law for America, but it is municipal not international law. It is doubtful, in spite of the authority of the Attorney-General, if we can expect the German authorities to wait a whole year after military service becomes due, before compelling such young men to choose their nationality.

These are some of the difficulties which arise in the interpretation of the Treaty, and which can be settled only by the co-operation of both Governments. But there are also in the system of naturalization many defects and inequalities for which we alone are to blame, and which can easily be corrected by domestic legislation. In carrying out the treaties with different countries these faults are often most painfully revealed. It is perhaps too much to demand from American politicians that the whole charge of naturalization be confined to Federal courts, or to Federal agents designated for the purpose. That will not be possible until the present conception of the whole subject be reversed; until we abandon the theory that the adoption of our citizenship by Patrick and Johann is so great a gain for us that it ought to be encouraged and facilitated by every means, and return to the earlier and sounder principle that that citizenship is a boon, which ought to be deserved by virtue and intelligence, and the granting of which ought to be surrounded with the strictest safeguards. But it is perhaps not unreasonable to ask, at least, that in naturalization a uniform system of procedure, and a uniform style of citizen papers, be prescribed by Federal law. At present a perfect anarchy prevails. The certificates range in character from the loose and negligent form used in the Court of Common Pleas, New York, to the almost faultless style of the Municipal Court of Milwaukee. Is one open to the reproach of "Know-Nothingism" for proposing to remedy this evil? If so, I can only plead that the evil is not alone a source of great trouble to our own legations, but that it is often, for obvious reasons, a source of extreme embarrassment to our adopted citizens themselves when they come into conflict with foreign officials. It may not be commonly known, furthermore, that according to a law passed during the Civil War, and never repealed, American citizenship may be acquired without the five years' residence, simply by one year's service in the army. This, again, is an uncertain benefit, even to those who make use of it. A number of Germans, who were naturalized in this way, have been betrayed into returning to the Fatherland, ignorant, of course, that such citizens have no status under the Treaty. Of course, too, they were promptly and rudely disenchanting by German officials. But aside from this incidental effect, and in a broader and higher sense, is it not a scandal and a disgrace that, in order to recruit our little army, we continue to offer for one year's service the priceless reward of American citizenship? Not even Germany, with her vast military necessities, has yet fallen so low as that. It might, indeed, be urged that since the term of enlistment in the army is five years the soldier must in fact pass the usual time of probation before his citizenship becomes of use, and that accordingly no practical evil exists. Unfortun-

nately, this is not invariably true. More than one American "citizen" has been discovered here who was honorably discharged and naturalized after twelve months' service in the army.

MR. GLADSTONE'S POSITION.

LONDON, June 5, 1877.

MR. GLADSTONE'S position at the present time is, I think I may confidently assert, an anomalous one in the annals of this or of any constitutional country. He is, by his own option and insistence, a private and irresponsible member of the House of Representatives, while outside that House he is the accepted leader of the bulk of the electors and the idol of the populace. Political transformations are so sudden nowadays and pass so quickly out of one's recollection that, at the risk of singing over again a too familiar song, I venture to recapitulate the chief incidents as they affect Mr. Gladstone during the last four years.

You will remember that at the close of the year 1873 Mr. Gladstone was at the head of a strong administration which had done more thorough and more important work than any administration of the century. Some casual elections had gone against him during the autumn. There was a spirit of insubordination which had occasionally broken forth among his followers during the previous session, and once in an important division he had been left in a minority. But he could still count on a reasonably compact majority of from fifty to sixty whenever the whip was cracked with any determination. Parliament was summoned to meet in February; the heads of the different departments had prepared the bills which they proposed to introduce during the session, and everything was in order for the usual sort of business. Suddenly one afternoon, at the end of January, Mr. Gladstone appeared at the Council of his own Cabinet with a document of much elaboration and prolixity in his hand, and announced to his astounded colleagues that this elaborate and prolix document was his address to the electors of Greenwich, and that Parliament was dissolved. The result of this performance was disastrous. The Liberal party were routed in counties and in boroughs. The country pronounced a direct vote of censure upon the Gladstone Administration, and returned to Parliament the solid Tory majority which is now sitting on the necks of the Liberals. The captain had driven the vessel on the rocks and broken it to pieces.

What then did Mr. Gladstone do? He abandoned the vessel and the crew, and left them to do the best they could. He wrote a letter to Lord Granville, which, by his express desire, was made as public as possible, abdicating his leadership of the Liberal party, and expressing his determination to retire into private life. Like Charles the Fifth, he desired "to put a little space of religious contemplation between the active part of his life and the grave," and as it was inconvenient to retire into a monastery in this country so long as he held a seat in Parliament, he sold his London house and settled himself down in his beautiful country-seat in the North of England. For a whole session after his abdication he adhered to his purpose. He was rarely seen in the House of Commons, and when he did appear his object was to take part in the ecclesiastical discussions which were raised by the passing of "the Bill to put down Ritualism." During all this time the wreck of his party was drifting hither and thither, as the winds and waves of party doctrine drove it. The leadership was in commission, and Mr. Gladstone was running a tilt with the errors of the Vatican. At the commencement of the following session the position of the party was considered intolerable. It was determined to proceed to the election of a recognized leader, and at the almost historical meeting in the smoking-room of the Reform Club, in February, 1875, Lord Hartington was chosen. He had no wish for the position. On the contrary, he preferred to remain as he was—a respected member of the party, and one whose opinion and co-operation would always be of value, but who would wish to be untrammelled by official duties and responsibilities and free to occupy himself with any pursuits in which he took an interest. But the leadership was pressed upon him by Lord Granville and others of his late colleagues in the Gladstone Cabinet, and, it is stated, especially by Mr. Gladstone himself. He was not at that time much of a speaker; he was wanting in self-confidence, and by temperament he was disinclined from taking an active share in the trivial though necessary details of the position which had been thrust upon him. But having been selected he threw himself loyally into the work. He improved rapidly in public speaking, and now as a debater he may fairly be said to hold his own with any of his opponents. He has acquired self-confidence, and has shown the fruits of his acquisition in most of the transactions of the session, and all the more so now that Mr. Disraeli has been removed to a higher sphere. He is trusted by the best men among his

party, and has of late assumed the functions of a real and not a nominal leader, and has discharged his duties capably. The party was consolidating itself both in the House and in the constituencies, and even the most radical of the bashi-bazuks who sit on the Opposition side below the gangway, were bringing their free lances into line and settling down with some sobriety and steadiness under Lord Hartington's banner.

This was the moment when Mr. Gladstone returned from his tents and came again to the forefront of the battle. His resolution to prepare himself for the great hereafter had been abandoned. The old Adam had not been eradicated. Literature and art were soon exhausted, and were quite insufficient to solace the veteran politician. His energy, his pugnacity, and his love of the excitement of popularity were undiminished. He very likely was unaware of it himself, but he was propelled by some internal craving to be again waging war with something, to be again in everybody's mouth, to have the newspapers filled with his name and works. The Eastern Question became the occasion for him to be again conspicuous. It was nothing to him that during the long terms of his administration he had hardly said a word and had not raised a finger to ameliorate the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and that he had done nothing to remedy the state of things in Turkey which was produced by the Crimean war. It was not anything to him that he had wrecked the Liberal party in 1874, then deserted it, and then assisted in inducing Lord Hartington to take his place. It was not anything to him that he was acting in opposition to his old colleagues and with want of generosity or consideration towards Lord Hartington. His eyes were closed to all that. Such considerations were nothing to him. He was, like Socrates of old, propelled by some Daimon which he called and believed to be his conscience or his duty, to which every other sentiment was subordinated. The Radical party saw, or thought they saw, their opportunity. Some active and impetuous members of that party have recently been making themselves conspicuous in the House of Commons, and as a party they have organized themselves cleverly in the country. They knew the value of Mr. Gladstone's name with the most numerous, if not the most intelligent, of the people, and they thought to win him entirely to their side. They led their followers to accept Mr. Gladstone's hobby—because the autonomy of certain provinces in the Turkish dominions is obviously a hobby now that war is waging, and Russia and not England has become the arbiter of Turkish destiny—and they knew that if Mr. Gladstone were to go to the provinces and preach that black was white he would have an enthusiastic following. They saw their opportunity and seized it. They got him to go down to Birmingham and make a series of speeches, and they pledged themselves to resolutions which neither this nor any other country has the power to carry out. In so acting they looked for some equivalent from Mr. Gladstone. They hoped to entrap him into some declaration of confidence in them and distrust of the old Whig party, which would enable them to regard him exclusively as their leader, and make them strong enough to throw over Lord Hartington and the whole moderate section of the party. And their hopes were not altogether baffled. He was wary enough to commit himself to nothing positive, but negatively he almost came up to their expectations. He said not one generous word in favor of his late colleagues, or in praise of the work which he had abandoned and which Lord Hartington had taken up. He reduced the labor of the past three years expended on the organization of the party to a nullity, and produced a collapse into very much the same state of chaos from which the party had laboriously emerged when he deserted it in 1874. In one sense, it is no small feat for one man to have accomplished, and it is impossible to avoid recognizing the power which Mr. Gladstone wields. But it more than justifies the remark of a stanch old supporter of his in many campaigns, who is now, with many others, alienated from him: "He destroyed the Liberal party in 1874, and now he is grinding their bones to make bread for the Tories."

MACMAHON AT COMPIÈGNE.

PARIS, May 31, 1877.

IT was announced last Thursday that Marshal MacMahon would make a visit to Compiègne on Saturday, the 26th of May. Compiègne is at a short distance from Paris by rail, and is one of the prettiest towns on the river Oise. Its forest rivals the forests of Fontainebleau, of Saint Germain, of Chantilly. Great curiosity was felt as to the reception which Marshal MacMahon would receive, as it was his first visit to the province since what is called the act of the 16th of May; that is, the dismissal of Jules Simon and the prorogation of the Chamber of Deputies. Paris has been ever since a boiling political caldron; the passions which were dormant are again as excited as they were in the days of the Commune. The town

is full of prefects and sub-prefects, dismissed by M. de Fourtou ; they seem to spring from the pavement like toads in the grass after the rain. You cannot meet a friend without being cross-examined on the questions of the day : Who wrote the Marshal's letter to Jules Simon ? Is he really inspired by the Bonapartists ? What does he mean ? Is he only working for himself and for a reactionary republic ? Was the Duc de Broglie the promoter of this movement, or was he only called when all was decided, and did he throw himself into the abyss like a new Curtius ?

The weather was truly delightful on May 26. I left the northern terminus in the presidential train. MacMahon arrived in full general's uniform, wearing his red sash of the Legion of Honor, with three officers of his staff, the Minister of Agriculture, and a few civilian officials. There was no demonstration of any sort at the terminus ; the President was only eagerly watched by the officers of the company and the few travellers who were in the same train with him. When we arrived at Compiègne we found a great number of soldiers at the station. Word had been sent that the Marshal was to be received *officially*, with all the honors due to the chief of state. The Mayor of Compiègne received him at the station, an old man, one of the Senators of the Department, who seemed quite overpowered with emotion ; he could not pronounce a short speech which he had prepared, and he handed it in writing to the Marshal, who liked it just as well. The drums began to beat, the trumpets to sound. Generals on horseback, officers of the staff in their fine uniforms, great lines of dragoons, gendarmes on their heavy horses, made a very pretty sight. The Marshal entered a carriage with the Minister of Agriculture and two of his officers, and the cortège formed towards the town. From the station I saw the road to the bridge and the high street of Compiègne lined with troops ; flags were gaily adorning every house, triumphal arches were seen decorated with foliage and with flags. The cortège advanced slowly, the Marshal's carriage being followed by several others containing the officials, the prefect, the sub-prefect, etc. ; behind the line of soldiers stood the population which had come from the neighborhood. At every window were many heads.

The first contact of the Marshal with the populace, I must confess, was cold. There was curiosity, there was politeness, there was no sign of enthusiasm ; no cries were heard. We had been informed in Paris that there would be a Republican demonstration ; but the cries of "Vive la République" were quite as rare and distant as the cries of "Vive le Maréchal." When the procession arrived before the old hôtel de ville, a charming palace of the Renaissance style, now changed into a museum, there was a little more animation. The democrats of the town had congregated chiefly in the cafés of that place ; they saluted the Marshal with cries of "Vive la République," but they screamed very feebly ; the whole scene had a sort of calm and decency which would have pleased a Quaker. It was as orderly as it could have been in a theatre or in a well-arranged opera. Did the old Marshal, when he bowed politely to the people, think of the time when he went through this same place on his way to the Palace of Compiègne, where Napoleon III. liked to reside and to receive his chosen guests ? Was it true that he was now the head of the state ? Here were the same people, the same well-known landlord of the *Cloche*, a familiar face to all those who have hunted in the forest of Compiègne ; the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XII. was still there ; the prefect wore the same uniform, and looked as subservient ; the good gendarmes were the same ; was Reichshofen a dream ? had he ever been to Sedan ? was the war of 1870 a mere nightmare ? The sky was so blue, the air so refreshing ; all looked so gay and so happy.

After a short breakfast at the sub-prefecture, the Marshal went on foot, with the numerous guests he had invited, all the councillors-general and the other officials, to the Agricultural Fair, which was the apparent motive of his visit to Compiègne. I confess that I did not pay my duties to the cows, the horses, the pigs, the agricultural implements with all the respect which they deserved. The Marshal went through the fair at a rapid pace. The show was held in the alleys of the park, under the fine old trees, and the sight was very picturesque. The farmers, who were the exhibitors, all stood by their own entries ; they were quiet, well-behaved, well-dressed men, and the Marshal had a few words with some of them. Here, again, there was no enthusiasm of any sort, and you could hardly expect it from this class—orderly, timid men of the country. They looked with respect and with curiosity on a Marshal of France ; they probably wished him well, and that was the end of it. The Marshal gave the decoration of the Legion of Honor to one of them, a man who has a very large property and who has farmed it himself for the last thirty years with much success. Even this little incident did not produce much apparent effect, though it gave much satisfaction to the excellent class of men who were the exhibitors. I

watched frequently a reporter of one of our worst radical papers, who was following the Marshal's cortège and taking notes. He had a bright red cravat, and that sort of excessive elegance now affected by a certain class of radicals ; he was what the English call gaudy, in the true Pascal-Grousset style. He seemed to enjoy the tranquillity, the absence of fire, the tameness of the scene ; he probably drew from it consequences which were far from being logical. The exhibitors belonged, in great majority, to the most conservative class of our rich peasantry ; and had they known him, would have looked upon him with a mixture of horror and contempt.

The sentiments of the people of the town were more mixed. Compiègne was one of the favorite resorts of the Emperor Napoleon, but this does not hinder it from voting now always the Republican ticket. Its inhabitants, like the inhabitants of many towns, are political sceptics ; they vote naturally with the men who can be most useful. When Jules Simon is in power they go for the men who can best approach Jules Simon and get some place, or promise of a place, for a son, a cousin, a nephew, a son-in-law. The love of office is the surest spring which moves all hearts in our little bourgeoisie ; what is called the Administration (and the word is never pronounced except with a sort of secret awe) has taken the place of all the ancient powers of the land—the Church, the aristocracy, the monarchy. The prefects, the sub-prefects are the ministers of this gigantic power which survives all revolutions. It is curious to see how respectfully a young sub-prefect is approached by the oldest, the richest people ; has he not the key of the hidden places where the offices of the state are distributed ? No petition is sent to a minister without being returned to him for his annotations. He is, in reality, the fountain of grace, the minister of justice ; his eye is open to everything ; there is no corner of the arrondissement which it does not penetrate. Loyalty to governments has been replaced by loyalty to the Administration. Every citizen in a place like Compiègne asks himself : In whose hands will the Administration be three months hence ? To-day my sub-prefect, my introducer to the powers of the time, is the conservative son of a Conservative Senator. Who knows if in three months he will not be some young Radical, fresh from the bureaux of the *République française*, some friend of Gambetta's ? The Marshal is a fine soldier, his bust is on my mantel ; I like to think of him at Sebastopol, at the Malakoff tower : "J'y suis, j'y reste." But would he say as much now ? Can he say as much ?

What could our honest bourgeois of Compiègne think when he saw on one side of the Marshal the Duc d'Aumale, who had come as President of the Council-General of the Oise, in civilian's clothes, and Comte d'Andlau, one of the councillors, a colonel of the French army, who wrote after the capitulation of Metz a crushing book on Bazaine and the Empire ; and on the other side the Duc de Mouchy, who married Princess Anne Murat ; M. Chevreau, one of the last ministers of the Empire, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was so long the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Napoleon III. ?

The Marshal went through the barracks at Compiègne at a quick pace ; he stopped a moment at the church, at the request of the curé, who invited him to enter the house of God ; he gave a medal, at the request of General Pajol, to a trumpeter who had been in the fatal charge of the cuirassiers at Reichshofen ; and at four o'clock he left again for Paris. He was accompanied to the station by the troops. Had he learnt much in his visit ? I doubt it. I confess that I learned little in the day I spent at Compiègne ; I was only confirmed in my belief in a certain sort of scepticism on the part of the populations of our small towns. The *rabies politica* is not their malady ; they desire peace, order, tranquillity, and wish to stand well with the Administration.

Correspondence.

AMERICAN "EX-SOVEREIGNS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : It is believed in England by very well informed persons that the British Government has received a special communication from the Government of the United States with regard to the reception to be given to General Grant, desiring that he should be treated as "an ex-sovereign."

This must surely be a misapprehension. An ex-President of the United States, if he has shown himself worthy of his office, will command, wherever he goes, the highest personal respect and the largest measure of social honor. But to treat him as an ex-sovereign will be not merely to misconceive the illustrious office which he has held, but to degrade it. The real dignity of a President of the United States consists in his being not a common king but the first of citizens.

A mistake in this direction could not be committed at a more unfortu-

nate moment than the present, when Flunkeyism, having recovered its dominion in England, is not without hopes of recovering its dominion in the United States.

ANGLOS.

[We do not believe that any such communication was made, first, because there is no prescribed mode of treating "ex-sovereigns" in England. All of them who have gone there have been received simply with kindness as private persons who had "seen better days" and enjoyed the acquaintance or friendship of the Queen. Secondly, because an "ex-sovereign" is *ex vi termini* a dismissed or kicked-out officer, whose position is necessarily humiliating and pitiable. Secretary Evarts, we are sure, is too wary a man to place General Grant or any ex-President in any such category. The position of an ex-President is, in the field of etiquette, unique, and if it were necessary to devise a code for his reception or treat him as anything but a highly distinguished man, we suppose the Lord Chamberlain would have to draw it up after long and exhausting deliberation.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

FROM Westermann & Co. we have one of Dr. Petermann's maps, which is the *ne plus ultra* of comprehensiveness, its range being from Ragusa to Yarkand, and from Odessa to Kurrachee. However the war may be "localized," it can hardly expand beyond these limits of the "Russo-Turkish-Persian-English Borderlands" (to quote the title of the map). Northern Egypt is shown in detail, and there are excellent side-maps of the Nile Delta and Isthmus of Suez, and of Crete.—L. W. Schmidt sends us Petermann's map of the Turco-Russian debatable ground only—corresponding to Handtke's map of the Black Sea, but neither so large in scale nor so full and clear. The place of Greece is occupied by a side-map of the Dobrudsha. The same publisher sends us the Index to Dr. Kiepert's Atlas Antiquus (Berlin: D. Reimer), which is all that excellent work needed to place it in the first rank of similar atlases. The preface is in English.—Mr. Christern has received the twelfth and last *fascicule* of Vapereau's 'Dictionnaire universel des Littératures,' of which we have frequently made mention. The complete work fills 2,096 pages, large 8vo, in double columns, and is full of topics and references for which one will search in vain the general cyclopædias. One must take it, of course, for what it contains, and not for absolute completeness or entire accuracy. For example, in Part xi., Mrs. Stowe is alleged to have died in March, 1872.—George P. Rowell & Co.'s 'American Newspaper Directory' for 1877 is still the large and handsomely-printed volume of former years. It reports 1876 to have been a bad year for newspapers, and can only reckon a total of 8,427 against 8,617 in 1875. There has been a great falling-off in quarterlies, monthlies, and dailies. A new feature of this Directory is a short description of each town, giving its population, railroad connections, trade, etc. After Quebec, California leads the continent in the number of French periodicals; Illinois in Scandinavian; New York in Spanish; and Michigan in Dutch. In German, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois lead all other States. The only Polish newspapers are published in Illinois; the only Hebrew and Portuguese in New York. Illinois and Ohio contend for the Bohemian; New York and Pennsylvania for the Welsh.—S. M. Pettingill & Co.'s 'Newspaper Directory,' now first issued, is a much smaller work, and omits many details which are furnished by Rowell, and in general seems rather edited in the interest of the newspaper than the advertiser. It reckons 8,574 newspapers. The volume is embellished with several portraits of New York editors.—Mr. J. C. Rodrigues, the able and enterprising editor of the *Novo Mundo*, has just founded a new monthly—the *Rivista Industrial*—designed to aid in the development of Brazilian resources and to ally still more closely the national interests of the Empire and of the United States. The first number contains a large variety of reading matter, including an article by Prof. Ch. Fr. Hartt on the Brazilian fisheries, with special reference to the Abrolhos Islands as a ground.—Preparation of the memoir of the late Edmund Quincy for the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society has been entrusted to Prof. J. R. Lowell, and that of the late J. L. Motley to Dr. O. W. Holmes.—We confess that on the first announcement of the Woodruff Scientific Expedition around the World we regarded the project with distrust, and we still think it has undertaken too much; but it has certainly engaged an excellent "faculty," and we can but predict success for it within the limits of the possible. The expedition will set sail from New York October 1. In-

quiries concerning it should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Daniel Macauley, Indianapolis.

—The Lennox Gallery is about closing, and a gratifying (free) attendance for the season is announced. It is a signal example, not only of unsolicited sacrifice and liberality on the part of the owner, who gives up all his privacy in his favorite collection of pictures, but of merit and rarity in the quality. The row of three fine paintings by Reynolds is striking; the full-length of Mrs. Billington as St. Cecilia, surrounded by a group of cherubs quite as fine as the celebrated "Angel heads" of the National Gallery, is flanked at the sides by a rich, Murillo-like "Boy in Red Velvet" and one of the "Kitty Fishers," with colors much cleaned away, but of exquisite pose. The great Turner, representing Fingal's Cave, is the picture the story of whose purchase by Mr. Lennox is told at such length by Leslie in his autobiography. The smaller Turner, "A Scene on the French Coast with English Ship of War Stranded," is an example of the painter's method of obtaining general brilliancy over sky and shore with no greater relief than specks of dark color here and there. The specimens of Gilbert Stuart are of the highest value. Those of Leslie, unfortunately, are mostly of his vilest quality; they are religious subjects, chalky in color and namby-pamby in sentiment, and one wonders whether the painter himself really could look at them with satisfaction, and on what theory he allowed himself to part with them to his generous patron. The gallery contains one hundred and thirty-eight paintings, a majority of which repay the most studious attention of the connoisseur, and six pieces of sculpture. The library, which the new building is also to accommodate, is not yet ready for the public.

—Mr. John Jay read a memorial paper on Mr. Motley before the Historical Society on June 5, in which he dwelt at considerable length on the differences which Mr. Motley had with his government while serving as minister at Vienna and at Paris, and took no pains to conceal his opinion of the treatment Mr. Motley received on each occasion. The result was that the customary spreading of the paper on the minutes of the Society was successfully opposed, on the ground that it would not be proper for the Society to adopt strictures of this kind on the dealings of the Government with one of its servants. As we have seen no full report of Mr. Jay's discourse we are unable to say how much of it is devoted to the treatment of these unpleasant episodes in Mr. Motley's career; if much, it might fairly be said that he had erred seriously in biographical judgment; if little, it is hard to say who has any right to complain. The objection that the Society is restrained by some rule of decorum from adopting a paper criticising the bygone dealings of the Government with an ambassador is almost fantastic in its absurdity, and, if carried out, might close the lips of the members on many of the most interesting and important events of recent history. There is, of course, risk that in recent history party passion will make itself felt, but men old enough to take an interest in historical discussion ought to be cool-headed enough and thickskinned enough to bear such small excesses as are possible in the work of mere reminiscence.

—Some late controversies have strongly impressed upon people who are interested in libraries the fact that catalogues do not make themselves instantaneously and without expense. With this in mind, no one can turn over the closely-printed pages issued during the last two or three years by the Brooklyn Mercantile Library without feeling that a great amount of labor has been put into them with an equal or greater saving of time and trouble to those who use that library for study. Whether the cost of printing, which must have been great, is likely to be similarly repaid is more questionable. But by the sale of the catalogues part of the expense will be reimbursed (the whole will be sold for only \$6, and each of the three parts for \$2); and the directors have no doubt enough public spirit to take into account, as part of the advantage of printing, the great help that will be given by this full subject-index of 50,000 well-selected volumes to other libraries which have no librarian competent to execute such a work for themselves, and no funds to print it. It must be pleasant also to place the name of their library upon a work worthy to step into the front rank of a branch of practical literature in which this country excels all others. Mr. Noyes's catalogue is what is technically termed *alphabetico-classed*—that is, one in which various classes are arranged not systematically (as in those usually called *classified*) but in alphabetical order; and it is distinguished from the dictionary catalogues by the fact that the books are thrown into classes instead of being entered under their individual subjects. Thus, what the library has about the Shakers, or on Superstition or the Trinity, will be found not under those words in the main alphabet, but under them as divisions of the heading (80 pages long) "Biblical, Religious, and Theological Literature"; Great Britain and New York and Brooklyn

are put in the chapter "Countries," which is by itself a sort of geographical dictionary; and men's lives are catalogued not primarily under their names but in an alphabetical list entitled "Biography (Individual)," which makes another dictionary; and all these headings, or classes, or chapters, "Biblical Literature" and "Countries" and "Biography" and "Botany" and "Arts," and so on, are mixed in their proper places with the great alphabet of authors that runs through the volume; Botany, for instance, coming between Bosworth (Joseph) and Boteler (Thomas). Thus we have an author-catalogue mixed with a series of special subject-catalogues. The plan is the same with that of the now famous catalogue of Harvard College Library, with the unimportant exception that in the latter the authors are kept distinct, and the important exception that whereas Prof. Abbot in many subjects has divisions and subdivisions and hyposubdivisions, Mr. Noyes rarely admits subdivisions and never goes farther, having a strong objection to "wheels within wheels" in anything of this kind designed for popular use. President James Walker used to say that although almost any one could take one step in reasoning very few could take two. Something similar is true of subdivisions. People, if not puzzled, are at least frightened by the slightest appearance of complexity, and not the least those whose brains, always at work, shrink from any further task, so that while some of the professors at Cambridge declare themselves unable to use their catalogue, and not unwilling that it should be given up, the merchants and lawyers and ladies of Brooklyn find little difficulty with the greater simplicity of theirs.

—As to the relative merits of the alphabetico-classed and the dictionary plan there will be a difference of opinion; but one great advantage Mr. Noyes's method undoubtedly has. Many parts of the catalogue can be printed by themselves and sold to those who desire them alone—Fiction to the novel-reader, Art to the amateur, Medicine to the physician, and Philosophy to the metaphysician; and these can be reprinted from time to time as the library grows without the expense of reprinting the whole catalogue. Thus the Boston Public Library has just issued the sixth edition of its fiction catalogue, and four years ago printed the second edition of a list of "History, Biography, and Travels." Its "Theology," by the way, has not gone beyond the first edition. But, whatever is to be said of the plan, the execution is admirable. Everything is arranged so that he who runs may read. Numerous cross-references direct the reader from his particular subject to the class under which it is to be found, and when possible to the very page. Titles are given with reasonable fulness, and although imprints are omitted under subject-headings, yet the date and the number of volumes, which are the most important part of the imprint, are retained. The most noteworthy feature, however, is the numerous references to periodicals, in which some of the best thought of the day appears. Take, for instance, the heading, "Prayer-gauge Discussion." The mention of one book is accompanied by references to nine articles in periodicals, most of which are quite as much to the purpose as the book. So under "Religious Liberty" fifteen articles are cited. Much of this work will be superseded by the new 'Poole's Index,' but as that can hardly be less than five years in preparation, Mr. Noyes's readers will have ample time to appreciate his diligence and thank him for the aid he has given them. Mr. Noyes usually contents himself with mentioning the books on each head, without characterizing them. But in "Individual Biography," following the lead of Mr. Winsor, he has introduced a certain number of brief criticisms, as in calling Lanfrey's 'Napoleon' "an able work from an unfriendly pen." The typographical execution is not equal to the bibliographical. This catalogue is more important than at first sight appears. The Brooklyn Mercantile Library Association, notwithstanding its name, is really the public library of a city of 400,000 inhabitants. The word "mercantile" is out of place in the title. Clerks and merchants have no more to do with the management or the use than any other class. The library might as well be called professional because doctors, and architects, and the like are members, and a lawyer has been president for five years; or feminine because ladies take out so many of the books.

—Judge Dillon, well known professionally as the author of a valuable work on the law of Municipal Corporations, has recently reprinted an article of his which appeared in the *Central Law Journal*, on Municipal Bonds (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co.) The article discusses a subject which is not simply of interest to lawyers, but to almost everybody in our bondridden land. The debts incurred by municipalities in the United States, and represented generally by negotiable securities, passing constantly from hand to hand, are supposed to be about \$900,000,000, and it is speaking within bounds to say that the popular ignorance of the law relating to securities of this sort is dense. Within the past few

years efforts have been made in many ways to restrict the issue of bonds by towns and cities, particularly those in aid of public improvements, such as railways. The means generally adopted for this purpose are a limitation of the power to issue. Frequently a town is prohibited by constitutional enactment from issuing bonds in aid of any such scheme unless authorized by a vote of a certain proportion of the taxpayers, and the popular impression is, no doubt, that such a prohibition is an absolute safeguard. The decided cases collected by Judge Dillon show this to be an error, bonds of this sort having been held in the Supreme Court of the United States to be good in the hands of persons who have purchased them in the open market, notwithstanding the fact that the steps requisite to create the authority to issue had not been taken. The ground of decisions of this sort, broadly stated, is that the town has by its acts given purchasers of its bonds reason to believe that the bonds were lawfully issued; under them the restrictions seem to be no protection against *negligence or fraud* on the part of town or city officials. Judge Dillon, speaking of one of them, says:

"The principle adopted, and the reasoning of the court by which it is sustained, lead, it would seem, logically to the conclusion (although there is perhaps no case in the Supreme Court where the facts required a direct decision of the point) that when the power to issue the bonds is given upon the condition of a previous vote in favor of the proposition, the public or municipal officers can, where no vote whatever has been taken, or the proposition has been voted down, bind the county or municipality by the false recitals in such unauthorized bonds, provided they are issued by the officers entrusted by the statute with the power. Under this doctrine limitations upon the exercise of the power intended to prevent fraud and to secure a compliance with the conditions upon which the bonds are authorized are of little practical value, and generally prove illusory."

Whether this state of the law is a public benefit or a public nuisance may be a question. On the one hand, if bonds apparently issued regularly and bought in good faith were decided to be void because of the original defect, great injustice would be continually caused; on the other hand, if they are decided to be valid obligations, the law puts a premium upon fraud and misgovernment in town and city affairs, to which there are already too many inducements. The root of the difficulty is in the negotiable character of municipal securities. If they did not pass from hand to hand in the open market no such questions could arise. Whether the only way out of the dilemma is not the withdrawal of the character of negotiability from securities of this kind remains to be seen. This would, of course, practically destroy the borrowing power of all but large and thriving towns—not by any means necessarily a result to be deplored.

—The last few days have been notable for the deaths that have occurred in them. Had Lady Stirling Maxwell died thirty or forty years ago, as the Hon. Mrs. Norton, the event would have attracted a more lively interest than it does now, but as it is, her reputation as a poetess is still sufficiently fresh to make her death a literary loss. She came of a remarkable family, and inherited a good deal of the genius, though certainly changed enough in character, of her grandfather, Sheridan. She wrote voluminously, but never achieved what is likely to be a lasting success, her nearest approach to it being with "Binger on the Rhine." A tender vein of sentiment runs through her verses, which are musically faultless and wholly void of originality.

—The sentimental interest which Lady Maxwell took in what are called social problems was with Mary Carpenter, who died on the same day, a real interest. Miss Carpenter not only wrote about, but took an active and prominent part in the movement for the reformation of criminals, and her efforts contributed much to the progress of the scientific treatment of crime. As an author she was not an original investigator, but a popularizer of the results reached by those who were. Perhaps her most important work is 'Our Convicts,' which presents a detailed and accurate view of the Irish system of prison discipline, now universally recognized as the only one tending to the thorough reformation of the criminal. The news of her death crossed the Atlantic at the same time with the news of her brother's, Dr. Philip P. Carpenter, who, sharing the scientific predilections of his brother, Dr. William B. Carpenter, the eminent physiologist, shared also the philanthropic disposition of his sister. He was one of the foremost conchologists of the day, and had made his home in America since 1859. He died in Montreal at the age of fifty-eight.

—The late Rev. John S. C. Abbott can hardly be called a "historian," for what his books contained that was really history was also contained in many other works previously written, while as to what they contained that was original there is too much dispute whether it was history or something else. Of their popularity there can be no doubt. Mr. Abbott was a member of the class of 1825 at Bowdoin College—the same that contained Hawthorne and Longfellow; he was ordained a minister of the Congregational faith in 1830, but in 1844 gave up the church for literature. Devoting himself to history,

he produced some sixty volumes (his life of the first Napoleon probably being his most successful work), besides innumerable contributions to newspapers and magazines. They rank in their class with Mrs. Southworth's productions in fiction, and have about the same value as mental pabulum.

—As the subscription to the Michelet monument fell short of the twenty thousand francs required, his widow writes to the *Temps* reopening the list till July 1, and giving out of her own means two thousand francs additional. The monument will be a fountain over the grave in Père-la-Chaise, and Mme. Michelet promises a legacy that will ensure a perpetual supply of water for the free use of persons wishing to adorn the graves of their friends and kindred, as well as for the birds of the cemetery, according to Michelet's own humane fancy. The sculptor selected is M. Mercié, who has already won distinction by his "Gloria victis." Except for the extraordinary crisis in which the country now finds itself, it can hardly be doubted that the sum would be quickly raised. Failure at this time would not imply a lack of honor for the dead historian among his own countrymen, but the intervention of foreign admirers may be necessary to the success of the enterprise.

—Two pupils of Prof. Schmoller of Strassburg, whose Addresses upon the history of that city in the Middle Age we noticed some months ago (see the *Nation*, No. 548), have followed up his line of investigation in two independent treatises—'Zur Entstehung des deutschen Zunftwesens,' by Dr. Wilhelm Stieda, and 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Gesellen-Verbände im Mittelalter,' by Georg Schanz. The *Zunft* (in English, "Craft or Trade-Guild") has been ascribed to various origins, especially to an imitation of the guilds proper—the sworn brotherhoods of the Middle Age. Dr. Stieda does not accept this origin, neither is he entirely satisfied with the theory of Prof. Schmoller that they were established with a view to exercising police jurisdiction within the trades, although he regards this point as of the first importance in their later development. His own view is in the main that of Nitzsch—that they were developed from the companies of workmen in manorial estates; but he at the same time insists upon a twofold origin in organizations of free workmen in the cities, the object of which he considers to have been mainly economical in looking after and controlling the general interests of the trade. The *Zunft* was an association of an entire local trade, managed chiefly by the masters, but containing also the journeymen, reaching its highest point of organization and its political importance in the fourteenth century. At this period the *Gesellen-Verbände*, or associations of journeymen, came into existence. These were entirely analogous to the modern trades-unions in that they represented the workmen solely, and carried on a warfare of labor against capital quite similar to that of the present day—with this great difference, however, that, like everything at that time, they were essentially religious in their organization. Dr. Schanz's book, besides a complete description of these organizations, contains an interesting account of the great contest between the Municipality of Colmar and the Brotherhood of Journeymen Bakers of that city, beginning in 1495. It was essentially upon a point of honor—the privilege of carrying the principal tapers in the procession of Corpus-Christi day—and was accompanied by a strike, with many of its modern incidents, in which the strikers were supported by their fellows in other cities, and ended at last, in 1504, with the victory of the Brotherhood.

—Another book in the same field is 'Die Bauhütten des deutschen Mittelalters,' by Prof. Ferdinand Janner of Ratisbon. The Builders, as is pointed out by Brentano in his treatise on Guilds, and by Schanz (p. 68), had a very different organization from the other crafts, the master and the journeymen together composing the Brotherhood. Professor Janner traces the history of the stone-builders' organizations (the *Bauhütten*) with great fulness. They had their origin in monasteries quite early in the Middle Age, passing into the hands of laymen in the thirteenth century with the revival of Dominic and Francis, which called back the monasteries to more purely religious aims and the growth of the higher professional requirements of architects. An important chapter (part i. chap. 4) discusses the reasons why, in passing into lay hands, this industry did not, as a general thing, organize itself in *Zunfts*; the ground appears to be partly the national and artistic character of this industry, which was not confined to localities, partly the fact that it was still completely organized in ecclesiastical hands, and with a strong professional and corporate feeling, when the other trades were fully formed into *Zunfts* and beginning to stretch out their hands for political power. The chief seats of this organization were Strassburg, Cologne, and Vienna. Belonging to the same general head as the foregoing is Löper's 'Rheinschiffahrt Strassburgs und die Strassburger Schifflaut-Zunft,' which contains, by way of introduction, an

essay by Trautwein von Belle upon the *Zunfts* and the Constitution of Strassburg. This was the most important commercial town of South Germany in the Middle Age, being situated at the intersection of the great road (*Strasse*) from west to east with the great river which connected the north and south. Its *Anker-Zunft* was one of the earliest and the first in dignity and importance, and its history forms a chapter of high value at once in the commercial and the industrial history of the period. The *Anker-Zunft* of Basel—which city stood in close and friendly relations with Strassburg—also receives notice.

—The first number of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (Halle, 1877), under the direction of Dr. Gustav Gröber, has just been received. It fills to our complete satisfaction the place left vacant by the suspension of the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*. Indeed, in general appearance, size, and arrangement, it is far superior to its predecessor, and quite the equal of the *Romania*. The contents of the first number are as varied as possible. A. Tobler contributes a number of short articles on French grammar, F. Scholle endeavors to show that the episode of Balagant in the *Chanson de Roland* is an interpolation, and T. Braga gives the first of a series of articles on the Portuguese *cancionero* of the Vatican (recently published by Monaci at Halle), and its relation to other *cancioneros* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The texts published in this number are, two Provençal *lais* (from MSS. in the National Library at Paris), edited by Bartsch, and a Catalan *tenzone*, edited by W. Foerster. These articles occupy but a little more than half the space of the number, the rest of which is devoted to valuable notes by Liebrecht on Portuguese superstitions, emendations and criticisms of published texts, and reviews of late works. The only respect in which the *Zeitschrift* is behind the old *Jahrbuch* is in the list of contents of periodicals; but considering the very complete manner in which this is done in the *Romania*, it is perhaps unnecessary to duplicate it. The annual bibliography of works in the department of Romance philology, which was such a valuable feature of the *Jahrbuch*, is promised in the fourth number of the *Zeitschrift* for each year.

SQUIER'S 'PERU.'

I.

EVEN by the side of Mr. C. R. Markham's eminent works (like his 'Cuzco and Lima,' for instance), Mr. Squier's book on Peru stands foremost as the most valuable contribution to the archæology of that country. Not only is it one which no ethnological student, no American antiquarian, henceforth ought to be without, but it is also well calculated to interest the general reader. While embodying the scientific results of two years spent in arduous exploration, it is at the same time a diary of picturesque travel in a strange and most interesting land.

Sent to Peru as "commissioner" of the United States to settle a long-pending difficulty, Mr. Squier appeared there in an official character. His semi-diplomatic labors once terminated, he started on the scientific part of his mission with the prestige of a representative of the great Northern republic, and therefore under circumstances far more favorable than those of any of his predecessors—La Condamine and Humboldt perhaps excepted. It lies beyond the limits of this sketch to follow the traveller on his wanderings. It was from Arica that Mr. Squier struck into the interior, through the pass of Guaylillas (14,750 feet above the sea-level), beyond which lies the "Collao," that Bolivian plateau or inland water-basin whose centre is occupied by Lake Titicaca, and which, at a mean altitude of nearly 12,000 feet, forms "a microcosm of the earth itself, lifted up into the frosty air and held in its place by the mighty buttresses of the Andes and the Cordilleras." Thence northward to the pass of "La Raya," the "true source of the Amazon," towards which stream Mr. Squier descended step by step, following the "bolsones," or pockets, a series of secluded valleys, in one of which Cuzco, the great pueblo of the Incas, lies. Content with "looking wistfully" beyond the vale of Yucay, he retraced his steps towards Cuzco and, over the most barren and inhospitable region of the Cordillera, back to Lima and the coast. He found a country singularly grand and picturesque, but equally cold and sterile, where merely occasional patches—abrupt depressions below the general level—enjoy the climate and fertility corresponding to their geographical situation, whereas for the most part the inhabitable lands are little better than Alpine pastures, producing bitter potatoes, oca, quinoa, and, in sheltered nooks, some maize. Still, this vast and unpropitious region is literally covered with the remains of human occupancy, and it is the exploration of these vestiges which carried Mr. Squier into this weird and remarkable section of the earth's surface.

* 'Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas. By E. George Squier.' New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877.

His principal object being "that of illustrating Inca civilization from its principal monuments," he barely attempts a solution of the problems which his own labors present to us with increased vitality and importance. These problems are: What was the true condition of ancient Peruvian society; and how could it, in the most unpropitious part of South America, attain the very highest degree of development ever reached by aborigines on the entire continent? Mr. Squier merely alludes to the latter question, without attempting any discussion of it. But the former is most directly connected with the researches embodied in his work, and in order to do it justice we must cast a glance at the picture presented by him, guiding our judgment by other testimony on the same subject.

He freely admits "that there were originally several detached and distinct civilizations in Peru." In this he agrees with Mr. Markham, who says: "A careful study of the subject, however, enables us at least to distinguish a few leading facts—namely, that the region which afterwards formed the empire of the Incas was originally peopled by a number of distinct nations, speaking different languages, and slowly advancing on independent paths of very gradual progress, though all bearing a strong family likeness." In other words (if we drop the term "civilization," as wholly inapplicable to any group of American aborigines at the time of their first meeting with Europeans), by several detached and distinct linguistic groups, some of which had been sedentary or village Indians for a long time past. While holding that "the ancient population of Peru may be divided into the people of the coast and those of the Sierra, the main characteristics of each being determined by the physical conditions of the region in which they dwelt," Mr. Squier still recognizes three principal groups of village Indians as anciently co-existent on Peruvian soil. These are the Yuncas, or coast-people, occupying the shores of the Pacific from south of Lima to the present frontier of Ecuador; the Aymarás of the great central plateau around Lake Titicaca, and the Quichuas (of which the Incas are a branch), whose homes are the less elevated mountain-valleys (bolsones) about Cuzco.

The architectural remains of the Yuncas extend from south of Lima (Chincha) nearly to Ecuador, in the shape of clusters of vast buildings interspersed with lofty artificial mounds ("huacas"), and occupying the comparatively limited areas of fertile soil which line the rivers descending into the Pacific from the abrupt coast-range. Where "several valleys converge and come closely together," these clusters assume larger proportions; as at Gran Chimú near Truxillo, and, near Lima, at Pachacamac. The materials of which these buildings are composed are sun-dried brick and stone, "hard rubble," or "tenacious clay mixed with broken stones, so as to form an indurated mass almost as hard as mortar." The walls, in most cases, were covered with an ornamental coat of stucco, which, besides being artfully shaped, was also painted—red being the favorite color used for any object. Among the many interesting remains found and described by Mr. Squier there are the remnants of a true arch at Pachacamac. We cannot but share his doubts in regard to its genuineness. A mutual *pitch*, terminating at its highest point in a slab conveniently laid across, has often been found among the remains of American pueblos, but the *vault* was absolutely unknown to the Indians. Else why, in the very region where this arch was found, were the aborigines once so afraid to cross the stone bridge over the Rimac, built on arches by the Spaniards? The rude attempt at a bastard arch mentioned, which is so common throughout Central America, also prevails among the ruins of Limatambo, Pachacamac, and Gran Chimú; but any step beyond this is a phenomenon difficult to explain and even hard to believe.

Mr. Squier resumes the general characteristics of Yunca society as follows: "Under the pressure of peculiar conditions and limited means they developed a social and industrial system (as is shown by their remains) that Fourier might have envied and the apostles of economical organization may study with profit and admiration." This evidently means that communism in living was not only the rule but was even practised exclusively. It fixes the condition of the Peruvian coast-people as similar to that of the New Mexican Pueblos. Each group of ruins, therefore, was once occupied by a community; the large buildings were communal houses, several stories high, divided into apartments for each family, with granaries, council-halls, and store-rooms for the entire household, which was evidently composed of an entire kin. The Spanish term "barrio" is not misplaced or ill-applied to these great edifices, whose rooms are, like those of New Mexico, often entered from above by stone steps, and in the midst of whose courts were the large water-tanks, supplying not only drinking-water but especially water for irrigating their small garden-plots. If each building represents the residence of a group of kindred, several of them together sheltered a *tribe*, with the principal temple in the midst. Finally, on a

broader expanse of arable soil, as at Gran Chimú, a *confederacy* of tribes might have sprung up whose head war-chief passed into historical tradition as a military ruler, and finally became the monarch or "prince" of Chimú—as Mr. Squier, in conformity with Spanish authors, calls him. But the true condition of the ancient Peruvian coast-people (Yuncas), as their monuments exhibit, cannot have gone beyond that of a military democracy, and we need no better proof than what an attentive study of the material gathered by Mr. Squier furnishes. Of their agriculture, their arts and manufactures, we shall hereafter speak.

The next group of sedentary Indians of ancient Peru consists of the "people of the Sierra"—the mountaineers. Linguistically, these might be divided into several minor clusters, but, following our author, we limit ourselves to the two principal ones, the Aymarás and the Quichuas. The former are probably but the mother-stock of the latter. The Aymarás or Collas occupied, and still occupy, the great central basin around Lake Titicaca—that cold and barren plateau which, to a certain extent, may be called the Thibet of America. In this inhospitable region Mr. Squier has pointed out the vestiges of several ethnical periods. Thus, the wild tribe of the "Uros," mentioned by Herrera nearly three hundred years ago, still lives on rafts and floats near the southern shores of the lake, subsisting on fish and occasional game. We find, though rarely, sepulchral remains, analogous to the "cromlechs" of Europe. The square and round burial-towers of the Aymarás are scattered about in great numbers. They are made of solid stones, most artfully cut, but joined without cement or mortar. Lastly, we find walls of the kind called "cyclopean," and huge monolithic doorways.

The archaeological interest of the Aymará land, or Collao, centres around the great ruins of Tiahuanuco. There being no historical account of their origin, and the buildings being already abandoned and decayed at the time the Spaniards first reached the country, a veil of romantic mystery hangs over them, both highly attractive to speculation and exciting to serious investigation. With due regard to the thorough researches of D'Orbigny, we must still say that the plans and drawings of Mr. Squier, coupled with his elaborate and fascinating descriptions, are by far the most complete. With the assistance of traditions and myths, the truth about this remarkable ruin may yet be ascertained, just as the fog is now lifting over the past of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Uxmal. Nine rectangular buildings of large size, made of cut stones, some of which possess huge proportions, form the bulk of the ruins. All are built after the same plan; all have their court disposed in the same manner, closed by a wall surrounding the entire edifice. Thus each building forms a separate and distinct unit, and as they are all after the same shape they must have served the same purpose. Their great size, and the similarity of their construction with that of the great communal houses of the Peruvian coast, leads to the belief that they were nothing else, sheltering under one roof the members of an entire kin. In the midst of these edifices there arises a vast mound, terraced and faced with heavy stones—an actual truncated pyramid, which Mr. Squier, following older authors and popular belief, calls the "fortress." Unmistakably it is the analogue of the "huaca," or temple, of the Yuncas; and Tiahuanuco thus becomes an Indian pueblo after the ordinary form. Mr. Squier says: "We can hardly conceive of remains so extensive as those of Tiahuanuco except as indications of a large population, and as evidences of the previous existence on or near the spot of a considerable city." But then alluding to the barrenness and aridity of the region (in general incapable, in his opinion, of sustaining anything like a considerable population), he adds: "Tiahuanuco may have been a sacred spot or shrine, the position of which was determined by an accident, an augury, or a dream, but I can hardly believe that it was a seat of dominion."

It is, indeed, true that the Collao is not a country fit for agriculture, but, on the other hand, it abounds in alpine pasturage. The Aymarás subsisted as much upon their flocks as upon their crops; they were the only shepherds found among the American aborigines. This is to be understood in a limited sense only, as the "llama" was more a beast of burden than anything else; but the fact that the Collao is cold, arid, and sterile is no argument in favor of Mr. Squier's views. When Cieza (of Leon) travelled in Peru, about 330 years ago, he found Collao to be "all one plain, and with many good water-courses." "It is difficult to travel over these plains when the wind is blowing, but when the air is calm and the sun shines it is a beautiful sight over so rich and well-peopled meadows." Besides, the number of people that Tiahuanuco could accommodate was not so very large. No objection can, therefore, be raised on that score against the surmise that it was but an Indian village made of stone materials.

In regard to architecture, not only is there hardly any marked difference

between that of Tiahuanuco and other remains on the soil of the Collao, but there is even a decided similarity. The pillars of Sillustani and the carved rectangular stones of Hatun-colla are an evidence of it. Cyclopean walls, closely resembling those of Tiahuanuco, are found at Cuzco, and tradition says that the latter were shaped after the model of the former. The gigantic statuary found at Tiahuanuco was also met with at Pucara (Pauca-colla), known as a chief place of the Aymarás; and all this tends to strengthen our assumption that we meet here but one of the many pueblos which the Aymará Indians built, occupied, and, in course of time, destroyed by inter-tribal warfare.

Garth. By Julian Hawthorne. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.)—It is difficult to know how to speak of Mr. Julian Hawthorne, and it may certainly be said that this hesitation and perplexity are a practical compliment. They prove, at least, that he is not commonplace. He is not, indeed; and, in addition to this negative merit, the work before us may lay claim to several positive ones in a much higher degree than its predecessors. 'Garth' strikes us as a decided improvement upon 'Bressant' and 'Idolatry'; it is a very much ripper and wiser work. We must add that we use these terms in a strictly relative sense; for Mr. Hawthorne's standing fault seems to be a certain incurable immaturity and crudity. Even about 'Garth' there is something strangely sophomorical. What we spoke of just now as puzzling is the fact that, in spite of this unripe tone, Mr. Hawthorne continues to remind us of a genius as finished and mellow as his illustrious father's. His imagination belongs to the same family as that which produced the 'House of the Seven Gables'; and the resemblance is singular, considering the marked tendency of talent in the second generation to "react" rather than to move on in the same line. Mr. Julian Hawthorne, who is doubtless weary of being contrasted with his father, has not the latter's profundity or delicacy; but he looks at things in the same way—from the imagination, and not from observation—and he is equally fond of symbolisms and fanciful analogies. He has a merit, indeed, which his father lacked; though it must be added that the presence of the quality is not always a virtue or its absence always a defect. There is a kind of positive masculinity in 'Garth,' a frank indication of pleasure in the exercise of the senses, which makes the book contrast agreeably with that type of fiction, much of it pervaded, as it were, by the rustle of petticoats, in which the imagination is as dry as a squeezed sponge. 'Garth' is a very long story, and we have not the space to recite its various entanglements. Like many of Nathaniel Hawthorne's tales, it is the history of a house—an old human dwelling which serves as the central figure of the story. A house, in being founded and erected, has involved bloodshed and wrong, and its future inhabitants have had to expiate these things in perplexity and suffering. Such, briefly expressed, is the idea of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's novel. It is a very pretty, picturesque idea, but it is not what we should call a "strong" subject and strikes us as not necessarily involving any very direct portraiture of reality. Such portraiture the author has not given us; what he has given us is a bit of picturesque romance, lodged in a New England village, which remains gracefully vague and unobtrusive. He deserves credit for what he has attempted in the figure of his hero; for it is kinder to speak of Garth Urmson as an attempt than as a success. The attempt, however, was difficult, inasmuch as the author's design was to represent a hero with a strongly brutal side which should be, potentially, as disagreeable as his moral side was noble and beautiful. Mr. Julian Hawthorne's taste is constantly at fault, and he has thrown too much misdirected gusto into the portrayal of young Urmson's scowlings and snortings, his ferocity, his taciturnity, and his bad manners. It was an odd idea, too, to have made him an artist; we confess to having here quite lost the thread of Mr. Hawthorne's intention. Garth begins by thinking that art is "irreverent" and that he must therefore leave it alone; but he gets over this and takes up the brushes, which he handles with great success in the attic of the village house above mentioned. The author has evidently meant him for a pugilistic young Puritan who mistrusts æsthetics; but he has indicated the contradiction too much and described the struggle too little. We remain under the impression that Garth harnessed the family horse better than he painted pictures. He is surrounded by a great many figures which will not strike the usual reader as "natural," but which are all ingenious and touched by a certain imaginative coloring. Mr. Hawthorne cares for types, evidently, and he has suggested various types with a good deal of fanciful truth. His greatest success, perhaps, is with Golightly Urmson, the wicked uncle of the hero, who represents plausible rascality as against innocent and unvarnished virility. Mr. Hawthorne, as we said just now, has something indefinably immature and provincial in his tone;

but he has two or three merits which make us believe that with the lapse of time he will do things much better than 'Garth.' He has an imagination—a rare gift. With Mr. Hawthorne it is unmistakable; he sees everything in the imaginative light, and his fancy sports and experiments with a warranted confidence in its strength. He has also a literary ideal, and this long and complicated story of 'Garth' has evidently been composed with a great deal of care, reflection, and artistic intention. The author's great fault, we should say, is a want of observation. The absence of observation in these pages amounts, indeed, to a positive quality. Why should Mr. Sam Kineo, the fashionable young sharper who is represented as having passed muster in the most "fashionable circles" of Europe, always express himself in the English of a newsboy or a bootblack? But the manners and customs of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's *dramatis personæ* are throughout very surprising. The graceful heroine, for instance, while on a visit to the house of the interesting hero, is invited to clean out the cellar!

A Short History of Rhode Island. By Geo. Washington Greene, LL.D. (Providence: J. A. & R. A. Reid. 1877.)—Since 1790, the year in which Rhode Island consented to the Union, the population, like the area, of the State has stood pretty steadily to that of Massachusetts as 1 to 6, and to that of Connecticut as 1 to 3. It is not an idle question to ask whether in these eighty-seven years Rhode Island has had one-sixth part of the influence which Massachusetts, or one-third part of that which Connecticut, has had upon national affairs. Professor Greene himself partly supplies the answer. He devotes but four of his thirty-two chapters, and less than thirty pages, to the period in question; and one seeks in vain for a name eminent enough for even his school-boy readers to remember except as a local celebrity. The Dorr rebellion, it is true, fell within this period, but it did not lead to Federal interference, nor did the view of the Federal powers in the premises, promulgated by the then Administration, so enter into the national political faith that it was remembered when the time came to apply it to the Southern States during reconstruction. In short, if we except Dr. Channing, the glories of Rhode Island are all associated with her colonial and Federate existence—with that *Sturm-und-Drang* period which began with Roger Williams's struggle to found a colony in spite of the jealousy and hostility of his theocratic neighbors, and, embracing the endless territorial disputes with Massachusetts and Connecticut, ended only with the Revolution. The Greenes, Clarkes, Wantons, Cranstons, Hopkines, and Ellerys have had no successors in the State government or in Congress. The "soul-liberty" of Baptists and Quakers has not produced the fruits of Puritan bigotry and intolerance. Will the British occupation of Newport account for this? We cannot think so. There is a cause lying far back of the Revolution to which we should point. In the index to this brief history one finds no mention of "education" or "schools." This of itself would prove nothing, for neither is "slavery" to be found there, yet we have marked no less than nine references to the subject in the text, generally with praise of Rhode Island for its exceptional humanity. Had Professor Greene been able to extol the State in like manner for its interest in public instruction, no doubt he would gladly have seized the opportunity. All he tells us, however, is that while Providence was founded in 1636, it had no school till 1683; in 1733 "education still forced its claims, and we find George Taylor successfully petitioning for leave to open a school in a chamber of the county house of Providence"; and only in 1799 did John Howland, a native of Newport, become "the father of the free-school system of Rhode Island." Brown University was founded in 1764, with a provision for sectarian management. One has only to compare this record with those of Boston and New Haven in the same interval—Harvard College dating back to 1636 and Yale College to 1700, and public instruction being among the earliest cares of the Bay and Connecticut colonies—to be convinced that the Puritans knew best "what constitutes a state." They were not concerned about "soul-liberty" for themselves, and were not above persecuting it in others when it interfered with the working of the government they had established; but "to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity" was one of their first and most cherished longings; and their "dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches" caused them to foster that higher education which has always seemed, to the Quakers of Pennsylvania as to those of Rhode Island, of less consequence than the enjoyment of the right to worship God in one's own way. That the rights of conscience will look after themselves if learning is freely encouraged, has been abundantly shown in history. There were no heretics hanged in Rhode Island, but "soul-liberty" is nowadays less at home in its university under Baptist control than at Harvard, intent originally on a "learned gospel"—i.e., on making ministers rather than scholars. Providence, again, is one of the richest cities in the Union, but in public

spirit we should hardly know how to rank it. One test will suffice: with Boston's magnificent example before it for twenty years, it is just now beginning a public library on a very moderate scale.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the merits of Professor Greene's history. They are many, and they will be appreciated by his proper public.

The Battles of the American Revolution. By Henry B. Carrington, M.A., LL.D., Colonel U. S. Army, Professor of Military Science at Wabash College, etc. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876.)—Colonel Carrington has essayed to write a critical history of the American Revolution from the standpoint of abstract military science, and to "compress into a single volume its substantial issues of arms" as well as "to inspire fresh interest in the principles which underlie national defence." The first hundred pages are devoted to a somewhat crude statement of the principles of strategy, logistics, tactics, and international law, and the narrative which follows is full of references to these principles; there are also numerous maps of campaigns and battle-fields, which certainly are better than any that have preceded them.

If we are to judge this book by a high standard of military writing it can hardly be called successful; it certainly does not resemble the elegant diction of Napier, the crisp, energetic sentences of Sherman, the close reasoning of Jomini or Hamley, or the fascinating narratives of Chesney, and it is purposely devoid of the personal incidents which give interest to the numerous French and English memoirs. But the principal difficulty is with the subject itself, in a purely military aspect. From various causes the American Revolution contributed nothing positive to military science. As Col. Carrington himself says:

"This failure to appreciate the real character of the issue between Great Britain and the Colonies, involved, at the very outset, a failure to furnish adequate means for the prosecution of the war; and the error grew more and more glaring as the pressure from other adversaries made it impossible to supplement the defect. This error was reciprocated by the American people. Their conduct of the war during each successive campaign is clearly indicative of a failure to adopt an energetic military policy, which alone promised early success."

This mischievous policy, or lack of policy, may justly be credited to the Board of War in Congress, which then, as usually, represented quite accurately the real temper and feelings of the people at large. Probably no one understood this more clearly, or regretted it more, than Washington; but his clear judgment adopted the best measures possible under the circumstances: "Washington's policy was to postpone all issues which had a determining character, and were beyond mastery by his army; to wear out the offensive by avoiding its strokes, and thereby to gain the vantage-ground for turning upon it, when thus worn out or over-confident and off its guard." There is no question of the consummate wisdom of this policy, but its results offer more material to the orator than to the military student.

The desire, however, to describe the battles of the Revolution without any biographical objects is in every way laudable; and if we judge the result as the painstaking effort of a hard student, we find much to commend and much to interest. The narrative is occasionally diffuse, and the commentary sophomorical, as this: "The strategical features of his (Sir W. Howe's) operations on Long Island were admirable; and the American army was saved through equally admirable logistics." But the record is accurate and impartial, the quotations from authorities (Sparks, Marshall and Irving, Mahan, Hughes and Raynal, and many others) are so full as to warrant the presumption that the literature of the subject has been exhausted; and the strength of commands and losses in battle have been verified by comparison with the "Original Returns in the British Record Office," as well as the American archives. In short, if this is not of the first rank of military histories, it contains a great deal of material available for such history; and since our military defence must always largely depend on raw levies animated by patriotic impulses, a full account of our first defence under these conditions, and the consequent delay and waste of time, treasure, and blood, resulting in a permanent success only through sheer determination and courage, is especially useful.

Text-Book of Mineralogy. By E. S. Dana. (New York: J. Wiley & Sons. 1877.)—Prof. J. D. Dana's exhaustive treatise on 'Descriptive Mineralogy,' which passed through its fifth revised edition in 1868, has long been a recognized authority in mineralogical matters, and is to be found on the table of almost every scientific mineralogist, not only in this country but in Europe; for we know of no work of its kind so complete that keeps pace with the advancement of this branch of science. From the pen of his fellow-professor and able co-worker, Geo. J. Brush, appeared in 1875 a

'Manual of Determinative Mineralogy,' with especial reference to blowpipe analysis, and now the son of the former, Mr. E. S. Dana, sends forth a 'Text-Book of Mineralogy,' in which especial attention is given to crystallography and the optical properties of minerals. This trio of works, which in a measure supplement each other, and thus include all the different special branches of mineralogy, are not mere compilations, though necessarily founded largely on the results of the work of mineralogists in all parts of the world, but represent a vast amount of original research and investigation on the part of the authors, and do credit not only to Yale College, where they originated, but to American science in general. The text-book of Mr. E. S. Dana, as stated in his preface, was commenced by his father, but early relinquished on account of the latter's ill-health. The son is peculiarly fitted to take up his father's work, having recently spent several years abroad studying with the leading German mineralogists, and thus imbibed some of the more recent ideas which his father had, at times, shown a reluctance to adopt. As a text-book it necessarily includes descriptive mineralogy, which as an abridgment of the larger work, itself too cumbersome for the use of young students, occupies about half the book; this has been revised and brought up to date, but, with the exception of the adoption of the nomenclature and formulæ of the new chemistry, is not essentially changed. To one brought up in the old school it seems at first somewhat strange to say, instead of the good old terms phosphoric acid and carbonate of lime, phosphorus pentoxide and calcium carbonate; but it will be the same when we adopt the metric system of weights and measures, and, since the change must come, the sooner we accustom ourselves to the new order of things the better. It is, however, in the crystallography and optical mineralogy, so important to students, and which are most briefly treated in the larger work, that the hand of the younger Dana is particularly recognized. In the former he follows the somewhat cumbersome system of Naumann, whose principal recommendation is that it is in general use in Germany, and, in consequence of its adoption by the elder Dana, in America, and perhaps also, as is stated in the preface, that it is more easily understood by beginners; but he gives likewise a concise and lucid exposition of what seems to us the clearer and more mathematical English system of Miller. He still preserves the slight, but seemingly unnecessary, modification of Naumann's system of notation of crystals, adopted by his father, in the use of the letter *i* instead of the sign ∞ (for infinity). A brief notice is also given of the microscopical impurities of minerals. The optical chapter, which is, we believe, Mr. Dana's specialty, though short, is clear, and enriched with references to the latest authorities, and supplies a generally-felt want in text-books of mineralogy. The extremely useful index of American localities of minerals is somewhat enlarged.

If it is necessary to criticise so admirable a work, which, while ostensibly only a text-book, is, in fact, a real contribution to science, we might suggest a little fuller French and German synonymy in the "Descriptive Mineralogy." We think, also, that Dana's system of classification of minerals, founded exclusively on the somewhat uncertain basis of mineralogical chemistry, would perhaps be clearer and more useful to students if less rigidly followed, and the natural groupings, founded on prominent physical characters, as, for instance, that of the zeolites, allowed to modify it somewhat, as is generally done in such works.

Silver and Gold, and their relation to the Problem of Resumption. By S. Dana Horton. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1877.)—This is a thoroughly scientific discussion of the silver question, and one which will possess a lasting value after the immediate issue in hand shall have passed away. Mr. Horton is a bi-metallist of the school of Wolowski, Cernuschi, and De Laveleye, and his work is not inferior to that of any of his predecessors. In attempting to grasp the great subject of specie resumption in England, and to show how it was affected by the demonetization of silver, commenced in 1798 and consummated in 1816, he has essayed an original study, and has made a most creditable display of learning. His conclusion is that the task of resumption in England was heavily and needlessly weighted by silver demonetization, which "is perhaps the only relic of the ideas peculiar to Lord Liverpool's administration which the tide of reform has permitted still to cumber English ground." It would be premature to express an opinion upon the value of this part of Mr. Horton's treatise beyond acknowledging the scientific spirit which pervades it, and the patient collocation of facts which he has attempted to sift. The financial and industrial condition of England between the downfall of Napoleon and the crisis of 1825, which embraces the period of demonetization and resumption, is a field on which countless battles have been fought by economists and empirics of every grade, and it will be a long time ere it is well cleared

up. Mr. Horton has rightly perceived the importance of going into this field to discover what can be learned there of value to us in solving the problem of resumption. For the rest, his work is a careful, almost microscopic, examination of the arguments for and against silver as full legal tender conjointly with gold, and while holding that silver cannot be dispensed with by the commercial world except at great loss and hardship, he is the determined opponent of the Bland bill and of any project for separate action by the United States to remonetize silver. International action, in his opinion, is the *sine quâ non* of the restoration of silver to the functions of money, for "it is obvious that for the United States alone to attempt to establish the bi-metallic standard would result in failure to secure aught but one depreciated metal."

Mr. Horton's treatise is too learned to become popular, and while one naturally objects in this age to an author's use of a multiplicity of living and dead languages, it is a storehouse of facts and opinions for scholars, and it presents the existing state of European ideas and policies on the subject with a fulness not to be found elsewhere.

Every day Topics. A book of briefs. By J. G. Holland. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)—We confess to having spent a great deal of valuable time (to say nothing of the labor involved in such an attempt) in endeavoring to ascertain by actual perusal of Dr. Holland's writings what it is in his style or his matter that fascinates the public to such an extent that they rush by the thousands to purchase his works; and we are inclined, on the whole, to believe that we have discovered the secret of his extraordinary success. There is in the mind of every reader a desire to be pleased with himself, to rise from his literary repast with a feeling of self-satisfaction, and it is safe to say that any author who gratifies this feeling will be sure of a lasting popularity. Under the above title of 'Topics of the Time' Dr. Holland has collected in a volume a number of his *Scribner* articles, and a careful examination of them satisfies us that throughout all the pervading flatness of the book the end steadily held in view is that the reader shall have ideas presented to him so simple as to be readily grasped, yet brought forward with such solemnity and gravity as to persuade him that he is engaged in the mastery of thoughts of considerable importance; so that at the end he may enjoy the feeling of self-satisfaction naturally caused by the consciousness of intellectual progress. In a recent number of *Scribner's* there is one of these "topics" which furnishes an illustration of this method. It is an article called "The Future of New York," and it begins with the broad statement, which, as the editor justly says, "no one doubts," that "she"—that is, New York—"is always to be our most important commercial city." In order to make this idea more easy to grasp, he adds that "none of her intelligent citizens" doubt that she is to "go on increasing" until she becomes "one of the few gigantic cities of the world." Feeling that some intelligent citizen may need to have the idea presented to him imaginatively, he adds that, "with Brooklyn," she is "already as large as Paris." Throwing a glance backward into the past, we are reminded that "with Brooklyn" she is as large as London was in 1825, and, looking forward with a prophetic eye fifty years, Dr. Holland sees no reason why "she may not be as large as London is to-day." The reader is still further familiarized with the idea by no less than four separate affirmations with regard to the city, somewhat different in external form, but all containing the same central thought, winding up with the comprehensive and generous statement that, while Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Baltimore are all "growing cities," there is "growth for them all without hindering the growth of New York for a day." Now, it will be observed that while the intelligent citizen has been occupied in mastering this, the process of solemn iteration has gradually brought him to the point of fancying himself engaged in "following" a train of thought on an important subject (else, why should the author think it worth while to repeat it so constantly?) and so he continues to fancy to the end. As a matter of fact, it is needless to say that he has been forced to make no intellectual exertion whatever. Of course, in the end, his ability to follow what purport to be long trains of thought, and that, too, without any effort, raises the intelligent citizen in his own estimation. Few authors possess this secret, which we should not feel at liberty to reveal were it not that its constant use by a clergyman is a matter of questionable morality. It will not do for Dr. Holland to say in reply, as he no doubt would, that he did not consciously use any such method of obtaining readers. It is one of the first rules of criticism, as of law, that every one, even clergymen, must be held to intend the consequences of his acts, and the consequence of the course of conduct which Dr. Holland has so long pursued is that persons are induced in large numbers to purchase and

even to read his works. Did they understand the artful device by which he has secured their attention they might be aroused to a sense of the imposition that has been practised upon them, as we may say, under the cloak of religion: and in the hope that, even at this late day, we may rescue from their intellectual bondage some of our fellow-citizens, we feel it our duty to unmask the author of 'Every-day Topics' and show him in his true colors. Of inducing the author to pause in his career we fear there is little hope. It is with him as with the victims of the vice he has done so much to suppress—the fatal error was the first book. There is no cure now but total abstinence from literary production, and of that there are no indications.

Six Little Cooks; or, Aunt Jane's Cooking Class. (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1877.)—This is not the first time that the West has ventured, contrary to Eastern opinion in regard to its capacity, to offer instruction in the culinary art. Worthy to be classed with Mrs. Miller's 'In the Kitchen' and Marian Harland's 'Breakfast, Luncheon, and Tea,' to both of which it is partially indebted, is 'Our Home Cook-book' (Toledo, 1876) of "tried and true recipes." Tried and true, also, we have no doubt, are the 207 recipes given by our Chicago housekeeper, but they would not call for mention except for the novelty of their setting. We are introduced to a household of cousins whom an Aunt Jane inspires with an almost fatiguing zeal for learning how to cook; and as she knows everything, and they are very docile and have no rude brothers to spoil their mixtures, they succeed the first time of trying in all their experiments. A praiseworthy versatility enables the author to keep up the form and the interest of a story, and now by a picnic, or again by a birthday, or unexpected company, or the cook's holiday, or the mistress's illness, to furnish a pretext for the intervention of the "little cooks." The conversations are natural and sprightly, and Aunt Jane's directions plain, practical, and altogether excellent. At the end a cook's catechism gathers up all the points scattered through the previous chapters. As dinner-dishes are ignored, our young girls are rather to be regarded as Miss Harland's apprentices than as accomplished cooks, but no doubt in their future homes Bridget will be shorn of her power to make life miserable even for so much as one meal a day. Doubtless, too, when they get older they will feel like saying of more things than soap (p. 160): "Thank you, dear aunt, we won't trouble you so long as we can buy it ready-made. Perhaps if we are ever cast away on a desert island and have nothing to wash with, we may be glad to have the receipt."

Outlines of Hebrew Grammar. By Gustavus Bickell, D.D. Translated by Samuel Ives Curtiss, Jr., Ph.D. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1877. Pp. xiv. and 140.)—Professor Bickell long since established his reputation as an eminent Semitic philologist, and is especially esteemed as an editor, commentator, and translator of Syriac works. That he is also a master of the science of Hebrew Grammar was amply proved by his 'Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik,' which he published in 1869, and of which the book before us is a translation. Despite its being small in compass, the author has contrived to get a great deal into it; and a mistake would be made by any one who should conclude from the modesty of its size that it is but an elementary treatise. Only those already considerably advanced in Hebrew grammar can profit by its careful study. No beginner should be expected to waste his time with the metrical accents in Job, Proverbs, and Psalms, or with the niceties and subtleties of the phonetic laws of the Hebrew language, although the scholar may naturally seek an answer to the question why, for instance, the vowels in *bath* (daughter) and *sal* (basket), in 'am (people) and *dam* (blood) are differently modified when suffixes are added. The translation is in some respects superior to the German edition, Mr. Curtiss having enriched it with several notes, a table of contents, and indexes, all of which were lacking in the original. There is also a large lithographed table of Semitic characters, prepared by Prof. Euting of Strassburg, for which friends of Semitic paleography will be specially thankful. This table of fifty-six columns contains perhaps the most complete array of Semitic alphabets ever published.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Bagehot (W.), Depreciation of Silver.....	(Henry S. King & Co.)
Bain (Pr f. A.), English Grammar as bearing upon Composition.....	(Henry Holt & Co.)
Batterson (Rev. H. G.), Christmas Carols.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Caird (Prof. E.), Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant.....	(Macmillan & Co.) \$6 50
Claggett, Miss S. H., Her Lovers: a Tale.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Dante (D.), Divine Flood.....	(Henry L. Shepard & Co.)
Every-day Experiences at Eton.....	(Geo. R. Lockwood)
Freeman (E.), Ottoman Power in Europe.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Knight (A.), Life of Christopher Columbus.....	(Cath. Pub. Soc.) 75
Macdonald (M.), Margots of Lorraine: a Tale.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Masson (D.), Milton's Poetical Works.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Phyllis (G. W.), Art Education Applied to Industry.....	(Harper & Bros.)
Phyllis (G.), A Novel.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Scullickeysen (G.), Fruit and Bread.....	(M. L. Holbrook & Co.)

The Leisure-Hour Series.

READY ON SATURDAY.

LOLA: A Tale of Gibraltar. By Major Arthur Griffiths. \$1 25.*POET AND MERCHANT.* By Berthold Auerbach. \$1 25.

"The admirable Leisure-Hour Series."—*Nation*.
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 "To any one who wants a book that will prove both entertaining and profitable, as good literature always is, and does not know precisely what to ask for, we say, select one of 'The Leisure-Hour Series'."—*Boston Advertiser*.

RECENT VOLUMES.

(Price \$1 25 each.)

VIRGIN SOIL. By Ivan Turgénieff.*IN CHANGE UNCHANGED.* By Linda Villari.*EUGENIE.* By B. M. Butt, author of 'Miss Molly.'*THE HERITAGE OF LANGDALE.* By Mrs. Alexander.

HENRY HOLT & CO., New York.

Atlantic Mutual

INSURANCE CO.

NEW YORK, January 24, 1877.

The Trustees, in conformity to the Charter of the Company, submit the following Statement of its affairs on the 31st December, 1876.

Premiums received on Marine Risks from 1st January, 1876, to 31st December, 1876,	\$4,929,197 66
Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1876,	2,172,260 07
Total amount of Marine Premiums,	\$7,101,457 73
No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire disconnected with Marine Risks.	
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1876, to 31st December, 1876,	\$5,061,095 12
Losses paid during the same period,	\$1,865,193 49
Returns of Premiums and Expenses,	\$1,038,410 35

The Company has the following Assets, viz.:
 United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks, \$11,063,700 00
 Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise, 1,779,300 00
 Real Estate and Bonds and Mortgages, 267,000 00
 Interest, and sundry Notes and Claims due the Company, estimated at 402,350 19
 Premium Notes and Bills receivable, 1,812,504 38
 Cash in Bank, 365,012 74

Total Amount of Assets, \$15,694,867 31

Six per cent. interest on the outstanding certificates of profits will be paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Sixth of February, next.

The outstanding certificates of the issue of 1873 will be redeemed and paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Sixth of February, next, from which date all interest thereon will cease. The certificates to be produced at the time of payment and cancelled. Upon certificates which were issued for gold premiums the payment of interest and redemption will be in gold.

A dividend of Forty per cent. is declared on the net earned premiums of the Company for the year ending 31st December, 1876, for which certificates will be issued on and after Tuesday, the Third of April, next.

By order of the Board, J. H. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1877.

The Week.

THE President's order forbidding the participation of office-holders in the management of party conventions, caucuses, and committees is, after the rout of the carpet-baggers at the South, the best thing he has yet done for politics. It will force a large number of "workers" to abandon fields of activity which are doubtless far more agreeable than their duty to the Government, and they will probably ask in a bewildered way, How is the party to be carried on? who is to see to the organization, raise the money, post the bills and get up the meetings, print the ballots, and so on? To which the proper answer is another question: Who carries on the Democratic party in States in which the Republicans have all the offices? Have you heard of their losing any elections through want of "workers" or funds or bills or meetings or speakers or ballots? Mr. Key's observation to the special agent who wished to devote himself solely to the business of "building up an Administration party in the district," that when a Government officer has time to devote to the building up of the party it shows that he is a super-numerary and may be dispensed with, goes to the root of the whole trouble. Officers who have time to run the party besides attending to their official duties are too expensive a luxury for a heavily-taxed people. Their number may be cut down one-half and the remainder confined to their desks. The present practice would be bad enough if the tax-payers were all of one party; it is doubly bad when men whose time is half paid for by Democrats devote a large part of it to running the Republican "machine."

While we have no desire to underrate the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he gives the Syndicate the assurance of the Cabinet that the new bonds will be paid in gold, it is right to call attention to the fact that Western silver men deny that this assurance has any value—the Cincinnati *Commercial* and Chicago *Tribune* already denounce it—and declare that, the bonds being issued under the law of 1870, they are payable in silver, and if Congress repeals the act of 1873, and remonetizes silver, they *must* be paid in silver. In fact, if this is done, the old greenback cry, "Money that's good enough for the people is good enough for the bondholders," will be raised with irresistible force, and our only defence against the swindle will be the President's veto, which may not be effective. We call attention to these things with the view of showing the extreme danger of dallying at Washington with the silver movement, and of seeming or professing to favor it with the view of influencing the Ohio election. "Talking silver" for that purpose may result in raising the devil. If the election is carried on silver grounds with the countenance of the Administration, it is impossible to say in what frame of mind on this subject Congress may meet in the fall, and whether the President will be able to afford the slightest protection to the bondholders. The true course for the Executive to take in the matter is to let the Ohio election alone, to let "harmony" alone, and let everything alone but honesty, and do in the silver business, as in all businesses, not the easy but the just and fair thing; for "he serves his party best who serves his country best."

The Democratic State Convention in Ohio meets on the 25th of July; the Republican on the 1st of August. The State press on both sides, and especially on the Republican side, agrees that the currency will be the main feature in the canvass, and the probabilities are that the main difference between the two parties will be that while the Republicans will demand a full silver legal tender for all debts public and private, the Democrats will demand plenty

of greenbacks with silver thrown in. In fact, it will be a sort of scrub race in the direction of a depreciation in the currency. To use the words of the soberest of the Ohio papers, the Cincinnati *Gazette*, the Democrats will declare for "both the greenback dollar and the silver dollar, and plenty of both," while it describes the chief element of the Republican position as the notion of a cheap silver dollar for payment of public and private debts.

"This notion got a start and great momentum from the apparent showing that it was cheaper than the greenback dollar. The promise of a specie dollar for payment of the bondholder and of all the 'creditor class,' cheaper than payment in legal-tender notes, was too captivating not to be received with great favor in this country, where every man is a financier and thinks that the way to pay debts is by fabricating currency."

It adds that it is understood that the President is for "cheap silver money" for everybody excepting the public creditor, but that it is expected that he will yet work up to the point of carrying out the will of the people by paying the bloated bondholders in this currency too; if he does not, the Democrats will make that an issue in the campaign. When one reads all this, and remembers how we shuddered last fall lest the Republicans might not get into power in order to save the public credit from the wretched Democrats, one feels as if the world were very hollow.

Georgia has, by a majority of about 9,000, voted to have a constitutional convention. The only consideration of general interest involved seems to have been the political color of the present constitution, which brands the people of the State as "rebels." This is very offensive to the pride of the Georgians, on whom the argument that altering the name does not alter the thing produces no sort of impression. The convention will meet next month, and will consider the expediency of biennial legislatures, and also probably the homestead exemption, which, in Georgia as in some other "debtor" States, is a privilege highly valued by all classes; it was partly the fear that this exemption would be diminished that caused the hostility to the call for a convention.

Despatches received at the War Department from General Ord show that the Mexican border difficulty is in a fair way of settlement. General Treviño, in command of the Mexican forces, has signified his desire to co-operate with the United States in clearing out the cattle-thieves and marauders who infest the line of the Rio Grande. Treviño is one of Diaz's generals, and the Rio Grande country is supposed to be a sort of retreat for the followers of unsuccessful Mexican pretenders, like the two unfortunate patriots referred to by some of the papers as "Don Lerdo de Tejada and Judge Iglesias." Therefore it is not an unnatural inference that Diaz is very willing to strengthen his government at the expense of his exiled rivals, and at the same time make capital with the United States by helping General Ord police the border. Of the necessity of a vigorous policy looking to this there can be no doubt. The report on the state of affairs on the Texas line made to Congress by the committee of which Mr. Schleicher was chairman, showed that nothing was needed to repress the raids from the Mexican side but the pursuit of thieves across the line. This we are now assured of, and there seems no reason why we should not look forward to as satisfactory a state of quiet and safety on the Rio Grande as existed there during the rebellion, when the trade carried on with Europe through Mexican ports brought in a large population, and with it a sufficient amount of civilization to make cattle-lifting out of the question. That this police duty assigned to General Ord will lead to an occupation of part of Mexico we see no reason for believing. The spirit of annexation has, with its chief cause—slavery—died out. Don Lerdo and Judge Iglesias are greatly disgusted with the present state of affairs, and insist upon it that there are no cattle-thieves on the Rio Grande at all, but that the country is a smiling paradise in which the emigrant only refrains

from settling from disgust at the manner in which Diaz made himself President of it.

The Attorney-General sent back Tweed's statement last week through his counsel, and informed him that he could not be released. Tweed thereupon directed his counsel to confess judgment in all the suits against him, under the impression apparently that this would pave the way to his liberation. The newspapers now almost unanimously insist that the Attorney-General shall explain his action in the Tweed case, and Tweed's counsel, Mr. Townsend, has taken advantage of the excitement to publish a long "statement," in the Beecher-Tilton manner, giving his version of the negotiations which ended in the return by Mr. Fairchild of the Tweed document. What Mr. Townsend accuses Mr. Fairchild of is bad faith in getting hold of Tweed's confession on a pledge of liberation. Not only, however, does he bring forward no documentary proof of this, but all the correspondence looks as if the confession had been merely put in Mr. Fairchild's hands on the understanding that its acceptance should be followed by Tweed's release. Antecedently, of course, it was highly improbable that any sensible lawyer would make pledges based on the "confession" of a hardened villain like Tweed before seeing it, and we do not see that Mr. Townsend makes out his case affirmatively at all. He brings a new and amusing character on the scene in the person of Mr. Carolan O'Brien Bryant, the author of the remarkable narrative of Tweed's escape and recapture published recently in *Harper's Weekly*, whom he wishes to make out a representative of the Attorney-General, but who evidently acted as a "mutual friend" of both sides, and, if the entire truth were told, would probably turn out to be a person whose native powers of imagination, when the interests of his "clients" and the liberty of the subject are at stake, are altogether beyond his control. Mr. Townsend, apparently, thinks it quite clear that the publication of Tweed's statement was fraudulently used to bring about the Sweeny compromise, but then the appearance of the outline of the confession in the *World*, coupled with certain other facts, looks much more as if Tweed's counsel were at the bottom of the whole thing.

Considered as a scandal simply, the history of the affair has been this: Tweed makes a confession on a general understanding that it is to be kept secret; the confession is immediately published, substantially in full, in a morning paper. Several persons implicated in the confession—one of them a leading Senator of the State—immediately demand a legislative investigation, though they know that the author of it need not testify. The Committee, knowing the same fact, summon Tweed to testify; Tweed, being relieved by the circumstances of his case from the necessity of testifying, immediately on being summoned before the Committee declines to testify. The Committee, having procured no evidence at all, exonerate the persons implicated. The newspapers immediately discuss the matter and come to the conclusion, without having any evidence: 1st, that what purports to be Tweed's confession is his confession; 2d, that this confession is true; 3d, that the persons implicated are rascals and perjurers. They thereupon proceed to take charge of the case and direct the movements of the Attorney-General (who has also, it may be noticed in passing, the assistance of some of the best counsel in the city), and order the immediate arrest of Sweeny, although there is no criminal charge against him, and the summary prosecution of all persons implicated in the putative confession of Tweed. The State now settles with Sweeny, and the settlement is denounced as preposterous, while Tweed's counsel publishes a long statement accusing the highest legal officer of the State of the basest professional malpractice. Meantime the public looks on innocently and wonders how it is all going to end. It ought to end in a rigid enquiry by some body competent to undertake such an investigation into the professional conduct of the ease on both sides, and in somebody's lasting disgrace. The judges will not undertake such unpopular work, the Bar Association is quite impotent, and the result is that nothing is done. In the ab-

sence of any tribunal competent and willing to undertake the task, Mr. Fairchild has wisely decided not to go into newspaper wrangles with Mr. Townsend but to make a detailed report of the case to the Governor.

Mayor Ely's nominations have not hitherto been on as high a level as that reached by his predecessor, Mr. Wickham, though he has evidently been honestly trying to give the city good government as far as the "machine" will let him. The machine is, since the election last fall, stronger than ever, and Mr. John Kelly, whose notions about reform have been growing hazier and hazier ever since the movement headed by John Morrissey two years ago convinced him of the "barren idealism" of paying for the work of the city only the fair value of labor and materials, has now gone bodily over to the enemy, and is apparently determined to reduce the city once more to the condition in which it was just before the advent of Tweed. He has been having a fight with the Police Board, which, with General Smith at its head, is in a more efficient state than it has been for many years. On this he proposed to place a dependent of his own—one Purroy by name, an alderman of whose existence, we venture to say, not one man in fifty throughout the city was six months ago aware. Who Purroy is, where he comes from, whether he is lawyer, doctor, liquor-dealer, or minister of the Gospel, are matters of knowledge confined to a still smaller circle. Why he should be made a Police Commissioner no one has been able to explain. The mayor, however, has been firm on the subject, and Kelly has not much chance of carrying his point. But what an outrage it is that the time and attention of hard-working and faithful public servants should be taken up with such an intrigue! The Commissioners of Police, who ought to have the government on their side, backing them up in their war upon the classes that make perpetual war on society, have to spend a great part of their time defending themselves from conspiracies of this sort, in which the chief actor is usually some one more or less in control of the government itself. The thieves, murderers, burglars, and pickpockets have an effective ally just at present in the "Boss," whose undoubted purity of intention makes his obstinacy and ignorance a more formidable obstacle to reform than they would be if he were of the Tweed and Connolly stripe. Mr. Campbell, the Commissioner of Public Works, who is a "visionary" and a dreamer, has solved the problem of how to get the work of the city done at market rates by having everything in his department done by contract, and is in consequence the object of the extremest hate and disgust on the part of the "short-hairs." The triumph of Kelly in the present fight would, no doubt, be followed by Campbell's dismissal, and the appointment of some "practical" man in his place who would see to it that, whatever became of the city, the faithful voter should have his reward at the public crib.

The destruction of St. John and Marblehead by fire only swells the long list of conflagrations due to the absence of proper precautions, or rather to the presence of positive invitations of disaster. St. John was the centre of a great lumber trade, and was really what other places destroyed in the same way have turned out to be metaphorically—a lumber-yard. But it is not too much to say that a town situated on the sea, and with a supply of fresh water besides, can be absolutely protected, no matter what occupations are carried on in it, against fire. In Marblehead the authorities seem to have very nearly ensured the destruction of the town by placing the reservoir in the midst of some light, inflammable buildings, so that when these took fire there was no possibility of getting at the water.

If we except London, where there were fluctuations in consols to the extent of three-quarters of 1 per cent, the financial markets during the week were dull. The decline in consols was caused by apprehension that the establishment of a British protectorate in Egypt and the declared intention of Russia to occupy Constantinople, temporarily at least, would prolong the war and involve all the

great Powers. Here there was an advance in the price of gold to 105%, chiefly because of the foreign news; later the price declined to 105½, as the news improved, and also because of the beginning of heavy gold disbursements by the Treasury. The subscriptions to the new 4 per cent 40-year bonds of the United States have been moderate in amount, and the estimate of what the total result will be during the thirty days limited for popular subscription varies from \$5,000,000 upward. The discussion as to whether the bonds are payable either in gold or silver has not been silenced by the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the doubts which hang over the 4 and 4½ per cent bonds apply also to the 5 and 6 per cents. The gold value of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close of the week was \$0.9068; the gold value of the Treasury promise to pay one dollar (the United States legal-tender note) was \$0.9512. The reports from the crops during the week were encouraging. If the harvests should prove to be good, the outlook for the autumn and winter would be encouraging for the railroads as well as for general trade. The Treasury policy and the action of Congress would then be the only things to be watched by those who are on the lookout for what may disturb the money market and through it general trade.

In England rumors of dissensions in the Cabinet grow stronger, Lord Beaconsfield being supposed to be in favor of some positive demonstration, while Lords Salisbury and Derby hold firmly to the position of "passive neutrality" traced out by Mr. Cross in the debate on the Gladstone resolutions. There is also talk of the Government's asking Parliament for a heavy grant to be used for military purposes during the recess, but it will probably be no larger—we believe \$50,000,000—than the Gladstone Ministry asked for at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The rumors about the despatch of 60,000 men to Gallipoli are probably the products of exaggerated stories about the money. No such force could seriously impede Russian progress, or, at all events, prevent her from shutting Abdul Hamid and the remnants of his pashas up in Constantinople. But it is not denied by the best observers that the mind of the British public is in a panicky condition, and that a great Turkish collapse in Asia or on the Danube might lead to some rash action. The Derby-Gortchakoff correspondence all points to peace and good will.

The British Government has taken very peremptory ground with regard to the Suez Canal. M. de Lesseps, who was alarmed by the probable effect of the war on its security, went over to London and submitted a plan to Lord Derby for the neutralization of the Canal by means of an international convention; but the latter, after consideration, declined to adopt it. Under it the various governments were to agree that all ships, both national and commercial, were to have free passage through it, subject to such measures as the Khedive might take to prevent the disembarkment of troops or munitions of war on Egyptian territory. Lord Derby put this aside, and in lieu of it informed both the Russian and Turkish Governments "that any attempt to blockade the Canal or interfere with its approaches would be regarded by her Majesty's Government as a menace to India, and as a grave injury to the commerce of the world," and would on both these grounds "be incompatible with the maintenance by England of an attitude of passive neutrality," and closed his note by saying "that her Majesty's Government was firmly determined not to permit the Canal to be made the scene of any combat or other warlike operations." With this M. de Lesseps was abundantly satisfied, and read the despatch at the annual meeting of the stockholders, who received it with cheers.

In so far as what is still known about the Russian movements on the Danube during the past week warrants any guess as to the future, the probability would seem to be that the force which has entered the Dobrudsha is intended to sweep up whatever Turks there may be in eastern Bulgaria and drive them into the fortresses, Silistria, Rustchuk, Shumla, and Varna, and keep them there while

the force which crosses' higher up, say about Sistova, will be the field column which will strike for the Balkans and Constantinople by way of Sofia and Philippopoli, holding out the hand as it goes along to the malcontent Servians, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Widin will probably be left in care of the Rumanians. No estimate worthy of attention which is now made puts down the Russian army engaged in these operations at less than double the available force of the Turks, even supposing Suleiman Pasha to drop the Montenegrins and come northward; and the disparity in organization and readiness for active operations is, of course, greater still. The news from Asia seems to indicate a success of some kind for Mukhtar Pasha, and derives some confirmation from a despatch from the London *Times* correspondent at Erzerum, but Mukhtar's news has to be received with extreme caution, and if the accounts previously given of the condition of his forces be even half true his victory must have been little short of miraculous. It may be useful to suggest that all accounts of victories on either side in which, like that which Dervish Pasha says he won at Batum, the victorious party after giving the enemy a severe thrashing "returns to its former position," should be received with great distrust. There appears to be no doubt of a Russian success at Zeidekan, near Toprak-Kaleh.

The popular impression that the Dobrudsha is a pestilential region, and that the Russian army in operating there is likely to be swept away by some kind of fever, has really no basis in fact. The marshy district within a few miles of the river is, indeed, open to this charge there, as it is all along the banks up to Servia; but the steppe known as the Dobrudsha proper, which begins about thirty miles south of Matchin, at which the Russian 14th Corps has passed, and extends down to Trajan's wall, or a line from the Karassu to Kustendshe, is no more unhealthy than the rest of the country. It is a desert, owing mainly to the want of water, and therefore a difficult country for troops to move in, and the English cavalry brigade which was sent up there in 1854 to reconnoitre came back in a bad plight; and General Espinasse's division of Frenchmen were almost swept away in it, but it was by cholera, which may attack troops anywhere. In moving down it the Russians will be exposed to the ordinary difficulties of a march through a waste and waterless region, but no others, and they will have their right flank protected by the river.

The French Senate has agreed to the dissolution of the Lower Chamber by a majority of 149 to 130, as was, indeed, expected from the beginning, and the Chamber has been declared dissolved accordingly, and the elections are to take place in three months. The preparations of the Ministry for it continue to be of an extraordinary character. The cafés have been warned not to allow political discussions to be held in them, on pain of being closed by the police; official enquiries have been made as to the political opinions of the rectors, inspectors, and professors of the university, probably as a warning to them. The prefects have been instructed to prevent the sending up of petitions to a particular party in either of the Chambers, and the changes in the prefects and sub-prefects still go on. The President of the Municipal Council of Paris has been tried and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment and a heavy fine for an attack—certainly a violent and indecent one—in a political speech. Moreover, as no meeting can be held anywhere without the permission of the Minister of the Interior, unless the audience has been summoned by an invitation addressed to each person separately, and as this permission is of course sternly refused, the Republicans have very up-hill work before them in the conduct of their canvass, but they are apparently none the less confident of success. Addresses from manufacturers and commercial bodies in various parts of the country continue to pour in on the Marshal, calling his attention to the deplorable effect on trade of the recent events.

THE HOPES OF THE OFFICE-HOLDERS.

ONE of the most credible political rumors of the day is that the eyes of all the discontented and disappointed machinists of the Republican party are turning rapidly to General Grant as the candidate whom it will be best for them to put forward in 1880, the one who is most likely to restore their fallen fortunes, and, indeed, the only one with whom the party is likely to have much chance of success. They argue, and with considerable force, that even under ordinary circumstances the faults of his Administration would be forgotten during the coming four years of private life and foreign travel; that this is rendered doubly probable by the magnificent reception which he has met with in England, and which proves that he is what his "Administration Circles" always said he was, the greatest living American—the man who, after all, reflects most honor on the country and has done most for its safety and welfare; that, whatever objections there may be to three terms in succession, there can be none to three terms with intervals between, and that in any event it is not likely that any other man can be found in the Republican ranks who will command so many votes, or offer the Democratic candidate, who will come next time with the solid South, Returning Boards and all at his back, so formidable an opposition.

That hopes and expectations of this sort will grow during the next three years we have no doubt, and we feel quite sure that General Grant is not the man to discourage them. He will come back from Europe with greatly increased contempt for his critics and detractors, and will receive an enthusiastic welcome from thousands who were somewhat cowed by the scandals of the later years of his administration. He is still young and vigorous, and has not, we may be sure, in spite of the modesty of his last message, had his confidence in his own powers in any degree diminished since he left office. That all the office-holders whom Hayes's changes have made uncomfortable—including even the happy band who slept during their working hours on the shelf put up for their accommodation in the Engraving Bureau—will be cheered by the prospect of his restoration to power, even though it be a remote one, and that the mere talk of it will do much to give Mr. Hayes's reforms and rules an ephemeral or fancy air, we suppose few of those who have any knowledge of the office-holding mind will doubt.

It is for this reason we mention the matter, and not because we really believe there is any likelihood of our seeing the "Old Man," surrounded by his old friends, installed again in the White House. But the expectation of *something* of this kind—the expectation that "the practical men," the Chandlers, Mortons, and Conklings, who have been so grossly deceived in Hayes, will be able to do something to get them out of the present muddle—will certainly linger for at least one Presidential term in the average office-holder's or politician's mind, and will prevent his reconciling himself thoroughly with the new régime or showing any zeal in making it a success, or, in fact, openly identifying himself with it or becoming responsible for it. He will feel until at least after another election that the king is coming back again, to sweep away the new-fangled notions, put up the shelf again in the Engraving Bureau, and employ the special agents of the Post-Office not in the humble work of detecting thefts and frauds, but the grander one of "building up an Administration party" in the district. Nor must we blame him too severely for this scepticism. There can be little doubt that with by far the larger number of the office-holders and politicians—and these may be considered convertible terms—it is perfectly honest. We are in the habit of attaching a good deal of importance, as one of the difficulties in the way of a return to specie payments, to the fact that a generation has come on the stage since the war which knows nothing by experience of convertible paper, and looks on inconvertible paper as one of the ultimate facts of finance. In discussing the prospects of civil-service reform, the fact that few men now in political life have had any experience of any kind of civil service but the one now in existence is also of great importance. They nearly all look on the present mode of tenure and appointment as one of the

essential features of republican government, and the proposed reform as simply a foreign or monarchical fancy and sentimental gimcrack which cannot be made to work, and which if tried will surely have to be abandoned. The notion that the administration of government is "business," like commercial business, is to them a novel, foolish notion, and the man who said that Mr. Jewell was trying to "run the Post-office like a factory" really meant to illustrate in the strongest possible way Mr. Jewell's absurdity and unfitness for his place. When we remember that this complete intellectual, and we may add moral, perversion has occurred in forty years in an active commercial community, and under the eyes of a restless press which discusses everything to exhaustion, we may cease to wonder at the strong hold which divers senseless customs and abuses have secured on the popular mind in older and more ignorant and phlegmatic countries. The truth is that among us the civil service as Grant worked it has assumed the air of a precious part of our political system in the eyes of a large body of our public men, and they are totally opposed to change, and their following in the lower walks of politics know they are, and will not for a good while give up the hope of seeing them effectually resist it.

It is this which makes it of so much importance that the President's reform, whatever else it may be, should be, to use his own language, "thorough, radical, and complete." If he is pursuing, as some people now say he is, and as some of his appointments seem to indicate, "a compromise policy"—that is, a policy in which there is enough reform to keep the reformers hopeful, and not enough to dishearten or irritate the anti-reformers—he may rest assured that if he has the cause of reform really at heart, as we believe he has, his ultimate defeat is certain. Every concession he makes for the sake of "harmony" to the friends of the old régime keeps alive the belief in the office-holding ranks that the reform, so far as it goes, is, after all, only temporary, and that if they go into it too eagerly or pay too much attention to the order to abstain from politics, they may find themselves, when the experiment is over, exposed to the fate of deserters who have not been protected by the capitulation. Their interest, as well as their prejudices, will therefore be enlisted against the change, and they will see in what they will consider the President's practice of the two conflicting systems a sure sign that even he himself has not faith in his own programme, and they will try to take care of their future by getting through his term of office with as little reform as will save them from censure or dismissal.

The fact is, however, that the evil with which Mr. Hayes has promised to deal has gone too deep, and threatens the form and even the existence of the Government too gravely, to be got rid of by half-way measures. It was introduced by a man of iron will and revolutionary temper, and it will have to be squelched by a man of equal courage and loftier character. It has not only corrupted the administration of the Government, but it has depraved the morals of nearly everybody who has anything to do with politics. It cannot, therefore, be cured by putting on a patch here and a patch there, or by being "practical" one day with the practical men, and enthusiastic and hopeful the next day with the reformers. The man who carries it out must not only be in earnest himself, but everything he says or does must make the whole army of adventurers who, to use Mr. Lowell's words, have converted public office into "a tramps' boosing-ken," believe that he is in earnest, and that when his successor comes into power he will find the affairs of the American people administered, as nearly as they can be in an establishment so recently reorganized and purged, as prudent merchants carry on their own private affairs, by honest men, paid for doing one thing well and treated as if what the pulpits say about the value of character were really true. The President's recent order commanding abstinence from all participation in the machine is a most important contribution to the good work—the most important that has yet been made; but it must be enforced persistently to be efficacious, for there is no question that it will be evaded by all the means at the disposal of a body of men who are

skilled in nothing so much as in the arts of intrigue and subterfuge.

A DEAD ISSUE.

THE continued discussion of the President's so-called Southern policy must be taken as an index rather of the importance of the Southern question to the Republican party as a party than of any vitality in the subject itself. When one sees day after day, as in the *Times* of this city, for example, the parade of evidence of Southern violence and lawlessness, both political and non-political, as a stigma on the Administration and a proof of Mr. Hayes's fatal mistake, one rubs his eyes with wonder at such fatuity on the part of editors and such patience on the part of their readers. This would certainly be the feeling of any intelligent foreigner who had mastered the history of reconstruction, or who even appreciated the motives by which Mr. Hayes was governed in withdrawing the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana. More irrelevant and fruitless criticism has, in fact, seldom been tolerated in the press, and if any one insists upon its sincerity he pays the poorest possible compliment to the reasoning faculties of our party journalists.

Less than six months have elapsed since President Grant practically anticipated Mr. Hayes's course by establishing a *status quo* in the two States in which the moral support of the Federal troops was indispensable to the success of the Republican faction. Less than three months ago the troops were withdrawn by the new President, and the Packard and Chamberlain Governments tumbled to pieces of their own weakness. This weakness was notorious; the President's constitutional scruples about military interference in the affairs of a State were equally well known. The appointment of a commission for Louisiana, the summoning of Hampton and Chamberlain to Washington, gave ample time for popular discussion and for acquiring clear ideas, not simply as to the results of the President's proposed action, but as to the reasons on which it was actually based. After all this, and in spite of it all, we must now listen to condemnation of him as if something had resulted that had not been foreseen by him, or, if it had been foreseen, would have altered his views of duty. We have heard a great deal about the short memory of the American people, but we do not believe it has already forgotten so grave and instructive a chapter in its history, or that this iteration of the partisan press about the barbarous condition of Southern society, does more than gratify a sentimental regret that the war, besides abolishing slavery, did not also make clean work of all other Southern evils.

It is almost humiliating to recall attention to the fact that President Hayes never proposed to put down the carrying of concealed weapons at the South, or to suppress duelling or assassination or family feuds like the Chisolm-Gully rencounter. He never professed indifference to the safety of human life or the protection of civil and political rights south of Mason and Dixon's line, but they were considerations which yielded to those involving the relation of the Federal Government to the States, the extent of its power to intermeddle, its responsibility for anything but the execution of Federal laws. He had hopes, which have been signally justified, that the two distracted Southern States which he sought to pacify would, if allowed to settle their affairs in their own way, exhibit greater tranquillity than ever before, and greater respect for persons and property. These hopes might have been disappointed, and every case of disorder and bloodshed that has since arisen might be directly traceable to his conduct, and still the question of his wisdom or his conformity to the law of the land would remain untouched. In reality, however, no attempt has been made to connect the outrages to which we are treated so freely with the removal of the troops; and we are as confidently asked to censure Mr. Hayes for what goes wrong in Georgia or in Mississippi as in South Carolina or Louisiana—the only States for whose good behavior he can in any way be held responsible. This alone would suffice to prove the disingenuousness of such criticism. But it is constantly assumed that an opposite course would have led to very different results, as

if people did not remember under what régime all but three of the reconstructed States had reverted to white control before Mr. Hayes was nominated; and as if the last political legacy of General Grant was not a confession of the futility of trying to save the remaining three by the means heretofore employed with his sanction and under his direction.

We cannot help thinking that a large part of the confusion on this subject that doubtless does exist in many minds, and is sedulously fostered by the hostile press, is due to the use of the term "policy." Now, properly speaking, Mr. Hayes had no policy in doing what he did. No doubt the pacification of South Carolina and Louisiana was part and parcel of his desire to see the South redeemed from the misery of carpet-bag rule, but that desire did not dictate what step he should take. He found, as we have said, a *status quo* established by Grant as provisional, and one which it was well understood could not endure; the question before him then was, not, What is my policy to be? but, Shall I adopt the policy of my predecessor? This was a constitutional question, the solving of which marked the termination of a policy which had been tried and found wanting, but was in no sense itself a policy. It was an *act*, with no necessary relation to any that might follow, or to any that had preceded except as a negative and a veto. It did not even cover the whole question of Federal interference, nor can any one deduce from it the limits which Mr. Hayes would observe in all cases. The distinction seems worth enforcing, since a "policy" is probably in the minds of many people synonymous with "hypothesis," and is regarded as something that may and ought to be discarded whenever it can be shown not to fit the facts. But Mr. Hayes's action, call it what you will, cannot be revoked, and this the party press knows perfectly well. It knows that in the only case in which President Grant sought to turn back the revolution at the South—that of Arkansas, namely—the attempt was quietly set aside as preposterous; and the same fate attended Mr. Boutwell's solemn proposal to throw Mississippi, which had fairly settled down upon its base, upon its apex once more. By virtue of what has since happened, Louisiana is just as secure against interference as either of these States or as Virginia, and offers no more excuse than they for reviving it. If there is to be any retrogression, therefore, we must deal with the South as a unit, as we did after the war.

What, then, is the motive for all this empty carping over what is now as much a part of the Constitution as the Fifteenth Amendment? Clearly it is the hope of keeping together a constituency for politicians like Blaine, whose occupation is threatened more by the President's civil-service policy than by his Southern "policy." The greatest service that can be rendered them is to conceal the real nature of their wounds; to represent their opposition to the Administration as lofty fidelity to the grand idea of the Republican party—the equal brotherhood of man—whereas it is a life-and-death struggle to avoid being reformed out of public life. At a moment, too, when the humbler "workers" stand aghast at the Executive order which fastens them to their desks and stools, what could be more discouraging than a lull in the party press on the subject of Southern outrages—a sort of perishable capital that needs to be kept up all the time and not allowed to fall into disuse? To inspire them with the belief that they are only temporarily under a cloud, that if they are patient and even silent under civil-service reform the grand charge of the disaffected on the President's Southern policy may yet avail to bring back the old order of things, is a task worthy of partisan journalism. More directly, there may be a well-grounded expectation that if the disorderly condition of the South can be kept well in view for the next few months, the vacant places in a nicely-balanced Senate can be secured for Republicans of the anti-Hayes stripe. Be this as it may, the opportunity for this truly senseless fault-finding is rapidly passing away, and it will in time be looked upon as on a par with the Democratic pretext for not supporting the Administration, because it is meanly getting the credit of doing what Mr. Tilden was going to do.

THE HILTON-SELIGMAN CONTROVERSY.

THE great event of the week, far surpassing, if we may judge from the amount of space given it by the newspapers, all others in importance, has been the controversy arising out of the refusal of Mr. Henry Hilton as trustee of A. T. Stewart's estate to admit Mr. Seligman, a Jewish banker, to the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga. Mr. Hilton's reason is that he thinks the presence of Jews in a hotel in large numbers keeps well-bred and well-to-do Christians away, and thus injures its business. But the only hotel Mr. Hilton controls is the Grand Union at Saratoga; and his influence on the legislation of the country, or on the attitude of the American people on race questions, is admitted on all hands to be very small. So that the sudden revelation of the fact that he disliked Jews could hardly have been expected to produce the phenomena of a great social convulsion. And yet it did. For several days, according to the newspapers, it filled this great city with the most painful forebodings, and the emotions of New-Yorkers, as usual, diffused themselves by telegraph to the remotest corners of the country. It then appeared that Hilton's act was not the exclusion of a few rich Jews from the Grand Union Hotel during two months of summer, but, according to one paper, "a blow struck at the foundation-stone on which the State Government and the Federal compact rests." The writer added, however, apparently to quiet the natural alarm of his readers, "that the blow was puny, ineffectual, and, withal, contemptible." According to another observer, "it seemed like a return to the sentiments of the Middle Ages," and, by way of explaining this somewhat mysterious assertion, he alleged "that the mediæval idea of a banking institution was a wealthy Hebrew on a gridiron." Still another thought it raised the question whether the Jewish race "had no rights under the Constitution." A great many threatened Hilton with the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act. One paper declared that Hilton's spirit was "the bigoted and heathen spirit of the dark ages." The reporters hunted down all the prominent Jews in this city to see what they thought of Hilton's conduct, and, singular as it may seem, they all disapproved of it. On examining the Christians in Wall Street, in the hotels, at the barbers' shops, and at the Produce Exchange, it was found that though the weight of opinion ran against Hilton, there were Americans base enough to chuckle over the matter, and others of a still lower grade who declined to express any opinion on it. Hilton himself seems to have been visited frequently during each day with the view of ascertaining how he felt in trying to bring back the Dark Ages, and he invariably said that he felt happy in the consciousness that he was discharging a solemn duty, and was always able to show "letters and telegrams from all parts of the country" thanking him for the noble stand he was making.

Seligman seems all this time to have been ensconced at the Clarendon Hotel at Saratoga, composing cutting letters to Hilton, watching the number of entries in the Grand Union register, and organizing a grand Pan-Hebrew movement for the withdrawal of Jewish custom from Hilton's Tenth Street dry-goods store. Hilton maintains that they can't damage him in this way, and Seligman that Jewish accounts are the very foundation of Hilton's inflated and tottering concern. Many of the letters in the newspapers, called out by the affair, have been among the noblest contributions to the cause of civil and religious liberty which it has ever been our lot to peruse. One feels in looking through them that as long as the spirit of the writers reigns in even a few American bosoms Hilton will find that there is a point at which his hellish designs will be resisted, if need be by force. His attempt has many of the darker features of the famous nose-pulling case in Boston some years ago. That, on the surface, was a quarrel in a railroad car about a seat, in which one disputant tweaked his antagonist's nose. In reality, as we learned from the Boston press, it was an attempt to "establish caste in America," and had its origin some thirty years previous in the pro-slavery leanings of the Boston Whigs, and was closely connected with the return of Anthony Burns, and had been not by any means obscurely alluded to by one of the Biblical prophets—we forget now the precise passage. The committal of the nose-puller to jail for a month was therefore hailed as a great triumph of equality before the law, and a great vindication of the principle that the noses of all, not of a few only, not of the well-born or rich or educated simply, are sacred in America.

The cold, cynical, oligarchical view of Hilton's conduct is this, and we present it simply as a curiosity. Judge Hilton is a man who has become accidentally, as it were, the controller of great wealth and of a large business. On matters which his wealth and business can affect, his opinion is of considerable weight; on other matters, we believe we may say, it has

no weight whatever. Nobody certainly would refer a question of manners, or taste, or politics, or science, or political economy, or finance to his final decision. He has no power whatever to change or modify either the legal or social position of the Jews or any other race in this community. To restore the sentiments of the "Middle Ages" with regard to them, or establish any general change in their relations to their fellow-men, is apparently something which he cannot accomplish. But summer hotels are to all intents and purposes clubs. They are not inns, in which travellers find rest and food; they are resorts to which people go at a certain season of the year for health and recreation, and they cannot possibly serve this purpose to anybody to whom the rest of the company is on any ground objectionable. The keeper of a hotel of this kind is, therefore, quite as much justified in deciding what kind of guests he will attract as a club in selecting its own members. In fixing his price he decides that he will exclude persons who do not possess a certain amount of means; in banishing liquors and wines he decides that he will exclude wine-drinkers; but he may go further and decide that he will not receive persons of a certain color or nationality, or creed or race, or will discourage their coming if he means to cultivate customers to whom such persons are objectionable. We all have tastes about persons as well as about things, and we gratify them in choosing our company in our own homes; what wrong is there in getting a hotel-keeper to do it for us in the summer? Where would be the guilt of keeping a hotel for the benefit of Catholics at which Protestants got the cold shoulder? or an Evangelical hotel at which only religious people were welcomed? Exclusiveness of some kind is in fact one of the conditions of all social enjoyment which does not consist simply in public picnics with fifty-cent tickets. There are, of course, various ways of keeping away unwelcome people—skilful and dexterous ways, and coarse and brutal ones. Of the latter everybody has a right to complain; of the former nobody.

We have not touched here on the central point in this great controversy. Are the Jews as such disagreeable socially to right-minded Christians? The proper answer to this, we take it, is that Jews, like Christians, differ in social attractiveness, but that, owing to circumstances which cannot be described fully within our present limits, among the well-to-do Jews there is probably a larger proportion of persons who are offensive through "loudness" of dress and manners, and through bluntness of the social perceptions and absence of dignity and refinement, than among Christians. The Jews are one of the greatest races in the world, and have won the highest distinction even in those walks which call for that delicacy of perception which give manners their finish; but they have been placed for two thousand years in every Christian country in a position in which they were not called on for proficiency in the art of being at ease among one's equals, which is, after all, the essential condition of social success, and have had during most of that period no source of pleasure, safety, or distinction but money. It is only within the present century that they have really made their appearance in Christian society, and they have entered it with the drawbacks that might be expected from their history—that is, with an inordinate estimate of what may be done by "push," and with an inordinate reliance on the social power of wealth without the steadying support of strong social traditions. The tendency to gaudiness in dress or ornament we suspect has its roots deeper than modern history goes, and testifies to the purity of the race and the freshness with which its eye still retains the Oriental passion for brilliancy of costume, though the effect in our climate and with our tailoring is barbaric and coarse, instead of being, as under other conditions it would be, picturesque.

Correspondence.

PARTY APPOINTMENTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Hayes may honestly desire to reform the civil service, and may be honestly working with that end in view. That signifies nothing. It is not what the President secretly desires or what he publicly says he desires that is important, but rather what he is actually doing.

Since the days of Jackson the civil service has been used as a political engine, and practically it is being so used and so regarded by Mr. Hayes. When he came into office he found every Government position filled by a Republican party politician, and there is no present prospect of his leaving it in a different condition. It is true that he placed a Southern Democrat in the Cabinet, and that that Cabinet officer has announced that, in case he is unable to find among all Mr. Hayes's party adherents in any Southern State a person fit to hold office, he will appoint a Democrat. We are not

informed whether or not under this rule there will be any necessity for appointing a considerable number of Democrats. From the fact that the assorting has gone on until selections are being made from the notorious Returning Boards, we might infer that the chances for Democrats in the future were reasonably good at the South.

There is no necessity for such a rule in the North. Here no Democrats apply to the President for office, and he applies to no Democrats to take office. This is all right and proper under the old system, which is the spoils system, but it will never reform the civil service. Unless Mr. Hayes leaves the service in the hands of persons entirely satisfactory politically to both parties, the *status in quo* will not be respected by his successor, if a Democrat. If we are to have a civil service the members of which shall attend to the public business and not to party politics, the head of the public service—the President himself—must set the example, and make his appointments with the public and not party interests in view. And especially must this be done by Mr. Hayes, who has before him the difficult task of overthrowing one system and inaugurating a new one.

In my opinion, there is only one way to inaugurate this reform. Let the political cards be shuffled anew, fairly cut, and honestly dealt out, and no turning Jack from the bottom of the pack (persons not understanding the above are referred to ex-United States Minister Schenck's book on poker). Let the offices be honestly and fairly divided between the Republicans and Democrats, and then prohibit office-holders from meddling in politics.

If Mr. Hayes should leave the offices filled by men of both parties, but not politicians—business men who were conducting the public business upon business principles, under the rules of the service prohibiting them from having anything whatever to do with running a political campaign, be it local, State, or national—in my opinion we should be fairly started on the road to reform, and Mr. Hayes would be entitled to the honor of having inaugurated it. I fail to see anything so far to indicate that the President will pursue such a policy. He is doing simply what just as able and honest Presidents, to say the least, have done before him—making an effort to appoint none but competent men to office and requiring them to perform their official duties; appointing, however, none but members of his own party. My dear sir, the end is not yet. T.

EAST SAGINAW, JUNE 19, 1877.

[We do not believe that the appointment of Democrats as such to offices is necessary to give President Hayes's reform such a hold on the public mind as would prevent a relapse on the part of his successor. The great bulk of the honest and industrious people on both sides who pay the taxes are not interested in having a "fair divide" of the offices, and the Democrats of this class will not expect him to make a clearance of Republican office-holders for any such purpose. But we have no doubt they expect, and rightly expect, that he will not use subordinate offices as rewards for political services, or in aid of party ends, or as refuges for broken-down Republicans, or retain in office as reformers persons who have made themselves notorious as promoters of abuses, and who were put there originally solely because it was supposed they would be dexterous and faithful in this sort of work. In so far as he does these things he makes it likely that he will leave behind him nothing that the next Administration will be afraid to touch. Nothing influenced the reform wing of the Republican party in voting for him so much as the belief that *his* civil-service policy would be "thorough and radical." All that those who were most hopeful about Tilden on this head looked for was that he would pursue what is called "a compromise policy"—that is, appoint enough "good men to office" to tickle or satisfy the simple-minded reformers, and at the same time enough old rascals to convince the politicians that "the millennium was still a long way off," for there is nothing a professional politician dreads so much as "the millennium."—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

OF maps of the seat of war there is no end. Westermann & Co. have sent us Petermann's "Special Map of Eastern Turkey," showing the region from the coast westward to the meridian of Nicopoli, with tinted indications of altitude. These and the noticeably numerous names of places

ensure the usefulness of the map sooner or later in the campaign.—From F. W. Christern we have the first French map that has reached us—M. Vivien de St. Martin's "Turkey in Europe," a neatly executed and prettily colored chart on a scale too small for following military operations in their minuter details. The transliteration is French—e.g., Bourgas for Petermann's Burgos, Feredjik for Feredschik, Salonique for Saloniki, etc.—The 'Geographical Magazine' for June (John Wiley & Sons) has a rough map of the seat of war in Asia on a larger scale and more minute than any we have yet seen. Its chief use will be in supplying names of insignificant places that may acquire momentary distinction. For instance, Zeidekan, south-west of Toprak-Kaleh, the scene of the Turkish defeat of June 15, 16, will be found here, but not on Handtke. The spelling is anglicized with tolerable consistency. For excellent maps of the plains of Erzerum and Erzingan one should turn back to No. 20 of the Berlin Geographical Society's 'Zeitschrift.'—G. P. Putnam's Sons publish early in July Mr. John Habberton's 'Other People's Children,' which has already been brought out in England.—Henry Holt & Co. have published Turgeneff's 'Virgin Soil' in English dress from the skilful hands of Mr. T. S. Perry.—Herr Auerbach's active press at Stuttgart, whose latest product was Bret Harte's 'Thankful Blossom,' has kept up with the serial issue of Mr. James's 'American,' and already the German version may be had in two neat volumes of the "Transatlantische Roman-Bibliothek." 'Der Amerikaner: oder Marquis und Yankee' is the expanded title, by which a too fastidious taste might be unpleasantly reminded of the dime novel. Max Adeler's 'Elbow-Room,' freely adapted, makes the sixth volume of this collection, and to German readers will be known as 'Münchhausen in Amerika.'—The seventh annual report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows a satisfactory financial condition, extremely valuable acquisitions, and an appreciative public. The total number of visitors during the year has been nearly 94,000. It is hoped that the Castellani collection will be secured in addition to the Curium collection of General di Cesnola.—From the tenth annual report of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, we learn that the catalogue of its library is nominally completed, but as it requires revision it may not get to press before next year.—Trübner & Co. have issued the first number (for June) of the *Biographical Magazine*. It strikes us as a good shilling's worth. Opening with an interesting account of the infancy of Thomas Carlyle (to be continued), it next gives equally interesting extracts from Bismarck's private letters, recently made public. Then follows a gushing notice of the adventurer Hobart Pasha; and the Khedive, Gortchakoff, and Madame Sand (chap. i.) occupy the remainder of the volume. In these days of cheap photographic processes it ought to be a matter of course that such a periodical as this should be accompanied with permanent likenesses of the subjects of the biography. A few woodcuts illustrate the article on Carlyle.

—*Scribner's* for July contains a translation, by Prof. H. H. Boyesen, of one of Turgeneff's shorter stories, called 'The Nobleman of the Steppe.' Turgeneff's sketches appear so continually in translations in periodicals that it is difficult to keep up with them; but this, we suppose, is one of the earlier stories, inasmuch as the author makes his appearance in person—returning in his *telega* from the chase, with his servant Jermolai by his side. The characters are few in number, and the sketch is one of manners and customs quite as much as a story in the strict sense of the term. In Pantalei Tchertapkanoff we have a Russian noble, landless and friendless, living in barbarous and squalid isolation with his humble Jew companion, whom he had rescued from death at the hands of a Christian mob; his gypsy mistress, who breaks his heart by leaving him; his faithful horse, Makel-Adel; his dogs, his gun, and his destroying fire-water. If Tchertapkanoff is meant for a type, the qualities of the type are pride, cruelty, an uncontrolled temper, and unbridled appetites, combined, in a manner perhaps not uncommon in a member of his class, with some kindness of heart, benevolence, and a hatred of oppression and injustice. There is, as so frequently in Turgeneff's portraits, something attractive in the character, notwithstanding all its vices, combined with everything that is repulsive in the semi-barbarous life of which it is the product. An article on shooting with the long-bow proposes the reintroduction of this ancient weapon for sporting purposes, and any one who has not considered the subject carefully will be surprised to find how much may be said in favor of the immediate abandonment of the fowling-piece. The chief objection to the latter—its destructiveness—is, however, to all but single-minded devotees of pure sport, its great recommendation. "Richmond since the War" furnishes a topic for another illustrated article, as does also the "Last Indian Council on the Genesee," held in 1872, when the surviving representatives of the once famous league of the Six Nations met in their council-house to celebrate what was left of themselves. Such an event had not, it seems, taken

place in this region for more than half a century, and it is certainly to be hoped, in the interest of Indian romance, it will not again. When we have two gentlemen with names as little aboriginal as Nicholson H. Parker and George Jones put forward as the best that the Senecas can do, and the proceedings are terminated by the organization of a sort of outside meeting of pale-faces, with a chairman and secretary and "appropriate exercises," in which it was explained to Messrs. Nicholson H. Parker and George Jones who they and their ancestors were, it seems a pity that the old traditions should not be permitted to sleep in peace without any attempt at "wakes" of this kind. Miss Jane Stuart contributes some anecdotes of her father, Gilbert Stuart, most of which illustrate chiefly his eccentricity and his fondness for hoaxing people. The old story of his demonstrating on a blackboard the absurdity of regarding anything as a secret that three people know is told, and a prediction is cited that we have never seen mentioned before, but which has been amply verified since it was made. "Sir," Stuart is quoted as saying, "there are few artists in America now, but fifty years hence you will not be able to kick a dog-kennel but out will start a portrait-painter."

—The *Atlantic* for July contains the opening of a story by Mr. Aldrich, in which the scene is laid in New England, called "The Queen of Sheba," and a short story by Mr. Howells, "At the Sign of the Savage," which reads almost as if it were written for acting. The plot is simplicity itself, yet admits of complications which are often used on the stage with admirable effect in little *vaudevilles* that occupy themselves with the relations of husband and wife. Mr. Howells's humor, as has often been pointed out, is at its best when it brings out the eternal contrast between man and woman, as, for example, in the "Wedding Journey," a book which it is said has already done much good in convincing hardened offenders among women of the urgent necessity of their at least pretending to understand a joke, and of their recognizing the fact that men cannot be expected to conform in the conduct of life to even the best female standard. Its reformatory influence among men has been less, for Mr. Howells's light satire, though it seems to involve a knowledge of the peculiarities of both sexes, is still directed, as male satire has ever been, mainly against women. They must look for revenge to their own sex, and not to men.

—Mr. Curtis, from his "Easy-Chair" in the July *Harper*, takes sides with Miss Anna Dickinson against the critics. He does not, as she did, accuse them of conspiring to misrepresent her and drive her from the stage, but he thinks they "could probably not escape the feeling that the change [from the lyceum to the theatre] was a whim, and involuntarily they would be on the alert to see what they anticipated." Add to this "a little resentment on the part of her old admirers, and a curious distrust among her new audience," and Mr. Curtis seems justified in asserting that "the ordeal of a novice was never more severe than that of Miss Dickinson when she appeared on the stage." Now, for our part we believe that seldom has aspiring genius had a less severe ordeal than Miss Dickinson's, and that she had the good-will and best wishes of nine-tenths of her first audiences, critics included. We therefore think it a mistaken kindness even to suggest the contrary. The greatest enemy of any artist, whether half or full-fledged, is "genial" criticism; and if Miss Dickinson had not received so much of it in Boston, she would have been less incensed at adverse criticism here. Mr. Curtis convicts the critics of a number of fallacies, but he would, it seems to us, have employed his pen more usefully in exposing the fallacy which has probably prepared Miss Dickinson to view her critics as conspirators—we mean the inference, in her own mind, of success on the stage from success on the platform. It would have been a friendly service to remind her that the public is a poorer judge of oratory than of acting; that the homage which it pays to her sex at the lyceum or on the stump is more than half lost at the theatre, where women excite no curiosity as women; that people are more easily moved by real tears from a woman lecturer than by the mock-pathos of an actress; that the range of feeling and demonstrativeness appropriate to the platform is vastly more restricted than what the stage demands, has far fewer shades, and is correspondingly less difficult of mastery; that one *stands* in lecturing and *moves* in acting; that a provincial and uncultivated accent may be fatal in an actor, but no detriment to a popular lecturer; that the individuality which marks and distinguishes the earnest preacher, lay or clerical, is antagonistic to a profession in which characters are assumed and individuality laid aside. All this and much more the "Easy Chair" might have said without incurring, as it does, the grave responsibility of urging Miss Dickinson to take courage and go on in her new career. To venture upon such advice one ought to have probable evidence that she has power to overcome her

defects; but this can hardly exist without a willingness to receive and profit by honest criticism, and, so far as the public can judge, Miss Dickinson has it not. What is worse, she has no criterion by which to recognize such criticism, nor does the "Easy-Chair" help her to one.

—The *Portfolio* for June (J. W. Bouton) has for illustrated articles the paper on Albert Dürer's predecessors and teachers, embellished with one of the excellent photogravures, and a notice of Squier's "Peru," for which the original cuts have been borrowed. The number opens with a fine etching after Greuze. It is to be wished that Mr. Hamerton could undertake more of the criticism of the periodical at first hand. He is himself too cosmopolitan to have indited the stale and *saugrenu* allusion to the immoral bosoms of Greuze's females; Greuze was of his time, and his eternal type—studied from Mlle. Babati, who became his wife—is treated with as much reverence and respect as the age was used to. The limits of the *Portfolio* articles are so restricted that in repeating Mr. Ruskin's hysterical complaint of the nudity of Greuze, the important question of Greuze's place as a master of familiar art has had to be too much neglected. In the matter of the Grosvenor Gallery, too, about the real significance of whose innovations the public feels great curiosity, Mr. Hamerton's trained opinion cannot be advantageously replaced by that of any lady, however accomplished.

—Mr. Frederick A. Bridgman, who received a medal at the current Salon for his painting of "The Burial of a Mummy," is a native of Brooklyn, and is not yet thirty years old. We understand that a picture of his has been bought for the collection of the Liverpool Academy. His instructor was Gérôme, who conducted the very beginnings of his career in painting, since he had been a simple engraver in the Banknote Company before his visit to France. The list of foreign artists who have received medals in Paris is not very long. Robert Wylie obtained one of the second class in 1872 for his "Breton Sorceress"; no American painter had previously got a medal of that value for a genre work. This artist did not long enjoy his distinction; he died in February last, aged about forty. Mr. Healy obtained one of the same degree for portraiture in 1855. Mr. May and Mr. Rossiter received third-class medals in 1855. Of well-known foreign artists, Orchardson got a medal of the third class in 1867, and Millais and Leighton, in 1855 and 1859, medals of the same grade as Mr. Wylie's.

—"To attempt," says the editor of the 'Annual Register for 1876' (London: Rivingtons), "a historical narrative of the doings of the various South American States from the scanty materials afforded by occasional despatches would be an almost impossible task." There is reason for thinking that too much of the Register is compiled in this way, and if not literally from the telegraphic despatches alone, at least at second hand. We have remarked this before in the case of the United States, and it again strikes us in reading the record of the Centennial Year in the present volume. What an Englishman really needs to know about this country is not what events made the most noise in any given year, but what of all that happened shed most light on the national character and were the most important factors in the problem of our immediate future. Now, any student who had thoroughly penetrated the spirit of our institutions would never have assigned to Mr. A. T. Stewart one twenty-fourth part of the space allotted to the affairs of the United States in 1876; nor would he, having to tell the story of Babcock, Belknap, and Schenck as illustrations of our debauched civil service, omit all mention of Postmaster Jewell's dismissal—an act from which we are still suffering—or of Blaine's railroad transactions, and the struggle to prevent their exposure from defeating his nomination for the Presidency. Coming to the election itself, the great event of the year, we should have expected to find in the Register some notice of the Republican face-about on the subject of the XXIII Joint Rule; of the appointment of the Joint Committee on the Electoral Count; of the several phases of the dispute in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida; and of the President's irregular appointment of "watchers" in Louisiana. As connected with the financial honor of the nation, the Register should also have alluded to the persevering attempt on the part of the House to repeal the Resumption Act, and to its passage of the unjust Geneva Award Bill. To correct these defects of perspective would have required more words but not necessarily more space, if the editor had been willing to print solid, in smaller type, the long extracts which he gives from the President's message, etc. For the rest, the Register has its customary valuable features. Its "Remarkable Trials" include the famous Clifton communion case of Jenkins v. Cook, and among the "Public Documents and State Papers" we have the Andrassy Note, the Berlin Memorandum, and other preliminary passes of the Russo-Turkish encounter.

—The Tiber is a river of some size, two-thirds as long as the Hudson, and as capable of overflow as the Seine; it drains 7,000 square miles of territory. And yet, complains Mr. S. A. Smith, in his 'Tiber and its Tributaries,' few of the strangers at Rome pay it any attention; some suppose that it is fordable, one even imagined that Cæsar, when Cassius leaped in to save him, was sinking in a stream which he might have jumped across. Mr. Smith would change all this, and has undertaken the rather hopeless task of diverting attention from the monuments, which are crowded with associations, to the river, which has very few. All that there are, however, he has recalled—the superstitions connected with it, the early navigation, the great inundations, and the zoölogy, which latter gives occasion for many quotations from the classics in regard to the favorite fishes of the Romans. One source of interest he repudiates—there are no works of art to be recovered from its bed; neither the golden candlestick from the Jewish temple, nor the statues said to have been thrown into it by Gregory the Great, nor the plate from which Leo X. had dined, cast into the river that it might never be applied to baser uses. All these stories are shown to be extremely improbable. Considerable space is given to the method of preventing the disastrous inundations. Some engineers would embank the river, the result of which would be simply to raise its bed till it would run above the country like a canal, as the Po does, and would burst its banks from time to time with far more destructive effect than now, as the Po does; others would dredge the bed of the river, which, as there is hardly any fall between Rome and the sea, would have almost no effect. Mr. Smith thinks that the best that can be done is to endure the inundations, rejoice at the fertile soil which they leave behind them, and, by careful observations of the rain-fall and the rise of the upper part of the stream, to give warning to the Roman populace in time for the removal of perishable goods from danger.

—The collected works of Hood contain (vol. vi. p. 242) a book review which at one time and another has been the cause of a great deal of laughter. It is a review of a work by one George Clayton, Junior, giving an account of a "journey and visit to the metropolis of France." George Clayton, Junior, appears to have been the devout son of a dissenting clergyman; gifted with a positively inspired stupidity and bigotry, he not only achieved the temporary success of a second edition, but has been handed down to a more lasting fame as Hood's butt. The general character of the work may be inferred from the following passage, which occurs in the introduction, modestly enough called by the author his "Apology":

"The following Journal, written at subsequent periods of time, and in detached portions, is presented to the perusal of the reader with much humble diffidence and concomitant dissatisfaction; and perhaps, in justice to himself, the writer may be allowed in passing briefly to advert to the disadvantageous circumstances under which the appended narrative was composed, viz.—that it was entirely prepared during those interstices of time which were not filled up with the absorbent occupations of mercantile engagements—indited from the imperfect reminiscences of a defective and rather oblivious memory, and drawn up at a season when, if not entirely obliterated, the vividness of impression had, in a great measure, considerably abated; for it will not be controverted, he presumes, that *impression* is a kind of inspiration highly necessary and exceedingly helpful to infuse vivacity or impart a relevancy to those descriptions in which are portrayed those objects, the spectacle of which was very likely to produce a varied and forcible effect upon the mind of the observer of them."

It may interest those who are fond of Hood to know that the original copy of Clayton's book, which Hood read before writing his review, is in existence, in the possession of a gentleman in the town of Elizabeth, New Jersey, and it may fairly be called a very valuable literary curiosity. When Hood read the book he annotated it on the margins, and the annotations thus made he afterward incorporated in part in the review. They are, of course, a succession of exclamations, puns, and jokes of all kinds, many of which are of too light or personal a character to be reproduced in the review, but which are none the less amusing for that. The work is dedicated to the author's mother, "Mrs. George Clayton, in obedience to whose request the following narrative was expressly prepared," etc., etc.; Hood adds, parenthetically, by way of explanation, "Air—'Go, George; I can't endure you.'" The title-page is followed by a preface to the second edition, in which Mr. Clayton refers to the "favorable and unlooked-for reception" his Narrative had met with, and "ventures a renewed appearance" with the assurance that it will again meet with indulgence, however "feebly executed." Hood observes that this feebleness is "Jack Ketch's fault—the book deserves a better hand at it"—an omission which he certainly proceeded to supply. On the next page we find a few "errata" set down in the usual way; to these Hood adds: "Page everywhere—every line; instead of anything, read nothing." After the sentence quoted above from the "Apology," in which the author refers to the "abated" condition of the "vividness of impression," Hood says, "Poo-poo, no impression was necessary"; and on the next page, after the

following sentence: "Unaccustomed to the composition of writings of this kind, in the presentation of the subsequent Journal, the writer humbly and deferentially craves indulgence for that deficiency which he may exhibit of grammatical correctness or syntactical propriety and precision," Hood, with somewhat ribald appropriateness, adds, "Damn Lindley Murray," and in the same vein he adds to the next paragraph—in which the author declares that in a certain contingency the intention, motive, and desire which led to the publication of his Narrative "will not have been disappointed of their recompense of reward, verily"—"price, 1s. 6d." On page 17 Mr. Clayton's reference to his companion, "Mr. H—," gives Hood an opportunity to enter a disclaimer—"Not me. T. Hood." An idea as comical as any contained in Hood's punning ballads is put by him in the mouth of the sedate Mr. Clayton, where, in giving an account of Diligences, he is made to say that the conductor, "as well as the passengers who travel by them, are particularly careful that every person shall occupy the identical place which may be appropriated to him as marked upon his receipt, by a dent in the cushion." The author is, of course, particularly powerful in his denunciations of the mummeries of the Catholic religion and the Pariansian desecration of the Sabbath. A page or so of savage zeal at the expense of the Bishop of Rome Hood sums up as "Man's essay on Pope." The book is literally crammed full of jokes, good and bad, of every sort, and, what with the original fatuity of the author and the autograph annotations, is for reading aloud comparable only to the Portuguese 'New Guide of the Conversation.' It would be worth some publisher's while to bring out a third edition of it, with the notes in full.

—In 'Le Tartuffe par ordre de Louis XIV.' (New York: F. W. Christern) M. Lacour marshals facts and figures and newly-found documents to show that "Tartuffe" was not originally an attack on the Jesuits, but was, on the contrary, patronized by them and supported by the king as a direct assault on the Jansenists of Port Royal. He suggests that *Don Juan* was at least in part a portrait of Conti, who had turned from the most outrageous immorality to a sanctimonious bigotry almost as revolting. He shows beyond reasonable doubt that the original of *Tartuffe* was Roquette, at that time a Jansenist and the spiritual adviser of Conti. After having at one time befriended Molière, Conti, in 1658, finished his essay against the stage, which passed from hand to hand in MS. and was known to Molière, although not printed until 1671. Roquette was universally designated by contemporary opinion as the original of *Tartuffe*. In 1664, when the piece was first played, he was a Jansenist; two years later, suspecting, perhaps, the hand of the king in Molière's comedy, he renounced Port Royal and was rewarded with the bishopric of Autun. The Jansenists alone opposed the play; the Jesuits, as we have said, supported it. None of the circumstances of the comedy are applicable to the Jesuits—nearly all are to the Jansenists. The Jesuits, rich and powerful at court, had no reason to seek to steal the property of a *bourgeois*; liberal in their views toward the stage, they patronized it and allowed their pupils to perform even in ballets before the notabilities of the town (p. 112). One of them published a panegyric on "Tartuffe"; several of them eulogized Molière at his death. Molière had no motive for attacking them, while he had for assaulting the Jansenists. It was not until the next century, when Jansenism was dead, that the enemies of the Jesuits turned their own weapons against them. Then for the first time *Tartuffe* appeared in the habit of a priest, having previously worn the sombre attire affected by the Jansenists. In short, M. Lacour, though he seeks at times perhaps to prove too much, succeeds in making out a strong case. It is curious to note here that "Tartuffe," after having thus twice served in the party polemics of France, was in like manner used as a pamphlet twice in England, as the "Non-Juror" of Colley Cibber and the "Hypocrite" of Bickerstaff. M. Lacour, in the appendix to his little volume—which, by the way, is beautifully printed in the Elzevirian style—points out that the early provincial wanderings of Molière's company were pecuniarily profitable to such an extent that he and the elder Béjart were enabled to lend money to the Province of Languedoc, and that when Molière came to Paris he was probably worth a sum equal to about twenty thousand dollars of the money of our day.

—One of the indirect results of the Russian occupation of Asia Minor may be to throw light on an historic problem which must always have a deep sentimental interest for mankind. We refer to the route of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon, and particularly the latter part of it, in which the Mountain Theches, from which the sea first became visible, still remains to be determined beyond dispute. It is a question whether the Greeks passed to the east or west of Erzerum, or indeed through the place. Col. Strecker, formerly and perhaps still in the Turkish service, had made numerous reconnaissances in Upper Armenia when, in No. 24 of the Berlin Geographical Society's *Zeitschrift* (1869), he

published an elaborate paper on the line of retreat, from a military and topographical point of view. According to him the Greeks crossed the western Euphrates between Erzerum and Erzingan, but much nearer the latter town, and thence, pursuing a course generally northwest, reached the Kolat-Dagh, which Col. Strecker identified with Xenophon's Theches. But, contrary to the impression derived from the narrative, he made the Greeks, instead of continuing their march north, almost retrace their steps southwardly, in a long détour, till the road to Trebizond via Gümüşkhane was reached. Dr. Kiepert dissented altogether from this theory, and argued in favor of the line east of Erzerum, using the ethnographical data of the Anabasis to maintain his position, and especially insisting on the identification of Ispir (the town on the Joruk lately said to have been reached by the Russian cavalry) with the (tribe) Hesperitæ of Xenophon. In the following year (*Zeitschrift* No. 29) Kiepert treated with great respect the theory of an engineer, Herr Borit, employed at Trebizond, who found an unnamed mountain south of and lower than the Kolat-Dagh, which not only gave an outlook on the Black Sea through fortunate gaps in the intervening range, but whose summit still bore a large tumulus of porphyritic stones, surrounded by smaller but higher conical heaps. The tumulus was, in the middle, $2\frac{1}{2}$ German feet high, and 30 feet in diameter—hardly imposing enough for the trophy described by Xenophon. Some portion of the stones being removed, fragments of red and black pottery, such as is still used in that region, were found underneath. Herr Borit's discovery that the sea was visible from a point hitherto, on account of its altitude, regarded as out of the question, reinforced Strecker's route west of the Kolat-Dagh; and, so far as we are aware, this is the latest stage of the controversy. Maps illustrating Strecker and Borit, and useful also for the present campaign, will be found in the *Zeitschrift* as indicated. The commonly accepted route, following Koch and the English authorities, is mapped (to name the latest text-books) in the 'Xenophon' of the Ancient Classics Series (Lippincott, 1871), and still better in Taylor's 'Anabasis,' just published by Rivingtons (London).

—The scholars of Scandinavia and Germany are zealously continuing their investigations into the character and sources of the Icelandic versions of French *chansons de geste*, and other mediæval productions of the European continent, which, after the middle of the thirteenth century, form so important a portion of the old Northern literature. This field has, until recently, been comparatively neglected, the efforts of philologists and critics having been almost exclusively devoted to the elucidation of original works. A collection of texts, without comment, published many years ago by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, included a few of these foreign tales; a few more—notably 'Strengleikar,' a compilation containing a great number of Breton *lais*, the 'Thidreks Saga,' 'Barlaams og Josaphats Saga,' the 'Alexanders Saga,' and the 'Karlsmagnús Saga,'—were subsequently well edited by the Icelandic scholars of Christiania; but, beyond these, very few texts were issued down to 1872. In that year the publication of 'Riddara Sögur'—four of these romantic sagas, three of them being Arthurian—by Dr. Eugen Kölbing, now a professor in the University of Breslau (see *Nation*, No. 513), gave a fresh impetus and a new direction to the researches of old Northern scholars, and much labor has since been expended upon the comparison of the Northern versions with their Southern originals. Dr. Kölbing himself has pursued his investigations, and has published the results in several remarkable articles in the *Germania*, under the titles of "Ueber isländische Bearbeitungen fremder Stoffe" (vol. xvii. part 2), "Bruchstück einer Amicus og Amilius Saga" (xix. 2), and "Zur alten romantischen Literatur im Norden," the last being a series of essays of which the second has lately appeared. Meanwhile, that diligent Norwegian scholar, Gustav Storm, has entered the same field in an article, "Om Eufemiaviserne," in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, treating of the sources of the famous poems which were composed at the instigation of Queen Eufemia, the German consort of the Norwegian king Hakon Magnússon (1299-1319); and in an independent publication, 'Sagukredsene om Karl den Store og Diedrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk,' which endeavors to present a comprehensive view of the various versions and adaptations of the legends of the Carolingian cycle and of that of Dietrich of Bern by the mediæval sagamen and poets of the Scandinavian countries. The latter, as Dr. Kölbing notes, is a work which will be of vast assistance to whosoever shall compile a complete history of the great legendary epics of the Middle Ages.

—Still later than these productions of Storm is a dissertation by F. A. Wulff, of the Swedish University of Lund, entitled 'Notice sur les Sagas de Mágus et de Geirard et leurs rapports aux épopées françaises,' which has given rise to an amount of comment altogether out of proportion to the real value

of the original publication. Dr. Kölbing has supplemented the author's researches in the *Germania* (xxi. 3), as have also Dr. H. Suchier, in an extended and admirable article, "Die Quellen der Mágus Saga" (xx. 3), and Dr. R. Köhler in a briefer sketch, "Zur Mágus Saga" (xxi. 1). Important additions have likewise been made by M. Gaston Paris in the *Romania* (iv. p. 474). The Mágus saga is not a translation of a single southern production. Its Icelandic compiler has evidently availed himself of a considerable number of tales brought, in great part orally, from the Continent by his travelled countrymen. Some of these appear to have been derived from lost French *chansons*, as the *Chanson de Mabrian*, while others are from the *Chanson de Maugis*, which gives its name to the saga, the *Charroi de Nismes*, the *Prise d'Orange*, *Girard de Viane*, the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, the *Quatre Fils Aymon*, and other productions of the XIIIth century, from the *Mirmansaga*, the southern sources of which are still undiscovered, and from the "Gesta Romanorum." Among the episodes of the saga is the incident which Shakspeare subsequently used as the groundwork of "All's Well that Ends Well," and which he borrowed from the story of Giletta di Nerbona and Beltramo di Rossiglione in the 'Decameron.' To these notices of romance literature in the ancient North it is proper to add that the work lately edited by the learned Unger of Christiania, 'Postola Sögur' (of which an excellent review by Dr. Konrad Maurer is to be found in a recent number of the *Literarisches Centralblatt*), consists of translations, from mediæval Latin sources, of legends relating to the lives of the saints; and that a long article, "Zur Thidreks Saga," by Dr. H. Treutler, in the *Germania* (xx. 2), treats of the relations of the Icelandic saga to its German originals. One phase of this subject, to which little attention has yet been paid, is likely to prove of a good deal of interest. Many of the tales and incidents thus transplanted from the early popular literature of the South have become a part of the modern folk-lore of Iceland. Several such, occurring in the very full collection published by Jón Arnason, have been already pointed out by Dr. Kölbing, and many others will doubtless be hereafter identified.

—The rapidly-swelling list of German periodicals has been lately augmented by *Kosmos*, a scientific monthly published in Leipsic and edited, "in conjunction with Charles Darwin and Ernst Haeckel," by Dr. Otto Caspari of Heidelberg, Professor Gustav Jäger of Stuttgart, and Dr. Ernst Krause of Berlin. Taking the Darwinian theory of evolution for its starting point, and assuming the essential identity of all sciences, the sphere of the new periodical extends far into the domain of abstract speculation. Its doctrines are fully set forth in Dr. Caspari's article on "The Union of Moral and Natural Philosophy," which defines nature as a "constitutionalism" of forces behind which there is neither an overshadowing mystical power nor the absolute matter of the materialists. The article challenges alike spiritual belief and materialistic unbelief, and, although entirely moderate in its tone, rejects unequivocally the "illogical and superficial doctrines of the Büchners and Moleschotts." In the first of an announced series of "Physiological Letters" Professor Jäger discusses the question, why the flesh of any animal species retains its properties from generation to generation, without assuming those of the flesh on which it feeds—why, for instance, the flesh of the fish-eating bird does not turn into flesh of fish. In answer to this question he advances the theory that the albuminous constituents of protoplasm divide, in the process of assimilation, into two atomic groups, in one of which, called by him the group of specific atoms, reside in any species the peculiar taste and smell which really govern assimilation. The process of assimilation is, then, determined by the affinities existing between the specific atoms of two albuminous substances. Professor Jäger maintains that it is these chemical forces which underlie and in fact are the instinct of animals guiding them in the selection of their food, and prompting each to evade its enemy. It is the purpose of Professor Jäger to ascertain by chemical experiments the degree to which the smell characteristic of an animal can be traced in its albumen. The same author has a short article on "Modern Anthropology," in which he speaks of the tyranny which Cuvier's dogma, "There is no fossil man," exercised even over the founder of prehistoric science, Sir Charles Lyell, who allowed twenty-six years to elapse before appreciating the discoveries of Dr. Schmerling in the caves at Liège at their true value. It was the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species' which first powerfully stimulated anthropological research. Besides these articles, "The Records of 'Phylogeny' (*Stammesgeschichte*)," by Professor Haeckel; "The History of Creation and Chorology of 200 Years Ago," by Dr. Krause; "The Importance and the Objects of Ethnography," by Friedrich von Hellwald; a review of Darwin's "Results of Cross and Self-Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom," by Dr. Hermann Müller, and miscellaneous notes make up the contents of the first number. As might be im-

aged, the articles are all weighty, most of them, in fact, demanding of the reader a degree of thought and familiarity with the subject which the "intelligent general public," on whom *Kosmos* relies for support, does not usually bring to the perusal of periodicals.

SQUIER'S 'PERU.'*

II.

THE language of the Quichuas is radically connected with that of the Aymarás. It can be said that they appear in history rather as a linguistic group than as anything else. The spread of their idiom, however, is attributed mainly to the conquests of the Incas. The main question, therefore, and the one to whose solution, as far as monuments may go, Mr. Squier has taken great pains to contribute, is: What were the Incas, and what influence did they exert within the limits which they overran? The Incas were Quichuas, and the Quichuas themselves issued from Aymará stock. The name means "leader" or "chieftain," but there is no approach in it either to a royal title or to a priestly designation. The Incas were a tribe, and not a dynasty—as Mr. Squier tacitly admits. Not one of the authors who wrote at the time when Pizarro first landed mentions the name "Inca." Huayna-Ccapac and Huascar are called "old and young Cuzco" by Francisco de Xerez, Miguel Astete, and Hernando Pizarro. This shows that they but represented the power of the tribe dwelling at Cuzco (since that place was known as far as Tumbez in Ecuador), and not the monarchical sway of a privileged family. Pedro de Cieza, whose chronicle of Peru appeared about 1553, and who spent nearly four years in that country, says that Manco-Ccapac, the reputed founder of the Incas, "had a very humble origin." The native author, Salcamayhua, asserts that Manco was but the "apu," or chief, of an insignificant tribe which moved from the Collao into the valley of Cuzco, and settled there. The legends of the Incas themselves designate Lake Titicaca as the starting point of their spread. But the tradition also goes that the "Creator" dwelt at Tiahuanuco, while he bade the sun and moon rise from Titicaca. Coupled with the similarity of languages, it is another indication of that connection between the Aymarás and the Incas which we have assumed—a connection which Mr. Squier feels justified in doubting.

But he himself establishes a further connecting link between the two tribes by the great similarity of their architecture. The gigantic walls of Tiahuanuco are emulated by those of the buildings of Cuzco, by the immense "cyclopean" lines of fortifications which rise over the sides of the "Sacsahuaman"; and the perfect accuracy with which the stones are joined and sometimes cut is a characteristic common to the edifices of Inca origin as well as to those on Aymará soil. The singular "T clamp," so conspicuous in the masonry of Tiahuanuco, was found by Mr. Squier in the Inca ruins of Ollantay-tambo. As a distinguishing feature of Inca architecture, however, Mr. Squier has established the pointed gable of the roof, pitched at a very steep angle. It appears to be common to all their roofed edifices, the Temple of the Sun not excepted. We meet with them first on the islands of Titicaca, and then all over the specifically "Quichua" land. Mr. Squier has beautifully described and illustrated the remarkable ruins of the islands of Titicaca. In common with his predecessors, he recognizes in them the vestiges of a sacred shrine devoted to a worship connected with the mythical origin of the Incas. But it is easy to discern in these popular tales the simple fact of an immigration from Tiahuanuco to the islands of the great lake, where, surrounded by hostile tribes all along the shores, but sheltered from these by the water-sheet, a community of its own sprang up, which, in contradistinction to the Aymarás proper, had to resort to agriculture exclusively. The ruins on the islands Titicaca and Coati fully bear out the fact (which is further sustained by the more sheltered position of their grounds) that there was more Indian garden-culture there than over the rest of the Aymará plateau. From this isolated spot the Incas descended, as a small tribe probably, of conquering agricultural village Indians, as far as Cuzco, whose soil and climate both were better adapted to culture even than their island home. This is, in accordance with the material furnished by Mr. Squier, though not with his views, the natural explanation of the "legend of Manco-Ccapac."

In the region of Cuzco the Incas could develop their agricultural propensities. There they were no longer at the mercy of their surroundings for subsistence. Besides, the topography of the country is such that they could easily defend it against any outside raids. Thus the two principal conditions for future aggression were given: perfect independence in regard to food and military invulnerability. The picture which Mr. Squier

enables us to form of Inca society is very plain. Cuzco (which, by the way, according to Cieza, "was the only place in Peru that appeared like a 'city'" —a very significant remark) appears on his plat as divided into "upper" and "lower"; these again subdivided into twelve sections, called by him "wards." With the aid of this description, and coupling it with the fact reported by Molina, that in all religious festivals the people divided into two parties—those of Upper Cuzco on one side and those of Lower Cuzco on the other—we obtain a full view of the social arrangement of the Inca tribe. They composed two "phratries," from each of which (according to Acosta and Herrera) the head chief was alternately chosen. The "wards" themselves consisted of large squares, "built around a court, presenting exteriorly an unbroken wall, having but a single entrance, and, except in rare instances, no exterior windows." Thus they also were after the type of those communal houses which we have found already among the Yuncas of the coast and the Aymarás. The wards were the homes of so many "kins," and the "empire" of the Incas dwindles down to the rule of a warlike tribe over their neighbors.

Mr. Squier designates the Incas as "heads of a great nation, dependent on agriculture." We have already alluded to their strong position for military defence. In this manner they enjoyed a doubly safe basis for defence and aggression. For the latter they had a powerful incentive in their religion. It was not sun-worship proper, but the adoration of a universal creator, beside whom the sun was only an important agency. Thus their religious notions stood higher than those of the sun-worshipping Aymarás, still higher than those of the other tribes addicted, like the Yuncas, to fetishism; and Polo de Ondegardo is right in stating that Inca success dates from the time of their adoration of a spiritual omnipotent being. This they called "the conquering teacher of the world, floating on the wave's crest."

Wilhelm von Humboldt has designated the character of Inca-conquest as "wild and impetuous." Although Garcilasso de la Vega, whom Mr. Squier regards as the highest authority on ancient Peru, presents a different picture, we still have good reasons to adhere to the opinion of the German philologist. The conquests of the Incas were mere forays for the purpose of plunder, rendering tributary the vanquished tribes, and asserting the authority of their creed over that of the others. The condition of the tribes whom they thus overcame was not (if the conquest itself did not end in extermination) materially changed. There were no Inca settlements established on the coast or the Collao. The natives continued to live under their own chiefs as before, the only representative of Inca-power among them being the gatherer of tribute. That the Quichua idiom was forced upon the conquered is not confirmed. The influence of the Incas was therefore very limited, and the ties which held together the vast expanse of territory were loose; there was no homogeneity, no "nation," still less an "empire."

One feature, however, appears to militate against the opinion we have advanced, and these are the public works attributed to the Incas—namely, the roads and fortifications. It is a current notion that they constructed an astounding system of thoroughfares, extending uninterruptedly from Cuzco to Quito. Mr. Squier has found and established an ugly break in this surmised line of roads. He says: "As I have said, few traces of the Inca roads, such as are described by the early writers, and such as Humboldt saw in northern Peru, are now to be found in the southern part of that country; and as the modern pathways must follow the ancient lines, I infer that they never existed here, for there is no reason why they should have suffered more from time and the elements in one part of the country than in another." He might have added that an attentive study of the reports of those who witnessed the conquests of Pizarro, and who participated in the subsequent civil wars, fully confirms his assertion.

Extensive constructions, combining both dwellings and evident fortifications, are found in and around the Quichua home proper, barring access to the "bolsones" from the south, as at Piquillacta, or defending both ends of the highly valuable valley of Yucay, as at Ollantay-tambo and at Pisac. Above Cuzco itself towers yet the grand work of the "Sacsahuaman," of which Mr. Squier has given us not only very valuable plans but especially views. There is no doubt that these military edifices must create astonishment, for they are, not only in size (like Pisac, which Mr. Squier compares to the great hill-forts of India) but in disposition, far above any other military constructions of the American aborigines. But these remarkable edifices are crowded together on a limited space only. They are the outposts along specific Inca ground, and beyond it Mr. Squier has failed to detect anything like them. He describes the "puccara" of the Aymarás, the walled enclosures of the coast-people, but among these, however subject they were to Inca-sway, the Incas had not constructed

* "Peru Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas. By E. George Squier." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

any defences after the model of the elaborate bulwarks of Piquillaeta, or the mammoth lines of inaccessible Pisac. This again shows that the works of the Incas were strictly limited to the territory of the *tribe*, the territory being converted into a fortress, from which they could sally forth, harassing the other tribes and holding them in subjection through terror alone.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Squier has not in his book given us as much information upon the arts and manufactures of the Incas as upon those of the Yuncas; else we might be prepared to discuss the question as to what degree of superiority they enjoyed over their neighbors in these branches. In statuary they seem to have been beneath the coast-people. Mr. Squier gives illustrations of art-objects from Chimu which find no parallel among any yet found at Cuzco. The treatment of metals was about the same by both; the utensils for working stones must have been the same, as well as the weapons, although the Incas probably had, besides the star-formed club of which Mr. Squier gives a fine illustration, also the sword. In general, it may be safe to admit that the Yuncas and the Incas were nearly equally advanced, whereas the Aymarás fell behind both. The same is true of agriculture, which was carried on throughout Peru on the same principles; and what on the coast, for instance, has been represented as public work of the Incas is clearly established by Mr. Squier's labors as communal work of the coast-people themselves. Thus gradually every feature ascribed to a superior statesmanship on the part of the Incas resolves itself into a simple function of the life of disconnected tribes, and "Peruvian civilization" sinks to the level of aboriginal American society and its organic development.

OUR WEATHER SERVICE.*

THE great invention of the electric telegraph can be applied to no more beneficent use than warning mariners of approaching gales. Among the most interesting pages of the report before us are those quoting statements of the economic results of the exhibition of the cautionary signals before storms. The common consent with which vessels in the act of starting or in the neighborhood of stations obey this warning and seek secure anchorage, is a sufficient proof that their officers place a high value upon the information thus signalled. The saving of property thus effected benefits chiefly the marine insurance companies, and though not calculated on the part of the Government, might be regarded by the companies as balancing the withheld *Alabama* damages many times over.

The observers at coast-stations appear to keep a chronicle of disasters happening in their neighborhood, as evidence of the importance of local warning. Thus, we learn from the Newport sergeant's report that three of the four Fall-River and New-York steamers suffered accidents from storms during the year ending June, 1876. And besides these separate local chronicles there is also an appendix containing a full chronological list of over thirteen hundred disasters on the lakes alone within the year covered by the volume. Among these were 102 vessels sunk; and the total loss of life is reported as 144. With the exception of some 200 collisions and fires, all of these disasters resulted from storms, and could have been prevented by a more effective system of signalling. It is hence apparent that the present system of warnings, beneficial as it is, is not yet more than half perfected. It is entirely possible to anticipate every high wind and give ample notice of it along all the coasts, so that disasters should be confined to ocean passages. But it is more reasonable to anticipate that this will come to pass from private enterprise than from the good-will of Congress, or from the present management of the Bureau. We can readily point out three important changes by means of which a system of signalling under private control could be rendered thoroughly effective instead of half so.

First, watch should be kept by night as well as by day, either by self-registering instruments or by observers, and the telegraphs should be accessible to the observers at night and on Sundays.

Secondly, the stations should be separated into two classes—observing stations and exhibiting stations—selected on widely different principles. The chief source of the inefficiency of the present observing stations is the fact that they are located in the worst places that could have been chosen. They ought to be high up, where they could feel the true direction and free force of the wind; not necessarily on hill-tops, but on ridges or so-called divides. Instead of this they are mostly in river valleys, because in such valleys large towns grow. But valleys are the very last places which ought to be chosen for watching the approach of storms, because they are so sheltered that the winds are both broken in force (so that the anemometer underrates

them) and bent in direction, vertically as well as horizontally, so as to falsify the barometer as well as the vane. Practically, a few luckily more exposed stations do the accurate watching for the majority.

Thirdly, the other class of stations, those at which warnings are exhibited, need have no regard to the facilities of observation just mentioned, and should be freely exposed not to the wind but to ships. They should be located on prominent capes or islands, at frequent and regular intervals along our coasts, and need not be near towns at all. They could be equipped with rockets and pyrotechnic bomb-mortars for unusually important night-warnings, the missiles being discharged at stated times, if at all; the number of rockets at each discharge might also equal the number of hours before the gale is expected. In the daytime white flags could serve the same purpose of predicting the time, and their position, relatively to that of the red flag, could denote the quarter from which the gale would blow (thus, white above red could indicate north; at its right, east, etc.; the viewpoint being understood to be the sea). If all the promontories of our lake and Atlantic coasts were thus capacitated to convey warnings, all coasting vessels would regularly sail near enough in shore to be in sight of these beacon headlands, and to profit by the information positively or negatively given; and a coasting voyage would be as safe as a canal-trip.

Considered in its relation to the science of meteorology, the value of the United States Government reports is overrated. The objection is that evidence is not sifted before being accepted and generalized. Hence many of the tabulated statements are crude and heterogeneous. We animadverted some time ago upon the current method of reducing barometric readings, which we believe brings confusion into all maps and tables where the barometer is concerned; and we have referred above to the unfortunate selection of observing stations, which, in its scientific aspect, destroys the unity of wind-maps. It is timely to call attention to this evil because attempts are now being made at international weather-maps, and it is unpleasant that such attempts should be marred at the outset. There are maps in the volume before us showing the direction of the wind simultaneously at places scattered over the six continents. Why is it that such maps are not full of graceful curves converging and diverging around the nuclei of low and high barometer, all over the world? Because when cavities like Pittsburgh are allowed an equal voice in arranging the chart, the result must be an agglomeration of local valley currents conforming only obtusely to the real motions above them, and presenting on paper a discordant jumble of arrows chopping across each other, instead of a harmonious expression of the true mundane movements. More truth and unity, then, would be imparted to these international maps if those data were to be rejected which the places furnishing them are physically incapacitated from giving candidly.

We have not found as large a percentage of errors in the present as in some previous volumes of the Signal Service Reports; but the number is still so large as to exclude the entire work from being regarded as a contribution to science. We do not refer so much to gross single errors, like the assertion that the temperature fell to -52° in November, 1874, in a place on the Jersey coast, or the mistake of six degrees in the longitude of Buffalo, which would place it in Massachusetts, as we do to errors involving large numbers of figures. For instance, no meteorologist will believe that of two towns situated on the Atlantic coast, at a place where the coast runs north and south, the more northerly town possesses the warmer average yearly temperature; he will, instead, distrust all the figures concerned in producing such incredible aggregates. It should be added that the part of the coast referred to is unindented; otherwise the citation would scarcely be candid, since such retrogradations of temperature sometimes occur in extremely indented coasts, like those of Northern Europe, but never on so even an edge as that of the Middle and Southern Atlantic States. Sometimes we find an item differently given in two places: thus, the yearly rainfall at Fort Sully is given on page 32 as 72 inches, and on page 153 as 12 inches. And here we may remark the setting of widely different estimates upon the force of the same gales: thus, at New London and New Haven there were, during the year, 48 and 46 cautionary signals ordered. Out of these, the observer at New London reports 30 justified and 18 not justified, while he of New Haven almost reverses this judgment, and calls 18 justified against 25 not justified (and 3 doubtful). Now, though individual storms may differ in severity at places as near together as these, yet that this discrepancy would repeat itself a score of times in the same scale of the balance will not be credited. Perhaps, indeed, the Elm City is so much more secluded than its sister that gales can seldom occur there, but then such a fact is a part of the problem of prediction, and does not justify mistakes. A similar, though less notable, variation occurs between Oswego and Rochester. We might expect to find the former the windier,

* 'Annual Report of the Chief Signal Officer for the Year 1876.' Washington; Government Printing-Office.

as being nearer the lake. Yet the same number, 31, of signals was ordered for both ports, and out of this number the sergeant at Oswego reports 21 not justified to 10 justified, while the sergeant at Rochester declares it a drawn game. It might be remarked, by the way, that the reports have hitherto been silent concerning the proportion of justifications of omissions to display signals, *i. e.*, how often gales have occurred of which no warning had been given. The present report has some frank if not encouraging words on this subject, which is to receive hereafter the attention it deserves. Meantime, the 102 vessels sunk on the lakes speak for themselves.

In any scientific service dismissal would follow upon the forwarding of impossible or contradictory reports; yet one sergeant who thus contradicted himself was not relieved, whereas many others were degraded or dismissed for reasons sometimes stated and sometimes not stated in General Myer's report. The reasons should always be put in print. The loss of a trained observer should be felt to be a serious one, and reasonable expectations ought to be held out that the tenure is for life; and one way to create such expectation is to oblige one's self to give valid reasons for all dismissals. In a report five hundred pages long there is space enough for this.

Errors of economy should be overhauled, even if slight. It is an error of economy to make unnecessary changes. It seems unnecessary to break up old stations and open new ones, without condescending to confess that the old ones were badly located, if that was the cause, which we doubt. Two stations on the New Jersey coast, Peck's Beach and Squan Beach, have been discontinued—reason alleged, diminished appropriation; but this reason works the other way. A diminished appropriation ought to lead to conservatism and making the best of what one has; change is expensive and appropriately follows increase of appropriation, not diminution. Seven new stations have been opened: at Thatcher's Island, Mass.; Newport; Malone, N. Y.; Cape Lookout, and Smithville, N. C.; Evanston, Ill., and Manhattan, Kansas. No reasons are given for the preference of these new sites over the rejected ones, for whose original selection somebody was responsible.

The statistics of the monthly and year's rainfall for ninety-six stations are given clearly and compactly in a table, and the precipitation for the separate months is also pictorially exhibited in twelve maps, in which different shades of blue indicate different depths of rain. These maps would be valuable for purposes of comparison were it not that, by an unfortunate whim, the same amount of rainfall is denoted by different colors in different months; thus, the deepest shade denotes in the maps for November and December, 5 inches; in those for January and February, 7 inches; in that for May, 8 inches; and in the remaining maps 10 inches. It is true that if the deepest color were reserved always for a fall of over 10 inches, and the next deepest for a fall of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, these two shades might find no occasion for being used on some of the maps; but enough other tints are employed; and as showing how much less precipitation occurs in winter, no harm would result from the conspicuous omission of the darker shades. Another error of method in these maps consists in not connecting the colors of adjacent places; thus, all the surface of the States of California and Oregon is represented as rainless even in their rainiest months, except within the small blue circles surrounding the three signal stations. It would misrepresent less to divide equally the room between the nearest stations; thus, if in a given month, as January, 1876, 3 inches fall at San Diego and 7 inches at San Francisco, let the tint denoting 3 inches extend half-way from the former to the latter, and then let the 7-inch shade commence and extend northward till half-way from San Francisco to Portland. This, though often untrue, would be less untrue than denoting most of the intermediate country as utterly without rain, for this is the signification which the map itself attaches to the untinted white with which the Pacific States are mostly covered.

Among the curiosities of this report are the facts that the warmest day in the year on Mount Washington was the 1st of September. The wind has been higher there than ever before recorded, attaining once the velocity of 170 miles per hour. The temperature once fell 42° in $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and that, too, at a time of day when the temperature usually rises, *viz.*, from 10 A.M. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ P.M., showing that on the tops of mountains direct sunlight does not always cause heat. In San Francisco the month which had the highest average temperature was October, 61° . In the first annual report of the Signal Service this same month of October was likewise recorded as the warmest summer month in the same city, averaging that year 65° . At the time we expressed the opinion that the 65° degrees was an error for 55° , but we must consider the first report confirmed by this year's repetition. The highest monthly average reported for July comes from Montgomery, Ala., 86° . The hottest single observation is 107° , from Shreveport, La. The coldest monthly average is -4° , Pembina, Dakota, February; Mount

Washington for the same month averaging $+7^\circ$. The coldest single observation is -48° , also from Pembina. The highest averages for February come from Florida, which varies between 73° and 60° . The least annual rainfall occurred at North Platte, Nebraska, 10 inches; the greatest at Shreveport, La., 72 inches.

A System of Political Economy. By John Lancelot Shadwell. (London: Trübner. 1877.)—If we had to hazard a guess respecting the author of this goodly volume, we should say that he was a well-intentioned but immature writer who had carefully studied the standard English works on his subject, but had, through a want of continued and careful reflection, exaggerated the novelty and importance of his own ideas. There is now and then a tinge of school-boy simplicity in his style, which is not at all a defect, but which writers of experience are not apt to retain. There is also a diffuseness and even prolixity in dwelling on unimportant points, which appears to come from the desire of the writer to introduce the reader into the innermost recesses of his own consciousness. We are thus treated to a kind of intellectual hospitality which is not at all unpleasing, being, in fact, calculated to give us a very favorable impression of the writer's character and intentions, but which it is, from a purely business point of view, a waste of time to enjoy. He informs us that the principal object of the work is to lay before the reader his theories of value and wages, deeming it of greater interest to present these theories as part of a complete treatise on political economy than to let them stand alone. The work, in general, deviates so little from the beaten track that his views on the subject of value and wages are the only ones which it would interest us to examine. Here, however, we are met at the outset by the difficulty that the theories in question are concealed in such a profusion of very pleasant small talk that much patient search is necessary to find them, and much care to recognize them when found.

As far as Mr. Shadwell's theory of value is concerned, we are unable to see in what essential point it differs from that of Adam Smith, as modified by Mill. The question of its novelty is, however, of comparatively slight importance; for we conceive that the want of political economy at the present time is not so much new ideas as clear and precise statements of principles which are more or less known. For some time to come, the science must advance in the direction of precise thought and language rather than of new or profound investigation. In the theory presented by Mr. Shadwell, the subjects of value and wages are so intimately connected that they have to be considered together. He insists that the value of a commodity depends solely upon the labor and abstinence which are necessary to produce it in the least favorable circumstances. All laborers, in whatsoever trade they are engaged, obtain commodities with the same amount of labor as those who actually produce them. If the wages of a farm-laborer, measured by the corn they will purchase, are twice as high in America as in England, it is because a day's labor will produce twice as much corn in the former as in the latter country. Now, we had supposed this idea that value could in some way be measured by labor to have been long ago exploded as a principle of political economy. Of course, no one denies that this rule holds true in the case of similar occupations, and in fact of all occupations which can be pursued without exceptional skill, and without the command of natural agents limited in supply. But the immediate successors of Adam Smith were slow to see that the rule was thus limited. If the case of the eminent barrister who earns more in a day than a laborer can in a whole year was pointed out to them, they replied that the labor thus paid for was measured by that of the preliminary training necessary to the barrister, and perhaps that of a number of unsuccessful men who had failed in the attempt to become successful barristers. Only in recent times has it been shown that there is no fixed and necessary relation of the kind, and that the labor of the lawyer and the navy cannot be reduced to any common measure whatever.

Perhaps the most novel element of Mr. Shadwell's theory is the extreme to which he carries his views. He says that if a carpenter's wages are twice as high as those of a common laborer, it is because it is found that one carpenter can do twice as much carpentering in the same time as a common laborer. We conceive that if Mr. Shadwell had put two common laborers instead of one carpenter to repair his house before promulgating his theory, he might have made important modifications in it. It is now well known that this reasoning was fatally defective in jumping over an intermediate cause between labor and value, and in not sufficiently considering the effect of certain agents and qualities essential to production being in some sort monopolized. The market value of commodities is determined, in the first place, by the relation between the supply and the demand; and it is only when the supply can be increased without limit that the price will bear a necessary

relation to the labor of production. The law which governs the relation of supply, demand, and price is so simple and well understood in its practical aspects by every one engaged in the conduct of business that it requires some patience to reason with any one who professes not to understand it in the abstract. Mr. Shadwell cites the following case: About noon on the 25th of April, 1865, the news of President Lincoln's assassination reached London, and its immediate effect was a marked increase in the sale of the daily newspapers during that afternoon, many copies being sold for much more than their usual price. The *London Times* went up from thirty centimes, its usual price, to three francs. He wants to know why the price was just three francs, and neither more nor less. After devoting ten pages to a consideration of the principles involved in the case, he comes to the conclusion that all the theories which he has met with are truisms, and that he is unable to devise one which will satisfactorily account for the phenomena of market value, and must therefore leave the question unexplained, relegating it to the same limbo with that of eccentric comets in astronomy.

Altogether we cannot consider the work before us as having added materially to the thought on the subject of which it treats. There is, on the whole, a great deal that is good, and not much that is bad in a positive way. Although the wages question is one of the main features of the book, the author seems to be entirely unacquainted with Mr. Walker's treatise on the subject, which might have given him many valuable ideas. The prolixity of its style will probably prevent all but people of leisure from attempting to go through it.

Roman History. The Early Empire. From the assassination of Julius Caesar to that of Domitian. By W. W. Capes, M.A. With two maps. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 16mo.)—The success of the admirable series of 'Epochs of Modern History,' edited by Mr. Morris, has called out two other courses of Epochs—of ancient and of English history—a mistaken idea, as it seems to us; for by the term "epoch" one naturally understands a synchronistic view embracing a number of nations—a history of the world for a certain brief time. For a single nation, therefore, the term seems a misnomer, and hardly less so when, as in antiquity, one nation at a time carries on the general history of the world. For example, the volume before us is a history of Rome for the period of about a century, and of nothing else; the Parthian Empire is barely mentioned, and the Germans make no figure in Mr. Capes's narrative. Moreover, its author has announced another volume upon the second century of the Empire, which of course will be to all intents and purposes a continuation of this. Why not call it, then, what it is, a history of the Roman Empire in so many volumes?

The execution is good. The narrative is especially well done, in a graphic, attractive style; the political history, too, is excellent—the changes of dynasty and their causes, court intrigues, the character and motives of men. As to these last, there is little attempt at set analysis, but the actions of men are made to illustrate their characters—a process especially good in the case of Augustus, Nero, and Domitian. In regard to Tiberius, the author takes the old familiar view, as presented by Tacitus, rather than that of Stahr and others, who attempt to extenuate the tyranny of this ruler; he is willing at most to admit that the statements of the ancient writers may have been exaggerated. He gives half a dozen chapters at the close of the book upon "The State of Trade," "The Revival of Religious Sentiment," and similar subjects, very instructive as to the state of the world at the close of the first Christian century. In short, the distinctively historical parts are admirable.

Constitutional points are not so well done. As to this, it is sufficient to say that they show no marks of familiarity with Mommsen's 'Staatsrecht,' a treatise which—whether its conclusions are accepted or not—is indispensable to any study of this subject. The *Dyarchy*, as Mommsen calls it, or system of rivalry between the constitutional authority of the senate and the new authority of the emperor—a rivalry which continued till the close of the second century, and some traces of it even later—is not clearly described. The author avoids Mr. Merivale's mistake of representing all the powers of the emperor as conferred by special grant of individual powers and titles; nevertheless he does not seem fully to appreciate the comprehensive force of the title *Imperator*; and of the fundamental importance of the proconsular powers he appears to have no conception. The statement (p. 20) that the imperial provinces were "ruled by generals, called *legati*," answers well enough as a loose popular description, for the *legati* were generals; but it was not as generals that they ruled, but as deputies (*legati*) of the emperor, himself *de jure* invested with the permanent government of all these provinces. We think Mr. Capes is mistaken

(p. 186) in defining the *jus exili* as the right to go into exile; it was rather the right of an allied town to receive a Roman citizen into exile—a right justly regarded as implying independence and sovereignty.

The map of ancient Italy is very good for general purposes, but, unfortunately, does not illustrate the period of the early Empire. These divisions of the Republican time had now fallen into disuse, and Italy was divided by Augustus into twelve Regions—in the main agreeing with the old divisions, but not the same in all respects; e.g., Apulia and Calabria were united to form the Second Region. The map of the Roman Empire is not so good, as there is no uniformity in the divisions of the Empire, which are sometimes the names of nations, sometimes of provinces. Hispania, for example, was only a geographical and national term, being divided into three provinces, Tarraconensis, Bætica, and Lusitania. None of these are given. Gallia, too, formed four provinces, only one of which, Belgica, is given. Germania should be divided into two provinces. Similar errors are found in the East; and here the Empire is made to embrace Arabia, a territory which was not annexed until the time of Trajan.

History of Cambridge, Mass., 1630–1877. With a Genealogical Register. By Lucius R. Paige. (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1877.)—The civil history of Cambridge, which forms the subject of Mr. Paige's first chapters, is that of great expectations never realized. Originally founded for the rulers of the infant colony as a seurer settlement that might eventually be fortified, it failed to compete with Boston as a residence and as the seat of government, although the General Court was held there for several years. Its commercial aspirations were early seen to be futile, yet in 1805 it was made a port of delivery, and expensive docks and canals were built as if for an immense trade; but the embargo of 1807 nipped the speculation in the bud, and determined finally the character of Cambridge as a quiet, suburban municipality. New Town was its name up to the founding of Harvard College, which probably suggested the change. It would have been superfluous in Mr. Paige to retell the story of the college, and he has accordingly confined himself to incidental details, chiefly in connection with the general care bestowed upon Cambridge by the State. Thus, we meet in a foot-note with "the Professor" whose son—

"Lord! how the seniors knocked about
The freshman class of one!"—

has been embalmed in Holmes's verse. Close upon the heels of the college came the "printing-house begun at Cambridge by one Daye," which afterwards became Samuel Green's, who printed Eliot's Indian Bible. During the eighteenth century Cambridge printers lost the virtual monopoly they had hitherto enjoyed, and the great presses which now distinguish the town have unfortunately no unbroken pedigree such as might have been the boast of a real university press. The very gradual amelioration of manners by such civilizing agencies as printing-houses and colleges is shown in the fact that as late as September 18, 1755, on the common opposite the college buildings, a negro woman who had helped poison her master in Charlestown was executed with her male accomplice. He was simply hung, but she, "an old creature," was burnt to death. Only slavery could have retained so long in Massachusetts law a punishment so barbarous as this for "petit treason." From persecutions for heresy and witchcraft Cambridge was comparatively free; but the hard experience of Benanneel Bower, her only Quaker, and the witchcraft case of Holman agst. Gibson, give great interest to Mr. Paige's narrative under this head.

The military history of Cambridge is not insignificant. Her militia took an active part in the Concord fight, and on her territory by far the greatest number of lives were lost on the eventful 19th of April. In material losses the town suffered damage to the extent of £1,202. Subsequently it became for eleven months the headquarters of the American army, and will be for ever associated with the name and fame of Washington. Cambridge gloried neither in the war of 1812 nor in the Mexican war, but in 1861 she enlisted the first militia company formed in view of the contingency of civil war, and ready to respond to the call for the defence of the Union. Like so many other places, great and small, Cambridge has its soldiers' monument, and Mr. Paige reproduces the more than four hundred names inscribed upon it. A goodly number of these we recognize as belonging to college men whose homes were elsewhere than in Cambridge, and we surmise, therefore, that some of them enjoy a double commemoration of this sort—which nobody certainly will grudge them.

Mr. Paige's laborious task has been executed with excellent tact and method, and with literary skill. The Genealogical Register at the end oc-

copies 230 solid pages, and would alone entitle him to the lasting gratitude of his townsmen.

Oriental Records. Monumental. Confirmatory of the Old Testament Scriptures. By William Harris Rule, D.D. (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons; New York: John Wiley & Sons. 16mo, pp. iv. 247. 1877.)—It would be difficult to contrive a more vicious plan morally on which to construct a book than is that of the work before us. The author, who published some years ago a much larger volume of 'Biblical Monuments,' has now attempted a popular account of whatever the lately discovered monuments—especially Assyrian—contain in confirmation of the Old Testament history. For this purpose it is not too much to say that he has deliberately planned to set aside all honest critical judgment that he might have, and by fair means or foul to provide the desired confirmations. He is a man of considerable reading, and where he misrepresents the scholarship of the day it is not from ignorance. For example, Oppert, in the early days of Assyriology, imagined that he had discovered in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar a reference to the story of the Confusion of Tongues: "since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words." As Dr. Rule cannot but know, this translation was abandoned by Oppert many years ago, and in Prof. Rawlinson's 'Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament' no reference even is made to it. But Dr. Rule gives it in full without caveat, and supports it in a foot-note with the authority of Mr. Loftus, who, he must know, did nothing more than quote Oppert. So Sir Henry Rawlinson's early translation of Nebuchadnezzar's Grand Inscription is followed rather than any later one, where it was once made to contain an allusion to the king's lycanthropy, even though his brother's 'Historical Illustrations,' which Dr. Rule must have consulted on the subject, distinctly warns the reader against trusting it. For the same reason, will it be believed that Mr. Charles Forster's translations of Sinaitic inscriptions are accepted as really correct? The name Bab-Il, Dr. Rule says, "may possibly" be interpreted "Gate of God," when he must know that it can have no other meaning. The Assyrian myth of the Flood is given in full as an absolute confirmation of the historical character of the account of the Deluge in Genesis, although it is no less consistent with the theory that both are myths. "The authenticity of the Book of Daniel," he says, "is not at this day seriously called in question"—a really remarkable assertion. His arguments to prove that the vowels which we apply to the sacred tetragrammaton are correct are utterly puerile, but given with an air of semi-omniscience which confesses no ignorance except of the Amharic dialect. We should be tempted to apply the offensive word Jesuitical to the book and its author did we not recall the fact that he is the writer of a roaring Protestant 'History of the Inquisition.'

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Seeking the Golden Fleeces: a Record of Pioneer Life in California; to which is annexed Footprints of Early Navigators, other than Spanish, in California; with an account of the wreck of the schooner Dolphin. By J. D. B. Stillman. With plates. (San Francisco and New York: A. Roman & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. 352.)—Mr. Stillman's book is made for the most part out of letters, journals, and memoranda written at the time of the first great emigration to California. He went out in 1849 by the way of Cape Horn, and returned the next year by the Isthmus. Without any high literary merit, his narrative contains a graphic and interesting account of the life of the time. Much less than half the space is devoted to California itself—only three chapters out of thirteen; and perhaps this is as well, for we have many accounts of pioneer life in California, while the hardships of the journey thither have very much passed out of memory. The swindling and brutality endured by these passengers are almost incredible. On both voyages—once at Rio Janeiro and again at New Providence—the passengers were forced to bring formal complaints against the captain; the first time they secured his removal; the second time Dr. Stillman chose to leave the vessel and make his way home by another route. The author's experience, it will be seen, embraced pretty much every phase of adventure, his profession of physician bringing him in contact with every class, and giving him peculiar opportunities of intercourse. He appears to have been a man of courage and energy, and tells his story with modesty and candor; and it is a story of considerable variety—embracing arctic and tropical voyaging, a long land-journey across the Isthmus by the Nicaragua route, the rescue of the passengers of a wrecked vessel, a short sojourn on the island of New Providence, and a riot of the squatters at Sacramento, in the suppression of which he took part. On the whole the picture is a gloomy one, the discomforts and villanies described occupying a much larger share, at all events impressing the reader more forcibly, than the pleasant features of life.

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